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THE TEXTUAL HISTORY

OF THE WELSH - LATIN

HISTORIA BRITTONUM

by

DAVID NORMAN DUMVILLE

VOLUME ONE

Presented for the degree of

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The result is the present thesis - not, to be sure, what had originally been intended nor indeed a subject on which I had ever proposed to write a dissertation for examination. If it be found worthy, that will be due in no small measure to the busy people mentioned above, as well as to those whose help on specific matters

has been acknowledged in the body of the work.

ABSTRACT OF THESIS

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Name of Candidate David Norman DUMVILLE
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Title of Thesis The Textual History of the Welsh-Latin Historia Brittonum
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This thesis presents a new edition of the major recensions of the Historia Brittonum. It is the first to depart from the pattern of conflated texts which has been followed by editors since 1691. Each may now be read as a text in its own right. I have argued that the 'Harleian' recension is the primary version of the Historia Brittonum and belongs to the year 829/30, and have shown that the attribution of the work to one 'Nennius' is late and unacceptable. The complicated textual tradition has been examined, from this early-ninth-century origin, throughout its mediaeval history; the fullest development is seen in the 'Sawley' recension of the beginning of the thirteenth century. I have also considered the early modern tradition of the work, represented by a large group of paper manuscripts prepared by or for the antiquaries of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries as no printed text was available until 1691.

In addition to detailed studies of manuscripts and textual tradition, I have prepared a literal modern English translation of the primary recension and have made a detailed preliminary study of its latinity. My remarks on the later recensions concentrate on establishing the filiation of the manuscripts and on placing each new version within the context of the textual tradition as a whole. This has seemed to be the primary requirement in any new investigation of the Historia. Work can now go forward, from a secure textual base, on the implications of this important series of texts for historical and literary studies.

Use other side if necessary.

I

GENERAL

INTRODUCTORY

REMARKS

GENERAL INTRODUCTORY REMARKS

The purpose of the following remarks is to survey the problems faced at the outset of this enquiry, to examine briefly the previous editions of the text, and to summarise the main conclusions arrived at during the course of the work.

This thesis is devoted entirely to textual research. It does not claim to have said the last word on any given point nor finally to have established any text. I do believe, however, that here, for the first time, has been provided a reliable edition of the Historia Brittonum based securely on the careful examination of the manuscript-tradition. This was the principal requirement of any new research into this work. There has been a lull in the study of the Historia Brittonum during the last generation. Only one major article has appeared since 1945;¹ one may suspect that the very considerable number of publications devoted to this text during the preceding century had sated academic appetites. This thirty-year gap has the advantage of withdrawing the text from the intense atmosphere of controversy which surrounded it, particularly during the period 1838 to 1945.

I have set out in the belief that, until the textual history of the work was elucidated, no remarks on the date, authorship, reliability, diffusion and history of the Historia Brittonum would be credible. The prevailing view of the work attributes it to an author called 'Nennius' writing ca 800 or a little later, whose work is seen either in the 'Harleian' recension (with the addition of the 'Nennian'

1. K. H. Jackson, 'On the Northern British Section in Nennius', in N. K. Chadwick (ed.), Celt and Saxon. Studies in the Early British Border (Cambridge, 1963), pp. 20-62.

prologue and a few other items, regrettably lost during transmission to the extant 'Harleian' manuscripts)¹ or in a series of recensions, now anonymous, now attributed to Gildas, now to 'Nennius', and so on.² Whatever the precise extent of the work of 'Nennius' scholars have been united in the view that he was a mere compiler of preexisting matter drawn from diverse sources, matter on which he had failed to stamp his own personality. He has been thought to have been a rather stupid, muddle-headed dolt; the chief evidence for this view has been the words of the prologue 'coaceruauit omne quod inueni' (chapter V, below), a statement which has led also to the belief that the Historia comprises a quantity of sources of good authority, especially for the history of fifth- to seventh-century Britain, which have simply been incorporated into the work without serious alteration.

The important questions in the study of this work have therefore seemed to scholars to be not the author's intentions or his use of sources or his cultural milieu but rather the insights offered into the history of early mediaeval Britain, ca 400-685, and into the writing of history in the Celtic north in the seventh and eighth centuries.

I venture, as a result of the researches offered below, to differ from all these approaches and emphases. I have deliberately remained within my chosen terms of reference, however, and have not sought here to elaborate on all the consequences of the textual conclusions arrived at below. The new perspective has been gained chiefly through the careful study of each recension in turn. With

1. Ferdinand Lot, Nennius et l'Historia Brittonum (Paris, 1934), I, 16-19.

2. R. Thurneysen, Zeitschrift für celtische Philologie, I (1896/7), pp. 163-166; K. H. Jackson, Language and History in Early Britain (Edinburgh, 1953), p. 48.

two honourable exceptions, all previous editions of the Historia Brittonum have provided conflated texts of the several recensions. Even with the most extensive apparatus, this method is bound effectively to conceal the many differences between the various versions and to give an impression of homogeneity which I trust my textual researches will show to be totally misleading.

The editio princeps of the Historia was published by Thomas Gale in his Historiae Britannicae Saxonicae Anglo-Danicae Scriptores Quindecim (Oxford, 1691), pp. 91-139. He omitted the mirabilia but otherwise set the pattern for successive editions by basing his edition on the 'Sawley' recension (chapter VII, below), the most thoroughly conflated and developed version of the text.¹ As the fullest version, this was deemed to be superior to all the others. It is particularly regrettable that Gale followed this course, for we know from his surviving papers that he had also prepared a text based on a manuscript of the 'Harleian' recension.

The appearance in 1819 of William Gunn's text and translation of the Vatican manuscript (chapter IV below) marked a new departure in the study of the Historia Brittonum, for this volume presented not only a radically different version of the Historia from anything then known but also the first text to be printed from a single manuscript-witness. Its sole drawback was that the editor had transcribed his manuscript rather inaccurately.

Another break with tradition occurred when Joseph Stevenson published his Nennii Historia Britonum (London, 1838). Many hard things have been said about Stevenson's editorial performances. On the

1. The edition of Bertram (Copenhagen, 1758) differed from that of Gale only inasmuch as it incorporated the mirabilia.

basis of this edition, however, I can say that his judgment seems in every way very sound. His text is a fine pioneering effort and remains easily the most usable of the conflated versions. Stevenson chose, for the first time, MS. Harley 3859 to be the base for his text; his procedure has dictated the format of the most commonly used editions down to the present: he allowed the 'Nennian' prologues to stand, removed the capitula to an appendix, provided his own chapter-numbering (which is, in essence, that of the editions by Mommsen and Lot), and based the body of his text on Harley 3859 and other manuscripts of the 'Harleian' recension. Stevenson summed up his researches as follows:¹

'The statements already advanced, however contradictory and unintelligible when viewed in connexion with the tale told by the Prologues, seem clearly to establish the following positions.

1. That the Historia Britonum is the production of an unknown writer.
2. That it is ascribed to Nennius upon the sole authority of Prologues which cannot be traced to an earlier period than the twelfth century, before which the name of Nennius, as an historian, was probably unknown.
3. That the variations in the different manuscripts are of such a nature as to show that the work has undergone several recensions, in consequence of which its original form or extent cannot now be satisfactorily ascertained.'

These remarks, which have been almost completely ignored by subsequent students of the Historia, I hold to have been thoroughly vindicated by

1. Ed. cit., p. xv.

my researches. I should add the sole caveat that it is now possible to ascertain satisfactorily the original form and extent of the work. Stevenson's mistake was perhaps that 'in compliance with long-established usage, we continue to call [it] Nennius'.¹ Speaking of the 'intrinsic value' of the Historia as a witness to British history, he observed that 'this must be cautiously estimated' and concluded 'that too high an opinion of it has generally been formed.... Its chief importance seems to consist in it being, not an historic record of events with which the writer was either personally acquainted, or for which he had coeval written evidence, but as a depository of traditionary information, in the preservation of which the Celtic nations have been always peculiarly interested.'²

One may well wonder how the study of this work could have regressed so much since 1838. Part of the answer no doubt lies with the next major edition to appear, that of Henry Petrie and John Sharpe, Monumenta Historica Britannica, or Materials for the History of Britain, from the earliest period, Volume I (extending to the Norman Conquest) (London, 1848), pp. 47-82. Their text was based on that of Cambridge University Library MS. Ff. I. 27 (Part 1), the most fully developed version of the Historia; in that respect, it marked a reversion to the text published by Gale in 1691, although many other manuscripts were collated.³

In 1894 there appeared what has remained the standard edition of this work: Theodor Mommsen, in his Chronica Minora saec.

1. Ed. cit., p. xvi.

2. Ed. cit., pp. xvi-xvii.

3. In the preface to the edition (p. 66), Sharpe expresses surprise at the choice of base-manuscript.

IV. V. VI. VII. (Berlin, 1894-98), pp. 111-222, as Vol. 13 of the series of Auctores Antiquissimi published by the Monumenta Germaniae Historica.¹

We owe to Mommsen the separation of the manuscripts into the four families by which the textual tradition has since been known to scholars. His dense apparatus shows how difficult - not to say impossible - it is to make a success of a conflated text of the several recensions of this work. The organisation of his text follows Stevenson's in all essentials; the only major change is the rejection of the long 'Sawley' preface. In addition, Mommsen offered, thanks to Heinrich Zimmer, a Latin rendering of the Irish translation of the Historia, of which an edition had been published in 1848 (see chapter V, below).

Mommsen's edition is 'critical' insofar as it is based upon a deliberate selection of witnesses. Unfortunately, apart from his decision to follow Stevenson in basing the text on the principal 'Harleian' witnesses and apart from his collation of the newly-discovered Chartres manuscript (itself separately published in the same year: see chapter III, below) and of the only two manuscripts then known of the 'Vatican' recension, his choice of manuscripts seems extraordinarily eccentric. The result is that, although his text is reasonable (albeit hardly a notable advance over Stevenson's), his impenetrably solid apparatus consists for the most part of readings from inferior and even worthless witnesses. His apparatus is not really a record of variant readings, but comprises the dissected texts of a number of other recensions. His introduction is purely a survey of the manuscript-tradition, written in a Latin which is not always

1. A previous German edition was that of San-Marte (A. Schulz), Nennius und Gildas, published in Berlin in 1844. It was no more than a reprint of Stevenson's text.

clear; it reveals, inter alia, that much of the work of transcription and description of manuscripts was done by helpers in various countries - this procedure, too, has led to serious shortcomings.

In 1929 appeared the complete antithesis of Mommsen's edition. Edmond Faral, in his massive work La légende arthurienne (Paris, 1929), iii. 1-62, printed in parallel the texts of MS. Harley 3859 and Chartres MS. 98. Although this is in every way the most reliable edition yet published, it has not been widely used by students of the Historia who have relied instead on the conflated texts of other editions.

1932 saw the publication of a new edition of the Irish version (see chapter V, below). Two years later appeared the edition which has provided the most commonly-used text of the Historia down to the present: Ferdinand Lot, Nennius et l'Historia Brittonum: Étude critique, suivie d'une édition (2 parts, Paris, 1934). It is essentially a reprint of Mommsen, but with a good many additional errors introduced. Lot also provided a new printing of the Chartres manuscript, as well as a rather extraordinary extrapolated text of the 'Historia Brittonum before Nennius',¹ a concept which on several grounds seems to me to have no validity. The great value of Lot's edition is that it offers a substantial discussion of many of the problems presented by this work; but the discussion is seriously marred by Lot's fierce Gallic contempt for the Historia and its author(s).

Finally, one may mention in passing the edition of Ignazio Cazzaniga, Le prime fonti letterarie dei popoli d'Inghilterra: Gildas

1. Lot, ed. cit., i. 219-225.

e la Historia Brittonum (Milan, 1961), which is simply a reprint of the text established by Mommsen, together with a few notes. Another, of much the same type, is now threatened by Dr. John Morris.

Only Stevenson, then, among the editors of the Historia Brittonum has ventured to oppose the received wisdom concerning this text. A brief exposition of the results of my textual researches may help to indicate my reasons for taking a 'Stevensonian' view of the work. Stevenson's main success seems to have been in convincing scholarly opinion that an edition must in future always be based on the 'Harleian' version. He failed, however, to gain acceptance for his other views, quoted above.

All the internal evidence of the 'Harleian' version is consistent with the date it claims for itself, A.D. 829/30. There seems no reason to believe that any complete section of that text, as it now stands, belongs to an earlier date, while only one small item (§12) appears to be a later interpolation. All other recensions show a greater or lesser degree of evidence for revision or composition at a later stage and for their derivation from the 'Harleian' version. The question of the extent to which the surviving 'Harleian' manuscripts represent in detail the original wording of the author's text is rather more complicated: the partial witnesses to that text provide evidence for the existence, at and after the time of writing of the extant manuscripts, of a rather better text of that version; likewise, the evidence of the 'Gildasian' recension, which derives (as is shown below) from a text of the 'Harleian' version very close to that of the extant copies, would appear to be a useful weapon in the criticism of the text prepared from the 'Harleian' witnesses.

From this original text of A.D. 829/30 derive all the other

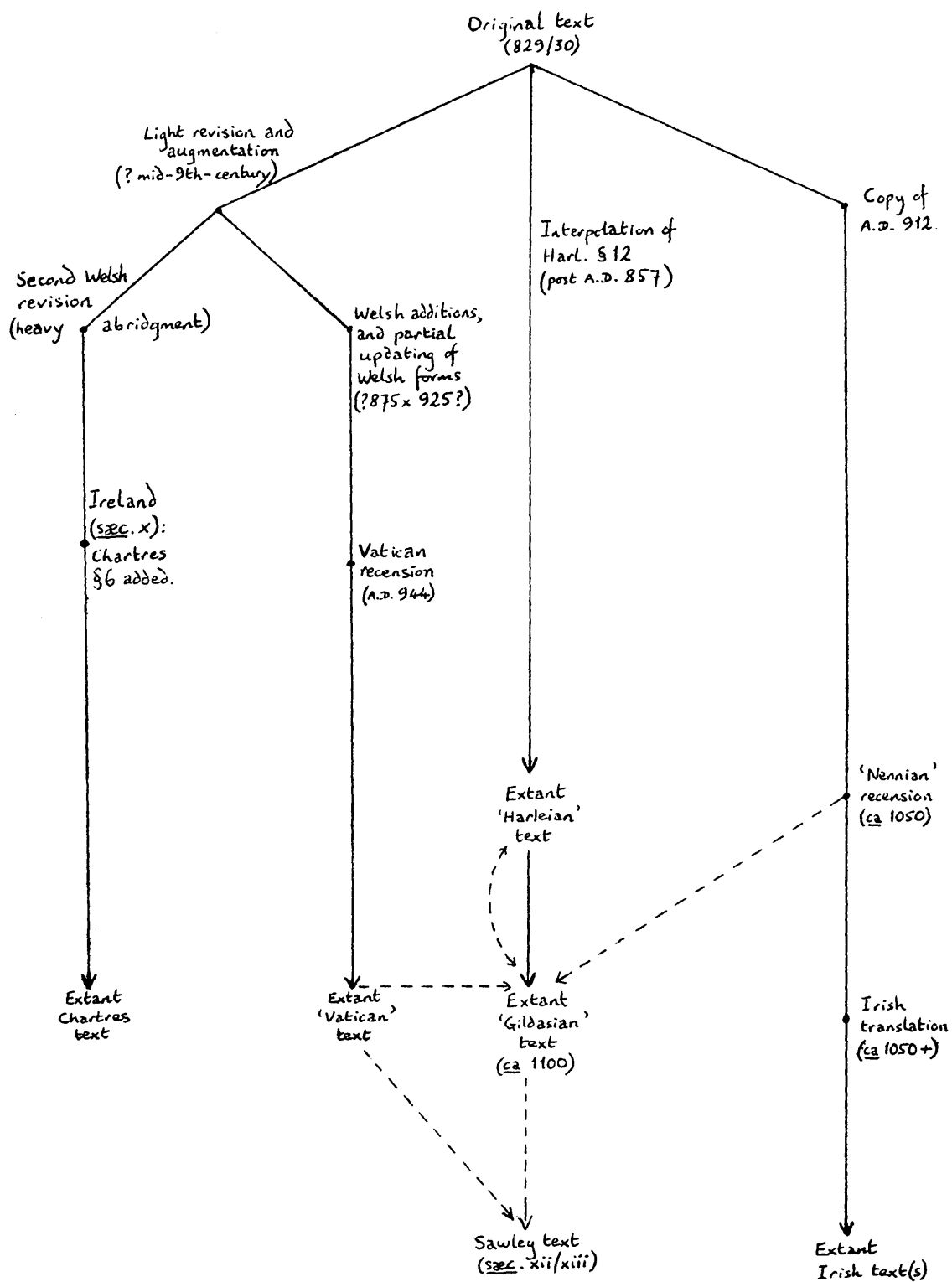


Fig. I. The recensions of the Historia Brittonum.

extant versions. The earliest stage in this process was probably a light revision and augmentation of the work, carried out in Wales perhaps around the middle of the ninth century, an act which produced the common ancestor - no longer extant - of the 'Chartres' and 'Vatican' recensions. A second Welsh revision, involving heavy abridgment, was followed by transmission of the resulting text to Ireland - where a very interesting section ('Chartres' §6) was added - and, finally, from there to Brittany where it arrived ^{not} later than ca 1000.

From the arguably mid-ninth-century text another Welsh recension, perhaps belonging to the half-century ca 875 x ca 925 (see chapter IV), took shape; from this was created in England in A.D. 944 the most extensively rewritten of the various recensions of the Historia Brittonum, namely the 'Vatican' recension.

Another line of development from the original text led to the writing of the 'Nennian' version which I believe (see chapter V) to have belonged to the mid-eleventh century; if my arguments are well founded, this mid-eleventh-century revision of the text, in which the prologue of 'Ninnius' is first found, will have been based on an early-tenth-century North-Welsh copy of the 'Harleian' text. The complete Latin text of this recension no longer survives, but two derivatives testify to its nature: the collations from it, entered as interlinear and marginal annotations in Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, MS. 139, constitute the Latin remnants, but the Irish translation (Lebor Bretnach) provides a continuous, if slightly idiosyncratic, version which can hardly be of much later date than the Latin original of this 'Nennian' recension of the Historia Brittonum.¹

1. The early date now assigned to the earliest manuscript of Lebor Bretnach requires this conclusion as to date: see D. N. Dumville, Eigse, 16 (1975/6), pp. 24-28.

From the 'Harleian' version an Anglo-Norman editor writing early in the twelfth century produced the 'Gildasian' recension of our text. This became the standard or 'vulgate' text of the Historia Brittonum from the twelfth century to the Dissolution. On a number of occasions, texts of the 'Gildasian' recension were conflated with other recensions to produce wholly new versions: two different conflations with the 'Harleian' version are studied in **Appendices I-II** below; the 'Vatican' recension was pillaged to produce an augmented text (of the 'Gildasian' recension) now found in three manuscripts (see chapter VI, below).

The major act of conflation, however, was that which led to the creation of the 'Sawley' recension in the late twelfth and early thirteenth centuries. The collation of the 'Nennian' recension against a 'Gildasian' base-text in the period 1164x 1166 was followed by the addition of a great many other items from a variety of sources, of which the last may have been a copy of the 'Vatican' recension! For details, see chapter VII and appendix IX, below. A partial collation of the 'Sawley' recension with an already conflated 'Harleian' - 'Gildasian' text (see appendix II) provides the final development of this branch of the tradition.

We may see, therefore, that the Historia Brittonum had a rich and varied mediaeval history which extended over a period of some seven hundred years. During that time, a multiplicity of recensions and variant versions developed from the primary text. Many of these still survive; several are wholly wanting; and others, of which we now have no knowledge, must surely also be lost to us. We are fortunate indeed that the primary text survives, for we could never have reconstructed it with complete assurance from the other surviving witnesses.

Moreover, had Harl. 53-66 been lost, we should have been unable to

reconstruct their contents from the other recensions; the approach of historians to north British history in the early middle ages would under those circumstances have been of a very different (and, in my view, much healthier) nature.

The historical horizon offered by the extant manuscripts of the Historia is the eleventh century. The Chartres manuscript is of that date, as are the oldest extant witnesses to the 'Vatican' and 'Nennian' (Irish) recensions. The earliest 'Harleian' manuscript is datable to ca 1100, while the 'Gildasian' version appears in the first quarter of the twelfth century. By internal criticism, however, one is enabled not merely to date the extant texts - the 'Harleian' to 829/30, the 'Vatican' to 944 - but to discover evidence for other, now lost, stages in the transmission of the text which themselves constitute valuable historical evidence.

From the textual history of this ~~most~~ popular historical work we may learn much, both about the mediaeval history of an historical text and about the processes of cultural transmission. Mediaeval editors seem to have felt no hesitation in tampering, often quite drastically, with the received text. It is not until the thirteenth century, by which time the Historia Regum Britannie of Geoffrey of Monmouth had become the major source for early British history, that a degree of stability is achieved; yet even after 1250, we have convincing evidence from a number of manuscripts that processes of collation were still affecting the Historia Brittonum. From the mid-twelfth century, we often find the Historia Brittonum travelling in the company of Geoffrey's work; indeed, in one manuscript - BL Cotton Nero D.8 - it is actually introduced as Book XII of the Historia Regum Britannie! Two other points of connexion with Geoffrey's text may be noted, apart from his own use of the 'Gildasian'

recension: where our text is not found in association with his work, it is nonetheless often accompanied by one book, the 'Prophecies of Merlin'; alternatively or additionally, the Historia Regum Britannie is often found in association with the mirabilia (and sometimes the provinces and genealogie gentium) taken from now the 'Harleian', now the 'Gildasian' version and rewritten or augmented - this is a phenomenon which deserves further study. Finally, one may contrast the history of our text, with some forty complete (or once complete) witnesses, with the striking homogeneity displayed by the tradition of some 250 manuscripts of Geoffrey's 'History'; during the four hundred years of its pre-Reformation history, it appears to have developed only two variant versions (both of which belong to the twelfth century) and two conflate versions, represented by a total of no more than twenty manuscripts.

The lost versions of the text, for which we have evidence but no surviving copies, provide us with a good deal more knowledge about intellectual activity in pre-Norman Wales. We learn that ca 857 someone was reading and attempting to gloss a text of the 'Harleian' version; another copy was being made in Gwynedd, probably in 912. In the eleventh century, a period from which very little evidence for Welsh culture survives, we can now see the production of a new recension of our text, accompanied by some interesting verses (see chapter V), and its early transmission to Ireland. In Dyfed, in the third quarter of the tenth century, the Welsh ancestor of the text now in MS. Harley 3859 was created by the interpolation of the St Davids annals and the Welsh genealogies headed by the pedigree of King Owain (ob 988); the annals show the use of sources employed also by the Historia Brittonum, while there is an as yet undefined relationship between the 'Harleian' genealogies of the royal line of Powys and the

account of St Garmon in the Historia Brittonum.

The histories of the 'Chartres' and 'Vatican' recensions of our text provide evidence for three more Welsh revisions and for one period of Irish transmission in which an important section was added. A version, perhaps of the mid-ninth-century, provided the common Welsh ancestor of these two recensions; a second Welsh revision produced a heavily abridged text, ascribed to a 'son of Urien', which reached Ireland in the tenth century, receiving there further revision and the addition of a note about how Slebine, abbot of Iona (752-767), found at Ripon the date of the aduentus Saxonum in Britanniam. The common ancestor suffered a different Welsh revision in the late ninth or early tenth century (ca 875 x ca 925) which involved partial updating of Welsh linguistic forms as well as the addition of new Welsh material. This revised version was transmitted to England to be transformed in 944 into the 'Vatican' recension.

Very little physical evidence survives for Latin learning in Wales in the pre-Norman period. For example, there remains no Welsh manuscript, written in Wales before ca 1000, which had an unbroken Welsh history down to the Dissolution;¹ every single early Welsh manuscript has survived by being transmitted to England. It is therefore undeniable that much evidence for early Welsh cultural activity has been lost, and it is only by the total archaeology of the surviving manuscripts and texts that we shall begin to build up a picture of the Latin literary culture of early mediaeval Wales.²

1. A possible exception is the tenth-century computus-fragment in Cambridge, University Library, MS. Additional 4543.

2. Two excellent contributions are by T.A.M. Bishop, 'The Corpus Martianus Capella', Transactions of the Cambridge Bibliographical Society, 4 (1964-68), pp. 257-275, and M. Lapidge, 'The Welsh-Latin poetry of Sulien's family', Studia Celtica, 8/9 (1973/4), pp. 68-106.

Herein lies a major aspect of the importance of investigating fully the textual tradition of the Historia Brittonum. This is made more pressing by the fact that the Historia survives in no Welsh manuscript. We rely here, as in the case of the manuscripts, on the fact that the Historia was transmitted outside Wales in several versions before the Norman period. At the same time, the resulting and extensive external textual tradition allows - now that (in this edition) all the witnesses have been taken into consideration - an accurate series of texts to be offered from a vastly expanded and much more reliable textual base.

It remains to say something about the way this study has been organised, and to comment on some of the details common to each of the text-editions offered below. Guided by the failure of previous conflated texts, I have edited each recension separately; each has been treated as a separate text, but where the evidence of another recension seems relevant, I quote it in the apparatus. By treating each recension separately I have been able to allocate an independent series of sigla to each: there is thus a MS. R, for example, for each of the three major recensions. These should be known as Harl. R, Vat. R, and Gild. R. Where other recensions have been quoted in the apparatus, this is done by the use of the self-explanatory sigla Harl., Chartres, Vat., Nenn., Lebor, Gild., and Sawl. And, as has been explained in each relevant case, the silence in the apparatus of a 'partial witness' (as defined in the introduction to each recension) is not significant. I have also used throughout such sigla as H*, R*, etc., which indicate the manuscript's original reading where it has been recovered despite erasure or heavy overwriting.

As a result of treating each of the recensions as a separate text, I have thought fit to abolish the chapter-numbering first established by Stevenson and retained in the editions of Mommsen, Faral, and Lot. It has been replaced by a separate numeration, based on the evidence of the textual divisions in the principal manuscript(s) of each recension. For the assistance of those familiar with, and following references to, the old numbering, certain aids are incorporated in this work: this introduction concludes with a concordance giving the equivalent chapter-numbers of each recension edited here for those of the editions just mentioned; the edition of each recension opens with a similar concordance based on the new numbers for that recension; finally, I have added in the outer margins of my edition of the primary, 'Harleian' text bracketed references to Stevenson's chapter-numbers at the point at which his chapters began. Texts should be referred to according to the style Harl. § 64, Vat. § 14, etc., or HB (Harl.) § 64, HB (Vat.) § 14, etc.

Finally, one other major organisational point deserves to be noted: since the size of this thesis requires it to be bound in three volumes, I have chosen to separate the critical apparatuses from their respective texts and give them in series in Volume 3; reference to the apparatuses is thus greatly facilitated, as Volume 3 may be kept open alongside the text in Volume 1/2. The extent of the apparatuses would otherwise generally have meant that they could not have been presented in footnote-form and would have had to be gathered as a block at the end of each chapter, necessitating much turning back and forth of pages, to the detriment of the book and the mounting irritation of the reader.

CONCORDANCE

Editions	Harl.	Chartres	Vat.	Sawl.
Prologue	-	-	-	2nd Preface
1	1	1	1	1
2	1-2	1	1	1
3	2	-	1	1
4	2	-	1	1
5	2	2	1	1
6	2	-	1	1
7	3	3	3	2
8	3	3	3	2
9	3	3-4	3	2-3
10	4	-	3,5	3
11	5	8	5	4
12	6	-	5	5
13	7-8	-	5	6-8
14	8	-	5	8
15	9	-	5-6	9-10
16	10-12	-	6	11
17	13-15	7,9	7	11-13
18	16	7	7	s. n.
19	17	10-11	8-9	14
20	17-18	11	9	15-16
21	19	-	10	17
22	19	-	10	18

Editions	Harl.	Chartres	Vat.	Sawl.
23	20	-	11	19
24	21	-	12	20
25	22	-	13	21
26	23	-	14	22
27	24-26	-	15-17	23-25
28	26	-	17-18	25
29	27	-	18	26
30	28	12	18	27
31	29-31	13-15	18-20	28-29
32	32-33	16-18	21-23	30-32
33	33	18	23	33
34	33	18	23	34
35	33	18	23	35
36	34	19	24	36
37	34	19	24	37
38	34	-	24	38
39	35	-	24	39
40	36-37	-	24	40-42
41	37	-	24	43
42	37-38	-	24	44-45
43	39	-	25	46
44	39	-	25	46-47
45	39-40	-	25-26	47-48
46	40	-	26	49

Editions	Harl.	Chartres	Vat.	Sawl.
47	40	-	26	50
48	40-41	-	26	51-53
49	42	-	26	54
50	43	-	26, 28	55
51	44	-	28	56-57
52	45	-	28	58
53	46	-	28	59
54	47-49	-	28	59-61
55	50	-	28	62
56	51-52	-	27	63-65
57	53	-	-	-
58	54	-	-	-
59	55	-	-	-
60	56	-	-	-
61	57-58	-	-	66
62	59-60	-	-	-
63	61	-	-	66
64	62	-	-	-
65	63-64	-	-	-
66	65-66	-	-	-
66 ^A	67	-	3	67
67	68-70	-	-	68-70
68	71-72	-	-	71-72
69	73	-	-	73

Editions	Harl.	Chartres	Vat.	Sawl.
70	74-76	-	-	74-76
71	77	-	-	77
72	78	-	-	78
73	79-80	-	-	79-80
74	81	-	-	87
75	82-83	-	-	81-84
76	84-85	-	-	85-86

II

THE
' HARLEIAN '
RECENSION
OF THE
HISTORIA BRITTONUM:

Narratio de Britonibus et de Miraculis Britannie.

I N T R O D U C T I O N

THE DATE AND THE AUTHOR OF THE HARLEIAN RECENSION

I. Materials from which inferences as to date may be drawn.

From the contents of this recension one may draw a number of items which offer a general guide to the approximate period in which the work took shape. I propose to examine each of these.

The Picts occur in two places in our text in circumstances which might be unlikely had this text been written much later than the middle of the ninth century. In § 3 we are told, 'Et in ea [i. e., Brittannia] habitant quattuor gentes — Scotti, Picti, Saxones, atque Brittones'. A later recension (the Gildasian) has altered the tense of the verb (prius habitabant), as might be expected after the Picts had ceased to be an independent nation. This obviously cannot be pressed too hard, for we do not know how familiar the author was with political developments in Scotland or, indeed, at what point it would have become evident to external observers that the Pictish nation had lost forever its independence. However, the remark in § 6 that '[Picti] terciam partem Brittannie tenuerunt, et tenent usque in hodiernum diem' would certainly be odd if written at any time after knowledge of King Cinaed's coup (in the early 840s) had spread abroad.

Genealogical data embodied in the text of the Historia might be thought to be a source of more specific information. The only Welsh genealogy is that given in § 42 of King Ffernfael ap Tewdwr 'qui regit modo in duabus regionibus' of Buellt and Gwrtheyrnion. The dates of Ffernfael's reign are not given by any other source, but his

floruit may be approximately computed. Through his grandfather Pasgen ap Gwyddaint he was related to the line of that Morgan ap Owain who became the eponym of Morgannwg. Morgan's grandfather Hywel (an older contemporary of Bishop Asser) died in 894. Ffernfael lived two generations earlier. His death may therefore have occurred (reckoning by the usual 25-30 years per generation) within a very approximate period ca 834 x ca 844. Similarly, by reckoning from another fixed point in a related line (the death of Ffernfael ap Ithael in 775), three generations earlier than our Ffernfael ap Tewdwr, we may conclude that Tewdwr died ca 825 x 835 and Ffernfael ca 850 x 865. These co-ordinates do not therefore agree precisely (nor is that to be expected since we are making deductions from collateral lines), but if we place Ffernfael ap Tewdwr's reign within the first half, and perhaps within the second quarter, of the ninth century we shall not go far wrong. A similar date will therefore apply to § 42 of the Historia Brittonum, giving general agreement with the indications provided by the references to the Picts in §§ 3 and 6.

The Old English genealogies found in §§ 30, 53-57 offer further guidance with regard to the terminus post quem for our text. The latest king mentioned is Ecgfrid^x, that son of Offa of Mercia who reigned for 141 days after his father's death in 796. He had already been consecrated in 787, during his father's lifetime, and this — rather than 796 — would be the earliest date at which he would have been added to the royal genealogy. There is one pedigree which might suggest a later terminus, however: in § 57, as Professor Jackson was the first to note, there is an otherwise unknown line extending back to King Ecgfrid^x of Northumbria (ob. 685). Oslaf, the last name in the pedigree, stands five generations after Ecgfrid^x and might therefore be expected to have died within an approximate period 810 x 835 and to

have been born perhaps ca 770 x 795 (Ec^xgfrid was born ca 645); Oslaf's maturity (and consequent record in the genealogy) must belong to the last quarter of the eighth century at the earliest, if the pedigree is accurate. The Historia Brittonum preserves the most primitive surviving form of the genealogies; as they stand they probably derive from a text of the end of the eighth century. I have studied the textual tradition of the genealogies in Appendix IV, below, where further remarks will be found about the copy available to our author, which included also a text of the regnal list of Northumbria (and perhaps of Mercia).

Two further items which have political implications are, on that account, in some measure datable. The first is the heavy dependence of the Historia Brittonum on English sources. At the minimum, English sources provide the material for the whole, or almost the whole, of §§ 30-31, 34, 39-40, 51, 53-57, and supply the framework (as well as much of the incidental detail) for §§ 58, 61-64. Apart from the fact that §§ 53-58, 61-64 provide their own terminus post of ca 800, we might well feel that it would be most unlikely that a Welsh author would be so highly receptive of English materials before the second half of the eighth century, when the paschal dispute was being resolved. After this date, contacts between England and Wales — which hitherto seem to have been almost exclusively hostile — can be seen multiplying constantly throughout the remainder of the pre-Norman period. The English invasion-legend, which may derive from either a written or (more probably, in my view) an oral source, was already known in some form to Gildas, but the detail found in the version given by the Historia Brittonum must have been derived from a more recent English version which is reflected also in the base-text of the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle. There is evidence in other parts of the

Historia that our author may have been the first in Wales to feel the need to calculate a date for the aduentus Saxonum in Britanniam: see D. N. Dumville, Bulletin of the Board of Celtic Studies, 25 (1972-74), pp. 439-445.

The story of Cadell of Powys (§§ 32-33) also has political implications; to this extent it, too, is datable within broad limits. We are told (§ 33) about Cadell that 'Iuxta uerba sancti Germani rex de seruo factus est; et omnes filii eius reges facti sunt, et a semine illorum omnis regio Pouisorum regitur usque in hodiernum diem'. The last king of an independent Powys was Cyngen (son of another Cadell who died in 808) who ended his reign as a pilgrim in Rome ca 855 (see J. E. Lloyd, A History of Wales, i. 243-4, 324-5); his realm was seized by Rhodri Mawr of Gwynedd, who was related through his mother to Cyngen, but who could hardly be said to represent the line of Cadell. This story of Cadell Ddyrnllug, his origin, and his legitimation by Garmon, the dynastic saint, has other important implications which will be discussed below. For the moment, however, suffice it to say that it suggests a date before 855 for the writing of the Historia, a terminus ante which agrees well with evidence already discussed.

The various Irish materials present potentially datable evidence, because of the rich documentation available from early Irish sources. §§ 7-9 present the earliest prose version of the Irish origin-legend, the core of the synthetic pseudo-history of Ireland later represented, at full length, by the Leabhar Gabhála Éirenn. The chronological items in § 11 (and just possibly the source for §§ 1-2) are of Irish origin, as may be part of the genealogy in § 15. The Patrician material constituting §§ 43-50 is of course Irish, as are the Irish mirabilia (§§ 84-85).

There is no single extant complete source for §§ 43-50. As

will be seen from the source-references accompanying the text, one must refer to Muirchú, to Tírechán, to various other Latin Vitae, and to the Irish Tripartite Life to find parallels for the contents of the Patrician section of the Historia. It is difficult to decide whether the author has made a patchwork from various sources (as other parts of the Historia show him to have been quite capable of doing) or has simply reproduced (no doubt in an abbreviated form) a single work, now lost. The Patrician legend underwent a steady process of growth from the seventh century onwards and it is possible in some measure to monitor this growth. For example, the story of the death of Palladius in Pictland (§ 43) is found in the Vita Secunda and Vita Quarta, whose common stock may go back as far as the eighth century (Bieler, Four Latin Lives of St. Patrick, p. 12). In § 47, the baptism of the twelve thousand and of the seven sons of Amalgaid in Connacht occurs in the Vita Tertia (not earlier than ca 800: Bieler, p. 26) and the Tripartite Life (895 x 901); their common source presumably was no earlier in date than the eighth century, but the Historia Brittonum provides the earliest witness to this version of the episode. In general we may say that our Patrician section stands midway between Tírechán at the end of the seventh century and the Tripartite Life at the end of the ninth. One's suspicion must be that, as with the English genealogical material, our author's source was an up-to-date production.

The story of the colonisation of Ireland was a scholarly legend which grew by carefully calculated steps. The verse texts which show the earliest extant stages of the legend have not yet been properly studied; their date (sixth or seventh century?) is a question likely to arouse the utmost controversy. The Historia presents the earliest prose narrative and is roughly contemporary

with the Irish poet Orthanach (ob. 840) whose surviving oeuvre deals with the Irish pseudo-history. It is in the little-studied poetry of tenth-century Ireland that we see new developments not recorded in the Historia Brittonum. For example, 'Scotta', the daughter of Pharaoh, who does not occur in the Harleian recension (but who is incorporated into the probably eleventh-century 'Nennian' recension), appears in the tenth-century poets; and Professor James Carney tells me that the earliest reference to Scotta known to him occurs among the as yet unpublished Old Irish glosses to Isidore in Laon MS. 447 (of the ninth century). Until a thorough study has been made of the Leabhar Gabhála material in Old and Middle Irish up to the writing of the Leabhar Gabhála Éirenn itself (in the early eleventh century?), we shall not be able to date with any great precision the form which occurs in the Historia Brittonum. But, on the present scanty evidence, it would be unwise to date its source later than the beginning of the ninth century.

Another useful guide to dating a work is often the quotations from other authors which it may contain. § 27 contains quotations from the Chronicle of Isidore of Seville (ob. 636), who is the latest non-Insular author to be used. However, I agree wholeheartedly with the insistence of W. W. Newell ('Doubts concerning the British History attributed to Nennius', PMLA 20 [1905], pp. 622-672) and Ferdinand Lot (Nennius et l'Historia Brittonum, i. 53, 72-73, 78-79, 129 and passim) that the Historia Ecclesiastica Gentis Anglorum of Bede was an important source of our author's work. Leaving aside the reasons advanced by these scholars, two considerations seem to me to be decisive indications of (and another to be a most plausible pointer to) the influence of this great work on our author. Mommsen tells us that our author used no fewer than twenty-eight different

eras for dating purposes (Chronica Minora iii. 118-19; cf. Gransden, Historical Writing in England, p. 7), but this misleading statistic (we may suspect that Bede, in his Historia Ecclesiastica, uses a hundred or more) obscures the fact that the author of the Historia Brittonum attempts faithfully to adopt dating by the era of the Incarnation. It was Bede's achievement to adopt this universally applicable era and to show how regnal years and other eras could be equated with it (but even Bede was not always successful); the adoption of this era by other writers, in the centuries following his death in 735, is a yardstick by which to measure the popularity of his Ecclesiastical History. Our author has pledged himself to this system, as his dating of the annus presens by it in § 2 shows. The era is employed also in §§ 11, (12, but this is an interpolation), 17, 19, and 65. In so far as he uses absolute dates, this is his system; the Victorian annus Passionis and the Hieronymian annus mundi are both eras copied from his sources. But in general our author avoids absolute dates, preferring relative and 'stepping-stone' methods of dating. Without the library or the learning of Bede, he could hardly expect to attain anything like the degree of consistency achieved by that author; what is significant is that, only a century after Bede published, he adopted the Dionysian era of the Incarnation, of which Bede was the chief exponent, as his own. On some of his struggles with sources using different eras, see further D. N. Dumville, 'Some aspects of the chronology of the Historia Brittonum', Bulletin of the Board of Celtic Studies, 25 (1972-74), pp. 439-445.

A particular date seems to me to provide the most decisive evidence. The date 'post A.D. 167' reported (§ 19) for the baptism of the legendary King Lucius is Bede's own calculation (Hist. Eccl., v. 24, Recapitulatio, s. a.; cf. Hist. Eccl., i. 4). The date of the

story of Lucius depended on the synchronising of the accession of Pope Eleutherius with the dates of Roman emperors; Bede's mature consideration of the conflicting data provided by his sources led him to the conclusion that Eleutherius's accession occurred in A.D. 167, in the joint reign of Marcus Aurelius and his brother, the elder Commodus. That this calculation is Bede's own is supported by three facts: (i) in his De Temporum Ratione of the year 725, he gave a different date of 177 x 180 for the mission and baptism; (ii) no other source is known from which Bede could have drawn this date; (iii) its calculation depends on an error in rendering Orosius's AUC dates into years of the Incarnation (AUC 756 = A.D. 1 instead of AUC 753 = A.D. 1), which occurs on several occasions in Bede's History, an aberration found throughout part of Book One and of the Recapitulatio. We may therefore confidently accept this date as an indication of the indebtedness of the Historia Brittonum to Bede's Ecclesiastical History.

The more general question of the relationship of the order and content of the Historia Brittonum to the order and relevant content of Bede's History also requires discussion. The development of §§ 17-28 on Roman rule in Britain (or, indeed, §§ 17-34 on the whole progress of British history from Julius Caesar to Gwrtheyrn and Germanus) runs remarkably parallel to Bede's account in Book One. Apart from the obvious discrepancies in the quality of the two works, it is almost as if the author of the Historia Brittonum prepared the plan of his work from a copy of Bede and one of Gildas. The different detailed content and the very different overall approach make it quite plain that the author of the Historia Brittonum had his own ideas about, and his own sources for, the period; but it is difficult to believe that the parallel development of the two works is fortuitous,

being simply due to treatment of the same general topic.

A particularly noticeable parallel between Bede's History and the Historia Brittonum is their treatment of the Kentish genealogy. Bede divides this between I. 15 and II. 5; the line is divided at Hengist, and the earlier part of the genealogy (given in I. 15) also has a mention of Hengist's brother Horsa. Exactly the same is true of the Historia (§§ 30 and 54). In addition to all these points of agreement, the section of the pedigree from Hengist to Woden (in § 30) retains traces of the archaic Old English orthography employed by Bede but not found in the corresponding part of the Anglian collection of pedigrees (cf. Appendix IV, below). The conclusion must be that Bede's History was an actual source, as well as a point of inspiration, for our author's treatment of the Kentish dynasty.

Similar questions of the relationship with Bede's History apply to §§ 53-64 of the Historia Brittonum. Since part of the content, the north British history, covers ground familiar from Bede, this section must be subjected to scrutiny. It is noteworthy that, chronologically, the section ends with the death of King Ecgfrith and with a mention of Saint Cuthbert (§ 63). Nor did it escape the attention of Ferdinand Lot (Nennius et l'Historia Brittonum, i. 79) that Book Four of Bede's History ends with the death of Ecgfrith and an account of the life, death and miracles of Saint Cuthbert. He suggested that, since Book Five contained nothing about Brittonic affairs, the author of the Historia Brittonum ignored it and terminated his 'northern History' where his main inspiration for this section of his work ended. This must be right: the parallel is too striking to be entirely due to coincidence. In addition to the general framework, one may point to items found (albeit in somewhat

differing forms) in both Bede and the Historia Brittonum: in § 57 and in H.E. ii. 20 is a notice of the deaths of Edwin's two adult sons with him in the battle of Heathfelth; in § 61 and H.E. iii. 6 is an etymology of the name Bamborough. Amongst many other examples of the two works covering the same ground, these items appear as the most likely borrowings. However, one must bear in mind (as many earlier scholars have noted) that there is no point in the Historia Brittonum at which one can demonstrate a direct verbal borrowing from Bede; it is this, as much as anything else, that has led to doubts about a direct relationship between the two works.

We may feel confident, then, that our author is indebted to Bede and was writing after the Ecclesiastical History had begun to circulate. It is difficult to believe that it would have had much appeal in Wales before the resolution of the paschal controversy: Bede's comments on the British attitude are, to say the least, trenchant. His is the latest work of a known author on whom we can show our text to be dependent. But, of course, the Old English genealogies and regnal lists were certainly more recent; the Irish sources and the British-Latin annals used by our author almost certainly postdate Bede too.

In conclusion, we come to two other areas which might be thought to give us some evidence as to the date of this work. The 'dinnshenchas' of Dinas Emrys which occupies §§ 36-38 refers to a 'pavement' at this site. In the report of the excavations conducted at this site, H. N. Savory, 'Excavations at Dinas Emrys, Beddgelert (Caern.). 1954-56', Archaeologia Cambrensis, 109 (1960), pp. 13-77, claims to have located this 'pavement'; although the matter is extremely interesting, it cannot be said to have provided any firm indications as to the date of the site, nor can it therefore be helpful

at present in dating the text (much less its source, if any).

Finally, the text contains three indications of conditions obtaining at the date of writing, but owing to our lack of comparative material we cannot use them for our immediate purpose. In § 33, we are told that no fort had been rebuilt on the site of Benlli's stronghold (at Foel Fenlli), even at the time of writing; according to § 41, the monastery founded by Gwrtheyrn's son Faustus was then still in existence; and § 77 states that the altar miraculously suspended in the church of Saint Illtud remained suspended at the time of writing. All these indications are, in terms of our imperfect knowledge, imprecise; as far as we know, they do not conflict with evidence deduced from other parts of the text.

In conclusion, we may say that, on the basis of general indications provided by the content of the Historia Brittonum, the Harleian recension cannot have been written later than the middle of the ninth century, nor earlier than ca 800; if our deductions from the genealogy of Ffernfael are reasonably accurate, then its composition will belong to the second quarter of the ninth century.

II. Linguistic materials

Our text depends on contact with four languages: Old English, Latin, Old Irish, and Old Welsh. Generally speaking, the evidence from none of the Germanic, Latin, or Celtic linguistic features is of great help in dating our author's work with any degree of precision. I therefore survey the evidence rather rapidly.

Many Old English personal names appear in our text. Almost all of them have, however, been rendered into an orthography which gives them the appearance of quasi-Old-Welsh forms. To reconstruct the original Old English forms has been a complicated and very lengthy affair: I propose to reserve the full treatment of these to another occasion. First, the 'cymricised' forms suffered corruption resulting from manuscript-transmission, and especially (in the eleventh to thirteenth centuries) from their treatment at the hands of English scribes; for it must be remembered that these name-forms, in a guise which was neither wholly Welsh nor wholly English, would seem strange to the scribes of both nations. These corruptions have had to be eliminated. Secondly, the principle or principles according to which the sounds of English were rendered into Welsh have had to be determined, and then reversed, so that the English forms of the original source-text(s) might in some measure be reconstructed. Even so, when this whole process has been carried out, few linguistic surprises emerge from the resulting English forms; they correspond in large measure with those offered by the extant English manuscripts of the 'Anglian genealogical collection' studied in Appendix IV below. Only in the forms found in § 30 of our text is there any indication of archaic features but, since the genealogical material in that section is almost certainly drawn from Bede, this is hardly surprising.

Apart from a few tribal names and one or two place-names, the only other item of Old English in our text is the command 'Enimit saxas!' in § 40. This has been considered at length by A. S. C. Ross:¹ he has detailed the many difficulties presented by these forms, but his solutions rest in part on faulty information derived from the editions (particularly Lot's) and in part on special pleading; the work must therefore be done again for Ross's conclusions offer no help as to the date or source of this fragment of Old English.

The latinity of the text is subjected to a detailed, if preliminary, investigation in the next section of the introduction to this recension. I therefore refrain from all but general remarks at this stage. The main point in the present context is that early mediaeval Latin is not yet sufficiently well documented to permit any conclusions as to date to be drawn from any given feature, save to assign to it a terminus post somewhere in the Late Latin period (before ca A. D. 600). I have established the very considerable influence of Late Latin usage on our author. Certain lexical items seem to occur here for the first time, but they are unlikely to be our author's neologisms. There are a few usages I have been unable to document elsewhere, both of a semantic and of a syntactical nature. Some unmistakable Cambro-Latinisms occur, but these too are few. I am also satisfied that, both linguistically and stylistically, the Latin usage of our text is consistent throughout.²

The most interesting general question raised by the investigation of the latinity of this text is that of the relationship

1. 'Hengist's watchword', English and Germanic Studies, 2 (1948/49), pp. 81-101.

2. This was also the impression of J. Loth, Revue celtique, 49 (1932), p. 157.

between the Latin written in Wales and that written in Ireland. Certain aspects of our author's Latin usage distinctly recall to mind aspects of the Irish rather than the Welsh language. Four possible explanations come to mind: (a) the author was an Irishman, a theory that was once put forward on quite different grounds;¹ (b) wherever these usages occur, the author was drawing on an Irish or Hiberno-Latin source; (c) the usages in question once existed in Old Welsh but, owing to the scanty written remains of that stage of the language, we are now ignorant of these; (d) the Latin written in Wales in the pre-Norman period was in part formed in Ireland - that is to say, that there was in early middle ages a 'Common Celtic Latin', a number of whose features are attributable to the influence of the Irish vernacular. The first two explanations are wholly unacceptable; the third is possible, but is an explanation unlikely to cover all eventualities; and the last, which seems to deserve further consideration, bears on many topics which are at present matters of controversy. The nature of the cultural relations between Wales and Ireland in the fifth to ninth centuries, and the development of christianity and of Latin literary activity in Wales in the same centuries are all matters of intense (actual or potential) dispute among scholars.² It is an interesting development that our text should begin to provide additional linguistic evidence in these respects, even if we are unable to wring from its latinity further information as to the date of composition of the Historia Brittonum.

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1. See the discussion by Max Förster, 'War Nennius ein Ire?', in Abhandlungen aus dem Gebiete der mittleren und neueren Geschichte und ihrer Hilfswissenschaften ... Heinrich Finke gewidmet (Münster i. W., 1925), pp. 36-42.
 2. For some of the matters in dispute, see K. Jackson, Studia Celtica, 8/9 (1973/4), pp. 18-32, and Kathleen Hughes, The Church in Early Irish Society (London, 1966), pp. 71ff.

This brings us naturally to the question of the Irish names in the Historia Brittonum, of which there are fewer than a dozen. Only three issues, I think, require discussion. In Dalrieta (§§ 8, 9) and Liethan (§8), we find -ie- used to represent Old Irish -ia-₁ (< e); although -ie- is on rare occasions found for this in Old Irish,¹ it is tempting to think of it as an attempt by our Welsh author to represent the sound of Old Irish -ia-. If so, the -e- would represent /ə/, one of the functions of that graph in Old Welsh; the pronunciation of the Irish diphthong was very likely /ia/ by the ninth century. An unquestionable example of the cymricisation of Irish forms is found in §8 in Istorech Istorini filius, where the I- must represent a Welsh prosthetic vowel,² for this is not a development found in Irish.

The forms Dalrieta and Liethan have suggested that our author was perhaps as aware of the sounds of Old Irish as he was of those of Old English. However, Damhactor (§8), apparently used as a personal name, is a misunderstanding of Irish dám ochtair, 'a company of eight persons'. Its use raises two interesting questions. If the author failed to understand this phrase, how great was his knowledge of Irish? On the other hand, if the phrase occurred at all in his presumably written source, must we not conclude that this was written in Old Irish and that our author simply nodded on this one occasion? The issue is a difficult one to decide. A case can be made for his knowledge of Irish, but it is not yet proven. Whatever the decision, we do not seem likely to be able to extract any useful dating information from the linguistic shape of the Irish names.

The Old Welsh materials in our text are perhaps the elements

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1. Rudolf Thurneysen, A Grammar of Old Irish (Dublin, 1946), p. 37.
 2. K. H. Jackson, Language and History in Early Britain (Edinburgh, 1953), p. 527 f.

most likely to provide information, because of their relative plenty and because a chronological framework has been established for the phonological history of Old Welsh.¹ However, we are faced at the outset with a potentially major difficulty, for the extant manuscripts are some three centuries later in date than the original composition of the Historia. What is more, we know from the evidence of MS. H that that copy had a Welsh (and probably St. Davids) ancestor of the third quarter of the tenth century. There is therefore a great deal of room for the introduction of later features into the Welsh forms in our text. This problem was faced by Professor K. H. Jackson² who concluded that 'a comparison with OW. sources actually of contemporary ninth-century date shows clearly that [the author's] names are mostly correct representatives of the language of his time, and makes it easy to detect divergences'. In fact, the divergences are very few. Such variants as occur between the two principal manuscripts, where they are not attributable to scribal error, are mostly cases of differing orthographical representation of certain phonological features; they are not useful as dating criteria. An example, the most common, is the variation between -rn and -rnn to represent -/RN:/ in a word like Categirn(n), and between -n/-nn for /N:/ in lamnguinn(n), lin(n); similarly there is a variation between -l and -ll in the representation of -/l/ in words like Cabal(l) and Catel(l). MS. R, in preferring -ll and -nn, derived from a tradition which was more careful in its representation of final fortis consonants than that represented by MS. H.

Of features which may indicate a later date, we may mention

1. Jackson, op. cit.

2. Op. cit., p. 48.

the use of the letter -y- in diphthongs.¹ We cannot say for certain that this was alien to Old Welsh usage, for the letter y is employed occasionally in Old Welsh sources. Its appearance in both MSS. H and R must indicate either that its use goes back to their common ancestor (not earlier than 857 nor later than 954x988) or that it is due independently to the Anglo-Norman scribes of the extant manuscripts; the former proposition seems to me to do less damage to the laws of chance. A later feature found only in MS. H is the single occurrence of the form Gurthigirn(i) (§34), where Gur- for earlier Guor- is hardly likely to be of a date earlier than the end of the ninth century.²

There has been more discussion of those few forms which appear to suggest an earlier date than the early ninth century and which have therefore been used to help justify theories of an early nucleus of north British material within the Historia Brittonum³ which was bodily and uncritically absorbed by our author into his text. The forms in question are atbret (§63), Cunedag (§60), and Neirin (§59). In atbret (ModW. edfryd) we see an absence of vowel-affection which, if representing the spoken usage of the original writer, would point to a date not later than the seventh century; however, as Professor Jackson has twice pointed out,⁴ the absence of affection of the a- may be purely orthographic and thus of no use as a dating criterion. This is surely correct. Cunedag in §60 compares with the later Cuneda of §8 which displays the loss of final

1. Jackson, op cit., p. 48.

2. See below, p. 388f.

3. The most recent discussion is by K. H. Jackson, 'On the Northern British Section in Nennius', in Celt and Saxon, ed. N. K. Chadwick (Cambridge, 1963), pp. 20-62.

4. LHEB, p. 48, n. 2; Celt and Saxon, p. 38, n. 1.

-/ɜ/. The evidence for the date of the loss of /ɜ/ finally after back vowels is not plentiful; after an analysis of the data, Professor Jackson came to the conclusion that this /ɜ/ was lost after back vowels 'between the later seventh and the later eighth century',¹ but there is only one example (Chad 2: Cinda: late eighth century) of this loss at a date earlier than the writing of the Historia Brittonum. It would be unwise, from the present evidence, to insist categorically that an early-ninth-century author or scribe could not have written Cunedag.² We may compare the cases of the loss of -/ɜ/ in -/iɜ/ and in -/iɜ/.³ For the latter we find Tutri (Chad 2) but dou rig (Historia Brittonum, § 72);⁴ sources of the later ninth century have lost the -g. In the case of -/iɜ/ we see the disappearance of the -g during the course of the ninth century. The case of -/iɜ/ is comparable to that of -/aɜ/; in neither case can we insist that a form with -g would have been unnatural for a writer of the earlier ninth century. Finally, Neirin⁵ seems to be a regular Old Welsh form, the

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1. LHEB, p. 458; the evidence does not seem to justify the view (Celt and Saxon, p. 30) that Cunedag is 'not likely to be later than the middle of the eighth century at latest, very probably earlier'.
 2. The importance of establishing the date of this loss, after all vowels, has been emphasised by D. Greene, Studia Celtica, 6 (1971), pp. 5-6.
 3. K. H. Jackson, LHEB, pp. 455-456.
 4. Jackson conjectures (op. cit., p. 456) that our text may draw the form rig 'from some archaic source'. He has also pointed out to me that Uith (§ 76) may be an archaic form (representing *Uuith) for later *guith (ModW. gwyth). Even these, however, are an insubstantial basis for a theory of an archaic source for the mirabilia (§§ 68-85).
 5. Described in Celt and Saxon, p. 47, n. 3, as 'very archaic'.

modern Aneirin developing only in the Middle Welsh period.¹

Accordingly I see no certain evidence in our text for Welsh linguistic forms which must be older than the dating of our text to the earlier ninth century would allow.

Therefore no linguistic considerations contradict the evidence for the general dating of the text, assembled above. And in the Welsh forms there is general agreement with a date in the first half of the ninth century.

1. Ifor Williams, Canu Aneirin (Cardiff, 1938), p. xv; Rachel Bromwich, Trioeidd Ynys Prydein. The Welsh Triads (Cardiff, 1963), p. 272, and in N. K. Chadwick (ed.), Studies in Early British History (Cambridge, 1954; rev. imp., 1959), p. 85, n. 4.

III. Explicit indications of date

We have examined the general internal evidence of the text as to its date and arrived at the conclusion that it was written in the first half, and probably the second quarter, of the ninth century. A rapid survey of the linguistic evidence provided no grounds for doubting this general conclusion. It is therefore time to examine the explicit indications provided by the text as to the precise date at which the text was written.

I have already published a study of the relevant chronological data as 'Some aspects of the chronology of the Historia Brittonum', Bulletin of the Board of Celtic Studies, 25 (1972-74), pp. 439-445. In this section I propose to do little more than summarise the conclusions reached there.

In §2 of our text we find both A. P. and A. D. dates given for the 'annus presens'. The text reads:

A passione autem Christi peracti sunt anni septingenti
nonaginta sex. Ab incarnatione autem eius anni sunt
octingenti triginta unus.

If seven hundred and ninety-six years had been completed since the Passion of Christ, the current year was A. P. 797; by the Victorian system a date of A. D. 824 would thereby be indicated, but one of A. D. 829 by the Dionysian reckoning. One of the figures is plainly in error and it is not a difficult task to see which. A simple scribal miswriting of .d. ccc. xxxi. for the correct .d. ccc. xxix. is all that is required. This explanation supposes two steps: the erroneous copying of the number; then its translation into words. It may not even be necessary to assume this simple development. Whoever rendered the numerals into words, be it the scribe of MS. H or of some

ancestral copy, was not entirely competent. Observe for example the following sentence of § 2, taken directly from MS. H:

Ab Adam usque transmigracionem Babilonie anni sunt
quattuor milia quingenti trecenti septuaginta nouem.

The quingenti trecenti indicates singularly stupid copying from an exemplar which read .d. ccc.; such a scribe might well render .xxix. directly as triginta unus. Whatever the exact process of transmission, the date we are offered for the writing of this section of the text is A. D. 829. I have therefore made the necessary emendation in the text. In principle, this sort of computistical matter is poor stuff on which to base the dating of a text. However, it agrees well with what has already been deduced from the internal evidence of other sections of the text. It also receives support from another piece of evidence which we must now turn to consider.

In § 10 we read:

A primo anno quo Saxones uenerunt in Brittanniam usque
ad annum quartum Mermini regis supputantur anni
quadringenti uiginti nouem.

For the detailed working out of this computation, I refer to my article mentioned above. Suffice it to say here that the date to be understood as the fourth year of King Merfyn (of Gwynedd) is A. D. 830, and the only point of mentioning it must have been that it was the year of writing. It is therefore a reasonable conclusion that A. D. 829/30 was the fourth year of King Merfyn and of the writing of the Historia Brittonum. These precise chronological data therefore agree admirably with the information derived from other internal evidence.

There is a single discordant note. § 12 begins abruptly 'Initium compoti'. It continues with two main calculations based on decennovenial cycles. First we are told that there are twenty-three



such cycles from the Incarnation to Patrick's arrival in Ireland. This would give a total of 437 years (our text says '438'). Secondly, from Patrick's arrival to the current cycle is a further twenty-two cycles; this would give a further 418 years. Instead of giving this last total, the text goes to say that 'usque in hunc annum in quo sumus' there are 421 years, 'duo anni in ogdoade'.¹

There is much in §12 that is obscure. Patrick's arrival in Ireland, if placed in A.D. 432, did indeed occur within the twenty-third cycle; no source suggests that it occurred in A.D. 437/8, however. The figure '438' in the text must indicate the A.D. date that is arrived at after the addition of twenty-three whole cycles to A.D. 1. The addition of a further twenty-two cycles must be intended to bring us to the beginning of the cycle in which the author of §12 was writing. We now arrive at A.D. 856 (or 855 if we build on $437 = 23 \times 19$). Two years 'in ogdoade' must mean that two years have already passed in the next cycle, bringing us to the third year, or to the 421st year of the second calculation.² This would be A.D. 859. By rejecting the writer's totals, we can, if we so wish, calculate as follows: $(23 \times 19 =) 437 + (22 \times 19 =) 418 + 2 = 857$. The writing of this passage cannot be earlier than 857; it is perhaps likelier to belong to 859.³

§ 12 is presumably intended as a supplement, or a gloss, to §§ 10-11. In §11 we read:

1. For earlier comment on this section, see I. Williams, BCS 7 (1933-35), p. 386, and A. W. Wade-Evans, Nennius's 'History of the Britons' (London, 1938), p. 43, n. 3.
2. This is curious, for the usual division of the 19-year cycle places the hendecad first, followed by the ogdoad. In theory, the second year of the ogdoad should be the thirteenth of the cycle, and so on.
3. The Sawley editors calculated the date to be A.D. 858: see section VII, below.

A natiuitate Domini usque ad aduentum Patricii ad
 Scottos quadringenti quinque anni sunt.

Our glossator appears to have realised that the date was not A.D. 405 but A.P. 405.¹ What he did not realise was that this was the year of the Passion according to the system of Victorius, for he appears to have added 32 to give the A.D. date. This would have been correct if he had been dealing with a Dionysian A.P. date; here he should instead have added 27 to give the 'correct' A.D. 432.

We may deduce two certain facts from §12. Its author was writing probably at the end of the 850s (although it could perhaps have been later). And, as someone attempting to explain the text, he could not have been the author of that text, especially as he makes a fundamental mistake in so doing.

What is the evidence of the textual tradition of the Historia Brittonum on this point? This section occurs only in the extant manuscripts of the 'Harleian' recension and in their derivative, the 'Gildasian' recension. It is not found in the 'Chartres', 'Vatican', or 'Nennian' (as witnessed by Lebor Bretnach) recensions, which all diverged from the parent text at an early stage. The conclusion to be drawn is that this was an interpolation, probably of the mid-ninth century, made in Wales before the traditions represented by MSS. H and R diverged but after the text had been in circulation for some while; other texts therefore existed which avoided this rather unfortunate addition.

The presence of §12 of our extant 'Harleian' text does not, therefore, require any modification of the conclusion reached above, that the Historia Brittonum, as represented by the primary 'Harleian'

1. On this point, see Dumville, art. cit.

text, was written in the fourth year of King Merfyn of Gwynedd,

A. D. 829/30.

IV. The author

The first, and main, point about our author is that he is **anonymous**. He nowhere names himself in this text and we have no reliable external information on this point.

He does, however, give a human impression, for he appears - speaking in the first person (or even addressing his readership in the second person) - in a good many places throughout the text. He is found as a collector of scholarly information, of what the Irish would have called senchas (§§ 4, 9, 13, 15). He appears in his rôle as author, keeping his public informed about his intentions (§§ 16, 32, 40, 50, 77); in §16, he admits to having digressed from his theme and announces his determination to return to the point! In §80, he addresses his audience in the second person, involving its members in his account of the marvel; he then concludes by saying 'Et ego solus probaui' ('And I myself have tested it'). This hagiographical function of the author as witness and verifier of a marvel occurs twice among the mirabilia of our text (§§ 78, 80). Our author is therefore nothing if not visible throughout the text. In some measure, his personality is conveyed to us: he comes across chiefly as a very busy and diligent enquirer after information, a scholar thirsty for knowledge. He is prepared to digress (§16) for the sake of recording further information, and his quest for knowledge leads him even to make enquiry of the 'peritissimi Scottorum' (§9). But his only overt expression of a personal opinion occurs in §77, where he says of his story about Saint Illtud, 'melius mihi uidetur narrare quam reticere'.

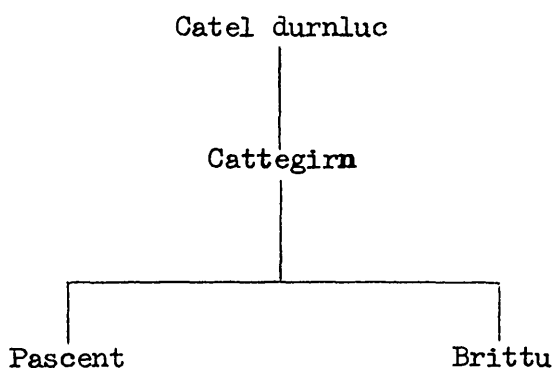
The author reveals his national origin in a number of ways. His constant use of Welsh names is quite natural; he glosses Latin and Old English in Welsh (e.g., §§ 52, 84). In §57, the rubric to the

chapter includes the Old Welsh form Deur (and cannot therefore be the invention of the scribe of MS. H, to which it is unique). He frequently cites matter 'in the British [i. e., Welsh] language' (e. g., §§ 20, 31, 42, 76). And he identifies himself with the Welsh language by such usages as the two following: 'regionem que in lingua eorum uocatur Canturguoralen, in nostra autem Cent' (§ 34); 'in lingua eorum Episford, in nostra autem lingua Rit her gabail' (§ 39). By contrast, things English are always 'eorum', 'illorum', and so forth (e. g., §§ 31, 39). Old English personal and place-names are rendered for the most part into a semi-Old-Welsh orthography. Similarly, in § 8 we see Irish names acquiring a Welsh prosthetic vowel (Istorech Istorini filius); the 'peritissimi Scottorum' of § 9 are obviously foreigners, albeit approachable ones. We can have no doubt whatever that our author was a Welshman, and that he was writing in a Welsh milieu for a Welsh audience.

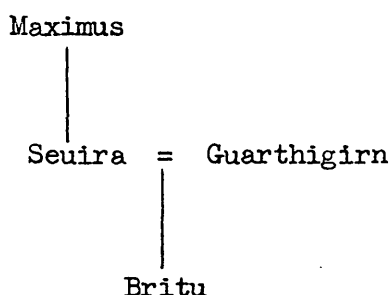
The question naturally arises as to where in Wales he was working, where he hailed from, and what his internal political affiliations were. A natural starting-point is the genealogy of King Ffernfael in § 42, 'qui regit modo in regionibus duabus Buelt et Guorthigirniaun'. It is difficult to assess whether this means that the author had a special relationship with either or both of Buellt and Gwrtheyrnion, or it is merely a natural continuation (§ 42 begins 'Hec est genealogia illius...') of the author's material on Gwrtheyrn and his family. Whichever was the case, our author certainly had access to sources dealing with this area.

King Ffernfael descended, we are told, from Gwrtheyrn; the claim of the royal house of this kingdom to that particular lineage seems not to have been challenged. Another, far larger, kingdom also had a royal line which asserted its descent from Gwrtheyrn: this

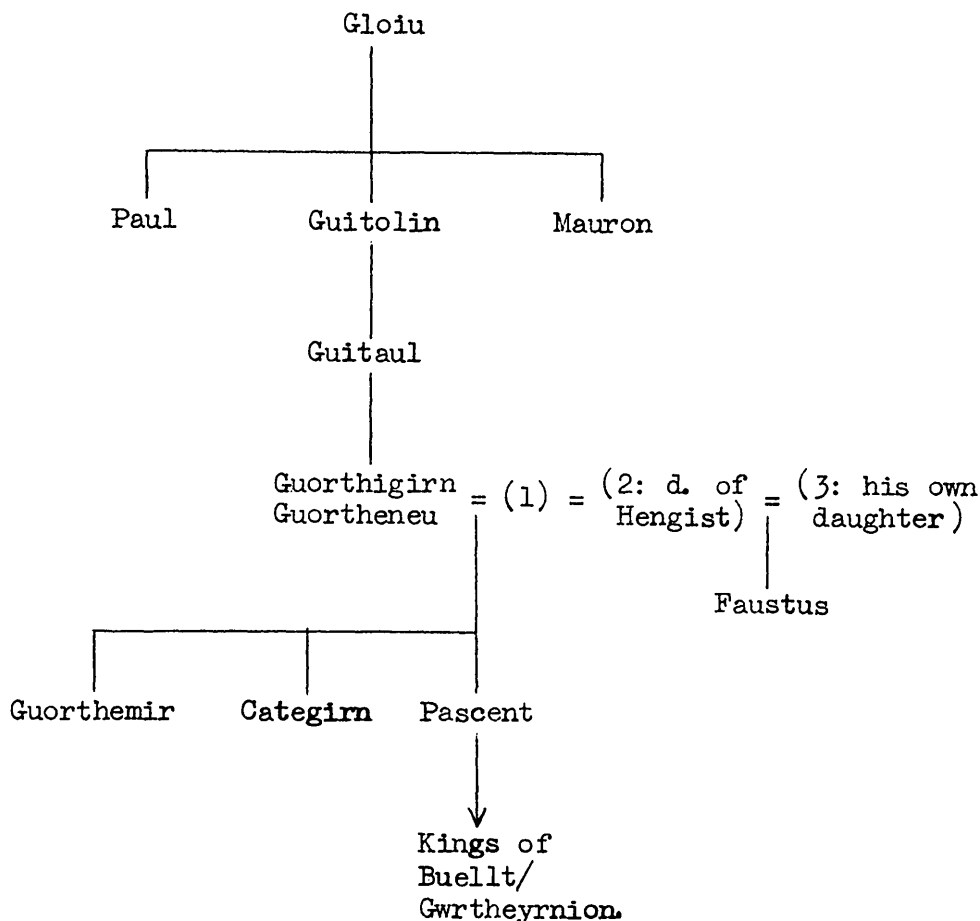
was Powys, adjacent to Ffernfael's realm. The ancient male line of Powys became extinct in 854, but this claim to descent from Gwrtheyrn is found in a source contemporary with the Historia Brittonum as well as in one of much later date. The claim is not, however, allowed to pass unchallenged. Both the Historia Brittonum itself and the so-called 'Harleian Genealogies', that mid-tenth-century compilation which occurs with the Historia in MS. H, provide an account of the origins of the Powys dynasty which is radically different from that of the official texts. Pedigrees 22, 23, and 27 in the 'Harleian Genealogies' leave us with the following arrangement:



The pedigree in Oxford, Jesus College, MS. 20 (§ 18) gives an ascending sequence: Pascen - Cadell deyrllloch - Cadern - Gwrtheyrn gwrtheneu. The Pillar of Elise, roughly contemporary with the Historia Brittonum (it was erected by Cyngen, king of Powys 808-854), shows the following remarkable arrangement:



And finally, to complete the series of relevant genealogical data, the Historia Brittonum gives us the following picture of Gwrtheyrn's family:



These closely interrelated texts¹ pose many problems which will not be elucidated in this brief survey. But it is obvious that the arrival on the genealogical scene of Cadell ddyrnllug is a major disruptive factor. It is very difficult to distinguish between cause and effect when dealing with this type of material. However, one is bound to recognise the existence of a King Cadell of Powys at the beginning of the early ninth century (ob. 808) as a factor in this confusing situation. Whether he owes his name to that of the alleged founder

1. Which are conveniently assembled by P. C. Bartrum, Early Welsh Genealogical Tracts (Cardiff, 1966).

of his line or Cadell ddyrnllug owes his 'existence' to the inventiveness of a genealogist of the time of Cadell ap Brochwel is something that cannot be decided for lack of evidence.

What could be the reason for the variant version of the Powys pedigree? If it were due to the royal house itself, it would be accounted for by the development of the belief that Gwrtheyrn was an unworthy ancestor, and that someone connected with the chief local saint would be more appropriate. If the change were due to the ecclesiastical authorities, we might suppose it to be due to a wish to show the dependence of the local dynasty on the favour of the Church. Finally, if the new genealogy were due to someone outside Powys, malice - pointing out the servile origin of the dynasty - might well be a consideration.

It seems likely, though it cannot be proved, that the section of the Historia Brittonum in which this story occurs derived from the now lost Liber Sancti Germani used by our author (§40). If so, then the most likely inventor of the story of Cadell would be a cleric of the clas Garmon, presumably writing somewhere in Iâl, in the central area of the saint's cult. It is hardly necessary to say that the Germanus of our text has nothing whatever to do with St Germanus of Auxerre who, thanks to his appearance in Bede's History, was a perfect candidate for identification with Garmon of Powys. He is rather the dynastic or territorial saint of Powys. And it is an axiom of Celtic hagiography that the ancestor of the dynasty with whose territory the saint is concerned should be shown to be dependent on the favour of the saint.

There were two ways in which this could be achieved. We see one of these in our text. Who the protagonists, Benlli and Cadell ddyrnllug, had been in Welsh legend (if indeed they had had any previous

existence) we do not know. But they were adapted or created to fill the roles of two hagiographic stereotypes. Cadell was employed because Gwrtheyrn was no doubt deemed to be beyond redemption: we may perhaps see this as the beginning of the campaign of damnatio memoriae which eventually almost destroyed the knowledge of Gwrtheyrn in mediaeval Wales.¹ And it is at least a plausible guess that Cadell was the name used for the new dynastic head because the King of Powys at that time was called Cadell.

The alternative method of linking the dynasty with the saint was that used in the official pronouncement on the Pillar of Elise. We read:²

Britu a[u]t[e]m filius Guarthi[girn] quem bened[icit]
 Germanus quem[qu]e peperit ei Se[u]ira filia Maximi
 regis...

Here, any possible odium deriving from Gwrtheyrn is turned aside by the device of having Garmon bless his son Brydw.³ (We may notice a similar device in the fragment printed in Appendix IX, below; there Garmon blesses Gwrthefyr, another son of Gwrtheyrn, but in circumstances which involve an explicit renunciation of Gwrtheyrn.⁴)

We therefore possess two ninth-century statements of the relationship between the dynasty of Powys and the heirs of Garmon. Both imply a close link between the two, a relationship which is made all the more convincing by the fact that one statement emanates from

1. Rachel Bromwich, Triodd Ynys Prydein. The Welsh Triads (Cardiff, 1963), pp. 395-396.

2. Bartrum, *op. cit.*, p. 2.

3. One may note also Germanus's close relations with Faustus (Historia Brittonum, §§ 35, 41) whom he is said to have baptised, fostered, and taught.

4. See pp. 900ff, below.

the ecclesiastical side and one from the secular. They are expressed in different ways which no doubt reflect in part the different aspirations of the two parties, the differing benefits which they hoped to gain from their mutual association.

It would be unwise, therefore, to argue that the story of Cadell in the Historia Brittonum implies political hostility to the dynasty of Powys, and in particular the kind of political hostility one would expect from an external foe. On the contrary, far from thinking this story to be an insult directed at the King of Powys, I should reckon it to be a statement of confidence in that dynasty by the most important ecclesiastical 'family' in Powys. We are not thereby enabled, however, to draw any conclusions as to the views of the author of the Historia Brittonum: he seems simply to have employed the text as a source for his History, for there is no evidence to suggest that he intended to make any political statement by using it.

He appears, however, to have shared one source and one basic historiographical tenet with the author of the inscription on the Pillar of Elise. We read there of Maximus 'qui occidit regem Romanorum',¹ a description found also in § 24 of the Historia Brittonum. Although the Historia could be the source for the Pillar, it seems highly unlikely that the author of the inscription knew at first hand of the story of Cadell ddyrnllug (unless it be taken as a direct riposte thereto); we should do better to think in terms of a common source.² According to the Pillar, Gwrtheyrn was son-in-law

1. Bartrum, *op. cit.*, p. 2. This phrase occurs again in the pedigree of the kings of Man in the 'Harleian Genealogies': see Bartrum, p. 10.

2. It occurs also among the addenda to Lifris's Life of St. Cadog, where it does appear to be a quote from the Historia Brittonum: A. W. Wade-Evans, Vitae Sanctorum Britanniae et Genealogiae (Cardiff, 1944), pp. 116-119.

to Maximus. In terms of the Welsh learned historiographical tradition, in which Maximus is the founding-figure in British or Welsh history, this is the ultimate stamp of legitimacy; Maximus was reckoned to have brought about the collapse of Roman rule in Britain and to have inaugurated the new dynastic kingdoms which succeeded Roman rule. The rôle of Maximus is one of fundamental importance in the Historia Brittonum as on the Pillar of Elise.

This examination of the genealogy of Ffernfael and of the story of Cadell has not suggested that our author came from any particular area or that he enjoyed any special political affiliation. We are bound to note, however, the east-central and south-easterly origins of the Welsh sources employed.

The mirabilia (§§ 68-85) provide a further possible indicator of the geographical affiliations of the author. We must, however, bear in mind the outside possibility that this section constitutes, or derives from, one of our author's sources. This seems most unlikely to me, for the same stylistic and linguistic characteristics appear in both the mirabilia and the remainder of the work. For some parts of this section, nonetheless, there must have been an underlying source or sources, whether oral or written. Of the eighteen chapters belonging to this section of the work, ten relate to closely adjoining areas. §§ 68 and 69 deal respectively with Loch Lomond and the River Trahannon (apparently the Trent), they are therefore quite different from the rest of the section; this, taken together with their introductory position, inclines one to think in terms of an earlier written source (which may even have provided the inspiration for §§ 70-85). § 77 refers to Gower and § 81 to Ceredigion; §§ 82-83 and §§ 84-85 provide separate sections referring respectively to Anglesey and to Ireland. § 77, in particular, seems to sit uneasily in its present

position, sandwiched between the two Gwent mirabilia of §§ 76, 78; a version of it is found elsewhere in the Vita Iltuti,¹ and we may well believe that both go back ultimately to a version - either written or oral - which was in circulation in the early ninth century.

§ 81 also gives the impression, in our text, of being of a potentially religious nature;² it is possible that there is a closer connexion, including the fact that politically Gower and Ceredigion were comprehended in Seisyllwg, between §§ 77 and 81 than simply that their marvels are geographically isolated from those of §§ 70-76, 78-80.

The Irish marvels must almost certainly derive from an earlier source. There is a certain amount of evidence for the oral circulation of such matter,³ and our author may have drawn it either from a travelling Irishman or else from his Irish informants (the peritissimi Scottorum of § 9).

The main body of the Welsh mirabilia belong, however, to south-east Wales and the Welsh marches: §§ 70-71 refer to a 'regio Huich', presumably the province of the Hwicce, later Worcestershire; § 80 concerns Ergyng, otherwise Archenfield, in Herefordshire. In Wales itself, Gwent appears in §§ 76 and 78; Rhwng Gwy a Hafren, otherwise Cynllibiwg, is found in § 74, while the two rivers (Wye and Severn) are the subjects of §§ 72, 73, and 75; the marvel of § 79 is in Buellt. We are dealing here very noticeably with the border-territories; it is noteworthy that neither Brycheiniog nor Glywysing is represented.

1. Wade-Evans, *op. cit.*, pp. 224-227.

2. It is also narrated by Giraldus Cambrensis, Itinerarium Kambrie, ii. 3 (ad fin.).

3. One of the mirabilia is even found in the Norse text Konungs Skuggsjá: see K. Meyer, Ériu 4 (1910), pp. 1-16, and J. Young, Études celtiques, 3 (1938), pp. 21-26.

It has tended to be assumed by previous students of the Historia that the author of the Historia must have been a native of this area because of his apparent close connexion with it, as evidenced by the mirabilia.¹ Further support has seemed to come from the treatment (discussed above) of the royal house of Gwrtheyrnion and Buellt in §42. This view has a great deal to recommend it, but it must be seen in terms of the relationship with Gwynedd, considered below. However, the view that the author was a native of the south-east Welsh borderlands fits well with general evidence which can be deduced about him from the text.

It will be remembered, from the discussion of the precise date of the text, that this was partly fixed by reference to the fourth year of King Merfyn. The king in question was Merfyn Frych, King of Gwynedd from 826 to 844 when he was succeeded by his son, Rhodri Mawr. He was the first of a new royal line in Gwynedd, tracing his ancestry via Llywarch Hen to Coel Hen;² this gave him a northern pedigree to rival that of the previous, extinct line which claimed descent from Cunedda of Manaw Gododdin. Merfyn married Nest, sister of King Cyngen of Powys; Rhodri Mawr, who annexed Powys following Cyngen's death in Rome in 854/5, was their son. The implied dating of the 'annus presens', and the writing of the text, by reference to Merfyn's regnal year must be a significant fact. In the light of the apparent evidence of the mirabilia that our author was a native of south-east Wales, this use of the regnal year of the ruler of Gwynedd is difficult to interpret.

The treatment of the kings of Gwynedd by our author may

1. Lot, ed. cit., i. 111.

2. See Bartrum, op. cit., p. 46 (§17).

perhaps throw further light on the matter. Cadwallon, perhaps the most noteworthy of those named by our author, is described simply (§§ 57, 62) as 'rex Guen(e)dote regionis'. In §63, the writer goes out of his way to mention Cadafael, king of Gwynedd, in extremely unfavourable circumstances where one might have thought a sympathetic author would have ignored his presence; he is even provided with a jeering epithet and a pun on his name - 'Catgabail Catguommed'. The two most notable examples occur, however, in §§ 60 and 62. In §60 we read 'Mailcunus magnus rex apud Brittones regnabat': the title magnus rex is of the greatest interest; scarcely less so is the statement that he 'ruled over¹ the Britons'. In §62, we find the same formula used of Cadwallon's son Cadwaladr: 'Dum ipse [sc. Osguid] regnabat, uenit mortalitas hominum, Catgualart regnante apud Brittones post patrem suum, et in ea periit'. The clear impression given to me by these expressions is that our author is attributing to these kings, and perhaps in fact to the kings of Gwynedd generally, a degree of prestige and authority which he would not accord to other Welsh rulers.

In Ireland the term magnus rex was used at an early date to give the sense of 'high king';² the precise significance is uncertain, but it certainly referred to one claiming or possessing overlordship of a substantial political grouping (in other words the rí cóicid or provincial overlord) or, ultimately, overlordship of the entire country. To what extent may we transfer this meaning to a Welsh context?

Even if the title magnus rex does imply that Maelgwn enjoyed a special position, we cannot say whether this is something that was

1. For a justification of this translation, see p. 84 below.
2. For an example, drawn from the early genealogical collection, see F. J. Byrne, Irish Kings and High-Kings (London, 1973), p. 110: 'sed alii Boetan apud magnos reges non numerant'.

claimed by the Venedotian royal house or that rather derived from the author's own ideas. For we know him to have been in close touch with Irish developments: it can be argued that the Historia Brittonum is itself an attempt to provide a British synchronising history, a work in some way to be compared with the early version of the Leabhar Gabhála Éirenn which was one of its sources;¹ our author's familiarity with this matter might suggest that he would also be acquainted with the far-reaching claims which the Uí Néill dynasty had for some time been putting forward. Even so, it is difficult to believe that our author would on his own initiative have been advancing claims for the Venedotian dynasty; and had he been doing so, he would surely have attempted this in an overt and explicit fashion. It would be wisest to conclude, then, that if any claims are intended by our author's phraseology, they are the claims of the kings of Gwynedd themselves. Up to our author's time, these kings enjoyed descent from the 'old north'; one is tempted to wonder if their standing, or claim to standing, above all the other Welsh rulers has any connexion with their northern ancestry.

Further speculation is unlikely to be particularly profitable, but at least one question must be placed on record. If Gwynedd was advancing, with more or less success, claims to overlordship or precedence over the other Welsh kings, how did the other rulers view this, in particular those rulers of small kingdoms situated at some distance from Gwynedd but with a powerful near neighbour? If our author belonged to the south-east, he would have come from just such a kingdom.

1. Cf. P. G. Bartrum, 'Was there a British "Book of Conquests"?', BBCS, 23 (1968-70), pp. 1-6.

To the question, 'where in Wales was the author writing?', we are unable to give a firm answer. There is evidence which would suggest both Gwynedd and the south-east border regions. We must therefore turn finally to the question of our author's status, in the hope that this will provide further guidance.

By the fact of his writing in Latin we may conclude that our author was a cleric, but no further information is available. He had access to Irish and English materials: while I doubt that he can be shown definitely to have had a knowledge of Old Irish (though there is at least a distinct possibility of this), he certainly knew, and was thoroughly familiar with, Old English. His knowledge of its sounds and its orthography, as well as of basic grammar, can be demonstrated beyond question. These circumstances render distinctly plausible the possibility that he derived the English invasion-legend (§§ 30-31, 34, 39-40) from an oral source.

If he were a native of the south-east border-region, his chance and his incentive to learn Old English would have been very much greater than in other parts of Wales. If the charter memoranda for the ninth century in Liber Landauensis are to be trusted, they certainly show a strong and increasing English influence in this area.¹ Our author would fit well into this context.

An interesting possibility is raised by § 34 of our text. A curious feature of this chapter is the introduction of, and the prominence accorded to, Gwrtheyrn's interpreter, Ceredig. Felix Liebermann has already drawn attention to this and has tentatively

1. The evidence is provided by the remarkable quantity of (and increase in) English names belonging to witnesses in these documents.

suggested that our author may have been an interpreter.¹ (We should not be unduly surprised by this, especially since the publication of Constance Bullock-Davies's work on the role of 'latimers' or interpreters in the early transmission of the 'Matter of Britain'.²) It would be dangerous to go further than this (and quite impermissible to suggest that the author's own name was therefore Ceredig), but the information gathered above would not be at all inconsistent with such a possibility: a multilingual cleric would have the opportunity for travel and contact with foreign scholars as well as a great usefulness to the secular or ecclesiastical authorities as an interpreter.

I am strongly inclined, therefore, to maintain the view that our author was a native of the south-east border regions of Wales, but to stress the possibility - even, indeed, the probability - that in 829/30 he was working in Gwynedd. A context is provided by the surviving evidence for scholarly activity at the court of King Merfyn.³ Gwynedd seems to have been on a direct route from Ireland to the Continent, and Irish scholars were apparently regular visitors to the 'arx Mermini regis Brittonum'.⁴ It is in this milieu that our author may have developed his contacts with Irish scholars and obtained the Irish sources that we see used in his text. At the same time, we know

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1. 'Nennius the author of the Historia Brittonum', in Essays in Mediaeval History Presented to Thomas Frederick Tout, ed. A. G. Little et al. (Manchester, 1925), pp. 25-44, esp. 39, 43.
 2. Professional Interpreters and the Matter of Britain (Cardiff, 1966).
 3. The most recent summary is by N. K. Chadwick, Studies in the Early British Church (Cambridge, 1958), pp. 94 ff.
 4. See R. Derolez, 'Dubthach's Cryptogram', L'Antiquité Classique, 21 (1952), pp. 359-375.

that much of the English matter employed by him derived from Northumbria;¹ we might suppose that these would be more readily obtained in Gwynedd than in south-east Wales. In this connexion we may well recall the presence of Welsh monks at Lindisfarne in the first half of the ninth century;² such a situation indicates the excellent potential for cultural contacts between Wales and Northumbria at this date.

I conclude, therefore, that the primary version of the Historia Brittonum, as represented to us by the 'Harleian' recension, was written in the year 829/30, probably by a native of south-east Wales who was possibly working in Gwynedd. A multilingual cleric, our author wrote his synchronising History on the basis of Welsh, English, Irish, and international sources.

1. See especially Appendix IV, below.

2. K. H. Jackson, LHEB, p. 59.

THE LATINITY

There has been no systematic study of the latinity of the Historia Brittonum. Nor could this easily be undertaken on the basis of the printed editions which offer a conflated text of the several recensions (which were produced in widely differing parts of Britain during a period of more than three centuries). The latinity of each recension must be studied separately; in particular, the usage of the original or 'Harleian' version demands attention, for it has every right to be considered the Latin of the author of the Historia. Apart from a number of passing references in various places, there have been only two scholars who have made any attempt to document and explain some of the features of our author's Latin usage: Joseph Loth ¹ in 1932 and Ifor Williams ² in 1946 both devoted some space in longer articles to the problems of the latinity of the Historia. Williams was wholly, and Loth chiefly, interested in identifying features which could be traced back to the Celtic vernacular of the author. For it is plain from a reading of this text that the author's Latin is almost totally unstudied: were it not so obviously a foreign language to our author, his Latin might almost be described as a living tongue. If his Latin is often difficult to comprehend, it is due rather to an extreme simplicity than to any contrived complexity in his expression. It might be hoped, then, that his Latin would display many traces of

1. Revue celtique 49 (1932), pp. 153-165.

2. Transactions of the Honourable Society of Cymmrodorion 1946/7, pp. 55-56

the influence of his native Welsh; this desire has, however, hardly been realised, for a variety of reasons. The chief difficulty has been the lack of a standard against which the Latin of the Historia Brittonum might be compared; in the absence of a comprehensive grammar of Late Latin, it is difficult to establish the singularity of any given usage in an early mediaeval Latin text such as this. And the lack of a substantial body of Cambro-Latin writings from the pre-Norman period has meant that no clear impression of Welsh Latin usage has emerged. Even for Ireland, whose corpus of Latin writings is of much greater extent and has been more often and more recently studied, no large collection of distinctively Hiberno-Latin features has emerged; again, ignorance of the usage of Late Latin has been a major factor. For Wales, a comparative ignorance of the syntax and, to a certain extent, the morphology of Old Welsh has also been a notable handicap in isolating vernacular features in Cambro-Latin texts.

My approach here must accordingly be cautious and tentative. Without a specialist knowledge of Late Latin, I can only make a beginning: I propose to note and discuss briefly as many as possible of the features of the Latin usage of this text that seem to me to depart from the grammatical (rather than simply the stylistic) rules of Classical Latin; where I can identify such departures as being the common coin of Late Latin I shall simply state this and pass on; where features may reasonably and usefully be compared with Celtic usage, this will be done. But it is my impression that, at this stage, comparatively little may be learned of 'Cambro-Latin'; more will be discovered about the

individual usage of our author; and a large number of questions will be raised about semantic developments of particular words where the standard dictionaries of Late and Mediaeval Latin provide little or no helpful comparative data.

Before proceeding to details, I quote some of the general remarks of Joseph Loth on the latinity of the Historia.¹ He refers to 'la pauvreté du fond et la grossière ignorance de l'auteur. Le latin..., sans prétention, ne se recommande ni par la variété ni par la correction du style. C'est visiblement l'oeuvre d'un clerc qui n'a guère fréquenté les auteurs classiques. Son latin rappelle parfois celui des chartes du Book of Llandav... Ce latin tel quel présente cet avantage qu'il reflète l'influence du milieu indigène médiocrement lettré dans lequel a vécu l'auteur: d'où une première conséquence, c'est qu'il se distingue tout d'abord par un certain nombre d'idiotismes prouvant clairement que l'auteur est un Britton....., ces idiotismes ne sont pas nombreux mais ils sont caractéristiques. Une autre conclusion plus importante peut-être qui découle de l'étude de ce latin, c'est d'un bout à l'autre son uniformité.'

I. Orthography

Since all the witnesses to the text are Anglo-Norman productions of ca 1100 and later, we are not afforded any clear view of the author's Latin orthographical practices. However, some do show

1. Revue celtique 49 (1932), p. 157

through clearly enough to allow us to recognise that the spelling habits must have included most of those normally recognised as 'Insular'. These may be listed as follows:

i/e variation: e.g., mare/mari § 8, Tirrini/Tirreni § 17, dare/dari § 19;

o/u variation: e.g., promontoria/promuntoria § 3, porporea/purpurea § 18;

i for ii: alis § 8, Ascanii/Ascani § 16;

sporadic and irrational use of z for s: Zegulf(h) § 57;

Ag- for Aug-: Agusto § 18;

use of otiose h/dropping of initial h: Ercolis/Herculis § 9,

inhertem/inertem § 34, ostium/hostium passim;

unhistorical doubling and simplification of consonants: attaues for ataues § 60, saliuntur for salliuntur § 71, mallinam for malinam § 78.

A number of these features can have an effect on the morphology of the Latin of any text in which they appear: for example, the i/e variation can cause confusion in third declension nouns by confusion of -i and -e, -is and -es, or in verbal inflexions (as here, where the active and passive infinitives of some verbs have become confused). In the 'Harleian' recension, however, such traces of Insular orthography as remain are slight and mostly confined to MS.H; they provide few opportunities for misunderstanding.

II. Gender and Number.

The items requiring comment here divide into two groups. The first comprises cases where the gender or number varies from the practice of Classical and Late Latin: siceram (§ 34) displays the regular mediaeval feminine form of this ultimately Hebrew word which began

its Latin life as a Late Latin neuter plural but was beginning already to develop into a feminine by the end of the patristic period; nouacula (§35) remains for our author, as in Classical Latin, a feminine although a Late Latin neuter nouac(u)lum had arisen; sudes ferreos (§17) displays masculine gender for the historically correct feminine (I know of no other examples); in extremas fines (§36) also displays a wholly new development, for although in the Classical period the singular of finis is occasionally feminine the plural remained throughout as a masculine; sinodus magna (§35) displays the original feminine gender of this word, in spite of the inevitable mediaeval confusion; finally, dies in this text is invariably masculine in gender.

The other four items requiring comment are all examples of the non-agreement of relative, pronominal, or participial inflexions with antecedent nouns. In §65, we read 'discordiam...quod est Guoloppom' where que might be expected; this is probably to be explained, by analogy with id est, as a case where the writer felt no need of an agreement with discordiam. The other three examples, which all occur in the account of the mirabilia, are less easily explained. In §78 we read 'Et trahit lignum.... Factum est autem ut...sepeliret eum...et...inuentus est...et ille rusticus qui eum abscondidit...'; here one might be forgiven for thinking that the author is using (or creating) a masculine *lignus for the normal neuter. It may be that he was simply incapable of remembering into the next sentence that his antecedent was neuter, but this

explanation is hardly convincing. In § 81 'iuxta illud' in the last sentence seems to refer back to tumulus; however, at the beginning of the chapter, sepulchrum had been used, being followed almost immediately by a first 'iuxta illud'. The author may still have had sepulchrum in mind as he wrote the second, and apparently offending, 'iuxta illud'. For the last example there can be no such excuse: § 85 begins, in all the complete witnesses, 'Est aliud stagnum qui ...', which seems to leave little room for anything save emendation.

For the relationship between the number of a verb and that of its subject, see the discussion of the verb (below).

III. Case.

Our text contains some striking examples of lack of agreement in case.

(i) § 61: regnavit duodecim annis ... et alios duodecim.

Here we see the ablative of time and the accusative of time being used together; the former is by far the commoner in mediaeval Latin and in our text (for its use in dates, see §§ 17, 19); an example of the simple accusative of time occurs in § 8, 'annum et dimidium'.

(ii) § 77: obuiam illis et corpus.

This peculiarly blatant example of lack of agreement seems to call for emendation of the accusative corpus to give the expected dative.

- (iii) § 16: Iafeth uero septem filios habuit: primus Gemer, a quo Galli; secundus Magog, a quo Scithas et Gothos; (and so on, showing an alternation between nominative and accusative).

The nominative is expected, but the accusatives can be explained as objects of an understood verb in a subordinate clause. The striking feature is the inconsistency.

- (iv) § 28: per trecentis et quadraginta octo annos.

Here trecentis demands to be emended to trecentos.

Two aspects of the use of the genitive deserve comment. In non minus octingentorum (§ 8) we appear to have a genitive of measure following the comparative, but as this follows 'Post interuallum multorum annorum' we may have here simply an example of the attraction of case. Secondly, the use of mille throws up one problem: although the usage X mil(1)ia plus genitive is normal in this text (and extends to quattuor cubitorum § 81 and octoginta et quinque annorum § 50), we read in § 65 'quinque milium...anni' for '5000 years'; all the complete witnesses agree with this most unusual reading.

Credo with the dative, 'to believe in', is found in our text: e.g., cui credidisti (§ 33), Deo credidit § 64; in § 61, the reading crediderunt Christo is therefore to be preferred to the variant with in plus abl. (crediderunt in Christo). The use of the dative in other constructions is noteworthy. We see in § 40 the construction,

very common in Late Latin, iubeo plus dative plus ut with subjunctive: 'Hengistus omni familie sue iussit ut...poneret'. This compares with the familiar accusative and infinitive construction in §34: 'puellam iussit ministrare illis uinum'. In §34 peto plus dative plus pro with the ablative is found: 'quid peterent regi pro puella' ('what they should ask of the king for the girl').

An unusual and perhaps mistaken use of the accusative occurs in §81: 'Et si fuerit homo brevis et paruus, similiter et longitudinem sepulchri'; here the nominative would be expected.¹ The simple accusative of motion to a place is found e.g. Constantinopolim §27, Brittanniam §26), but the usual construction is with ad, in.

A Late Latin use of the ablative is found in tribus uicibus (passim) for Classical ter. The ablative occurs following exosus in §4, which would only be possible after the Late Latin semantic development which gave exosus the passive meaning, 'hated'. Finally, although the ablative absolute is common enough in our text, it is not always used with assurance or success: one may note in §34 'Hengistus inito consilio cum suis....quid peterent..., unum consilium cum illis omnibus fuit ut peterent regionem...'

1. For another possible example, see the discussion of the pronouns alter and alius, below.

where Henggistus has not been drawn into the construction and the resulting 'clause' has no verb; it is probably the attempt at employing a favourite ablative absolute (inito consilio) that has led the author into this difficulty.

Finally, it may be noted that § 27 contains two examples of the locative case: Parassis (for Parisiis), 'at Paris', and Lugdoni, 'at Lyon'; both are in quotations of late classical sources. The locative is not otherwise employed with names in our text.

IV. The Adjective.

There is little to be said here. Various Late Latin usages are found. The strengthening of the positive by the use of ualde may be noted. Unus and ille are sometimes found exercising quasi-articular functions. Solus is found with ego/tu/ipse in the sense of 'I myself', etc.; more will be said of this below. In § 77 we find ullo homini for normal ulli homini; and in § 84 we find is used as a demonstrative adjective, 'et in eo stagno'. Ipsa develops adjectival functions.

V. The Adverb.

A late usage noted is usque hodie (§§ 8, 33, 41). In § 3 ad occidentem uersus, '(situated) towards the west' is unclassical, since

location rather than direction is indicated. In §15, in primo (for Classical primo, primum, initio, etc.) is a variant of in primis and a typical Late Latin development.¹ The adverbial usage of primus in §§57 and 64, 'ipse primus separauit/reparauit' is also noteworthy; it is seen also in §17. In §33, 'Iterum de mane surrexerunt' presents an adverbial usage which seems unusual. The Late Latin ab inuicem is found.

VI. The Pronoun.

Our text witnesses to a variety of Late Latin usages. Personal pronouns are found as subjects of sentences. Solus, in combination with ego, tu, and ipse ('he'), serves as emphasising reflexive (thus replacing ipse) - 'I myself', etc.; this does appear to be a peculiarly Cambro-Latin usage, and is discussed further below. It occurs in §§18, 33, 34, and 80. It is restricted to the singular; a plural usage does not seem to occur.

The demonstrative pronouns develop a variety of non-classical uses. Is is used once (as noted above) as a demonstrative adjective ('et in eo stagno' §84). Otherwise it appears to have fallen almost completely together with ille: a good example occurs in §33, 'et osculauit eum et dixit illi', where eum and illi refer to the same person. The only clear distinction between their

1. See Einar Löfstedt, Late Latin (Oslo, 1959), pp. 111-112

respective uses appears to be that nominative forms of is are not found: ille may appear as a pronominal subject or as a demonstrative adjective (with the force either of 'the latter' or of 'that') qualifying a noun-subject; is appears in neither rôle.

Ipse is found in its classical use as an emphatic reflexive (§53), but often preceding rather than following a noun. It occurs also as an independent subject pronoun meaning 'the latter' (e.g. §80); it usually refers back to the preceding sentence (e.g., §§ 57,64). It is in this rôle as an independent subject pronoun that it attracts solus as an emphasising reflexive to fulfil its own former function. And in the genitive (ipsius) it is found where one might expect eius, illius, or a form of suus: e.g., 'inscius erat quia regnum ipsius tradebatur paganis' (§34).

Hi is found (§14) expressing merely a pronominal subject but in §16, where it may be taken to mean 'the latter', it may retain something of its Classical strength.

Iste has departed wholly from its classical functions. In §15 'iste...gentes' refers back to the preceding discussion - 'those races' (as does 'isto bello' in §57, but it is uncertain to what 'ab istis regionibus' refers in §60). But in its other occurrences, 'in ista hora' (§33), 'in ista nocte' (§33), 'de ista acre' (§38) 'in ista terra' (§32), it is found only in direct

speech where it means 'this'.¹ In this respect, its function is comparable to that observed in the Hiberno-Latin Vitae Sanctorum²; the chief difference lies in its total lack of second person colour in our text.

The use of se and suus has become much less strict than in Classical Latin, but both still retain some measure of their reflexive status. The occasional employment of sui instead of another part of suus may be noted: e.g. 'Nam super omnia mala adiciens, Guorthigirrus accepit filiam sui uxorem sibi' (§35); some later scribes and correctors naturally alter this to suam. The use of eius for suus, -a, -um is extremely common.

The frequent Late Latin employment of alter for alius may be seen in §72, 'secedit alterum³ ab altero', and §37 'ut alter alterum expelleret'; the cumbersome 'non...ulle' for nulle is found in §40.

1. An exception appears to be that in §80, where 'in ista uice' has the force of 'on one occasion'; but again it is noteworthy that the passage is almost direct speech - 'In qua mensura metieris eum in ista uice, iterum non inuenies eum in una mensura. Et ego solus probaui'. Here the author is addressing the reader.
2. William G. Most, The syntax of the Vitae Sanctorum Hiberniae (Washington, D.C., 1946), pp 63-65, who offers an interesting discussion.
3. Either the case (acc?) or the gender (neut?) is wrong here; the word refers back to cumulus, and should therefore be alter.

VII. Prefixes

I have noted in this text several examples of verbs which appear to have the wrong prefixes (or else have developed meanings quite at odds with those normally understood). In §3 confluunt ad omnes partes suggests the very opposite of coming or flowing together. Exierunt at the beginning of §33 is used in the sense of Classical Latin abierunt. Conuentum adduxerunt is used twice in §40 in the sense of 'to arrange/to hold a meeting', where conduco or even duco might have offered a better choice. In §45 cum nauī descendit (MS H; conscendit MS R) must mean 'he set sail'; descendo (whence Welsh disgynnu) is most naturally taken as 'disembark' while the variant conscendit (which implies recognition of the difficulty, as does the ascendit of the derivative MS.V) means only 'embark'. Neither will do; the contendit and peruenit of the source (Muirchú: these are the readings of MSS. A and B respectively) point rather to the meaning required. Unless the extension of meaning of subrogo to 'consecrate/ordain' which is required in §50 (subrogatur) has simply gone unrecorded, there is something wrong with this word, either with the prefix or the stem. A fault in the stem is perhaps the most likely explanation also in §36 'per multas regiones... cirūnderunt', where circundo ('surround') either must have been used in error for circumduco or circu(m)io or must have developed an extended meaning of 'travel about' to fit this context.

The text also contains two cases of the apparent use of words without the necessary prefix. Cunctantes (§37) requires the meaning of

'percunctantes'; the normal recorded meanings of these words are of course strikingly different. And inhabitabilis (§9) seems to require the sense of 'habitable' (or even 'inhabited'), normally rendered by 'habitabilis'; this is plainly the result of an etymological approach, where the author has added the particle or preposition in-, producing an apparently unexceptionable Latin word ¹ which, however, already existed with the contrary sense.

VIII. Prepositions.

Of the prepositions which take the accusative case, ad has probably the greatest variety of functions. Late Latin extensions of these are represented in our text. Ad is used instead of the simple dative of Classical Latin: examples are dixit Hencgistus ad Guorthigirnum (§34) and ad patrem tuum...dare (§35). Similarly with names of towns, one finds ad where formerly a simple accusative would have sufficed: ad Romam, 'to Rome'. An unusual and noteworthy construction is found in two places in our text: illi de puero ad pueros diligenter percunctabantur (§37) and et ipse dum de loco ad locum uagus est (§40). There are two cases in §28 where ad is used ('ad auxilium eorum'; 'ad imperium auxiliumque') where one might have expected a construction involving a verbal form; the former example, in particular, gives an impression of remarkable terseness.

1. Cf. W.G. Most, op.cit., pp. 72-73, for other examples of etymological inspiration in similar cases.

Finally, in 'ad occidentem uersus' (§ 3) we see a Late Latin usage; it is rendered even less Classical by expressing location rather than movement.

The accusative preposition which shows the most marked divergence in our text from earlier usage is apud. In §17, dum ipse pugnabat apud Dolobellum qui erat proconsul regi, the only meaning apud can bear is that of 'against'.¹ But at three other points in our text (§§ 26,60,62), apud should probably be understood as 'over'; in all three cases it occurs with regnare.² In my translation below, I have cautiously rendered apud as 'among' in these instances; this was doubtless the base from which the meaning extended. A king reigning among the Britons naturally reigned 'over' them too (§§ 60,62); but the Romans (§26) certainly ruled over the Britons rather than simply 'among' them ('regnauerunt Romani apud Brittones'). I do not recall any examples of apud in our text in which it retains its primary meanings. The usage in the Annales Cambrie may be worth noting. In the A-text, especially in its earlier part, there are several examples of apud where it must bear the sense of 'among'. Sub anno 354A, however, we find 'Caratauc rex Guenedote apud Saxones iugulatur';

1. Edmond Faral, La légende arthurienne (Paris, 1929), i. 89-90, discusses this, but comes to the unacceptable conclusion that Dolobellum is to be understood as a place-name since apud cannot mean 'against'. On this point, one may refer also to Lot, ed.cit., p. 163, n.6.

2. Cf. also §§ 5,9.

while this could mean that he was killed among the English (that is, in England) by far the most likely explanation is that he was killed by them. In the entry s.a. 334 A 'Vastatio Brittonum Dexteralium apud Offa', we can accept only the sense of by.¹ The same sense seems also to be given by the entry s.a. 340 A, 'Vastati<o> Brittonum cum Offa in estate'. We must, I think, conclude that we have to do here with an eighth-century annalist who was uncertain how to render his vernacular thoughts into Latin when they involved constructions with OW cant (ModW gan). We shall see an example of this when we come to discuss below the use of cum in our text.

There are three other Late Latin usages with accusative prepositions which deserve a mention as occurring in our text. Iuxta in the sense of 'according to' is found in §33 (iuxta uerba sancti Germani). The frequent Late Latin use of per to denote extent of time (rather than the simple ablative) is found in §29 (per quadraginta annos). Finally, the use of post to express ideas of motion is wholly a Late Latin development: our text contains the example 'post illum secutus est' (§40).

1. Compare the use of apud to express the agent in Hiberno-Latin: see W.G. Most, *op.cit.*, p. 294. Old Irish la, which apud appears to represent there, had the sense of cum, of apud, and of ab used for agent. It is this last that is especially comparable with the function of Welsh gan, expressed here by apud.

Prope is a preposition which invariably takes the accusative. Nonetheless, our text contains an example with the ablative or dative: prope ostio (§ 75). Given the sense of 'near to', the dative is perhaps the more likely. The anomalous obuiam illis et corpus (§ 77), where the correct dative form illis is followed by an apparent accusative, has already been discussed above.

Of prepositions which take the ablative case, ab is the first which requires consideration. Two examples where ex would be more natural in Classical Latin should be noted: 'septem imperatores fuerunt a Romanis' (§ 24) and 'unus ab idolis' (§ 30). What may be the most unusual example of the use of ab in our text is 'et uindicauit ualde Seuerum ab illis' (§ 21). I have translated (below) 'and by these deeds he avenged Seuerus thoroughly', which is unremarkable; but the possibility remains that the sense of this clause is 'and he avenged Se^ver^xus thoroughly on them', referring back to the reguli whom Caritius had killed. If so, uindicare would have come to take ab to express the sufferer of vengeance and the accusative to express the person being avenged. This is just one of many cases where uncertainty as to the author's syntactical usage makes translation a very hazardous business. Absque is used occasionally in our text and is apparently synonymous with sine, as it is in Late Latin: 'non absque detrimento militum' (§ 19); 'absque habitatore' (§ 34).

An unusual use of cum is found twice in our text, both in the section dealing with the legend of Hencgist. In §34 we read 'unum consilium cum illis omnibus fuit ut...' and in §40 'deinde unum consilium cum omnibus fuit ut...' This is hardly a natural mode of expression in Latin. But compared with Welsh a fu ganddynt oll (literally, 'was with them all'), it becomes intelligible as a Latin rendering^{er} of a vernacular idiom; cum represents in this construction the Welsh preposition gan, and one may compare here the usage noted above in Annales Cambrie, s.a. 340 A.

The preposition de develops in Late Latin a range of uses not found in the Classical language. Some of these may be found in our text. Its partitive use is seen in 'unus de consulibus' (§38) 'nichil de omnibus generibus ~~in~~umentorum' (§33) or in the more stylised 'milites de militibus' (§34) and 'os de ossibus' (§33).¹ We have already noted the expressions 'de puero ad pueros' (§37) and 'de loco ad locum' (§40) in the discussion above of the preposition ad. Finally, one must mention 'quia nemo potest accipere quicquam de terra nisi de celo datum fuerit', 'for no one may receive anything on earth unless it be given from heaven'.

1. Professor Jackson points out to me that one may compare Irish usage here: e.g., sé míle do míledaib, 'six thousand thousands', in Fís Adamnán, ed. E. Windisch, Irische Texte (Leipzig, 1880), p. 175, line 13.

On the only occasion when pre is used in our text (§ 61), it appears with the force of 'more than' that is so common in Late Latin: 'in ipso pre omnibus regibus uirtus maxima erat'.

One example of the use of pro deserves to be noted. In § 21 we read 'pro occisione Seueri' ('on account of the killing of Seuerus') where propter with the accusative might rather be expected.

Finally, palam, which as a preposition normally takes the ablative, may possibly be found here with the dative. However, the entire sentence is so obscure as to make this very uncertain: 'quis michi de me palam fecit' (§ 37).

Of prepositions which take now the accusative, now the ablative, only two require consideration here. In Late Latin in developed various functions which it did not have in the Classical period: some of these (for example, the usage seen in in hodiernum diem) may be found in our text.¹ But the most noteworthy feature of the employment of this preposition in our text is the confusion between its accusative and ablative uses. By and large the author

1. The expression 'crediderunt in Christo' which occurs as a variant reading in § 61 is another of these, but the simple dative remains common and is in fact used in our text: see above. In expressions of measure, Late Latin uses the ablative (instead of the Classical accusative) with in: thus in our text 'in longitudine..in latitudine' (§ 53, cf. §§ 74, 81).

conformed to Classical standards in this respect, but I have noted at least eight examples where he departs from those rules.

In four cases we find the ablative used instead of the accusative:

(i) 'descenderant in littore', § 8; (ii) 'ut non superuixerit aliquis Hiberniensium in aduentu iudicii' (§ 48); (iii) 'et flumina fluunt sexaginta in eo' (there are three other examples with fluo, in §§ 73 and 74) (§ 68); (iv) 'quam abisset solus in extremis finibus cosmi' (§ 81).¹ And there are another four

examples of the accusative being used for the ablative:

(i) 'In Britanniam Istoreth...tenuit Dalrieta' (§ 8)²;
 (ii) 'dimersi erant in rubrum mare' and 'mersi sunt Egiptii in rubrum mare' (§ 9)³; (iii) 'in honorem illius' (§ 18);
 (iv) 'Primum bellum fuit in ostium fluminis' (§ 52). All these examples show a marked confusion over the rules for the use of the two cases.

A final case involves the expression 'in medio' which occurs some five times in the course of the work (§§ 32, 37, 40). Its use in § 32 ('non uenient unquam in medio urbis mee') would appear to require rather an accusative construction 'in medium'; at first sight, therefore, it appears to belong to the former group of examples. However, the sense of 'in(to)the middle (of)'

1. But quam abisset may be an error for quamuis habitasset; the verb habito would then make in plus abl. quite natural

2. It is possible that the accusative has been used here to avoid confusion with the (apparently Celtic-Latin) idiom teneo in (plus abl.) found a few lines later in § 8. This idiom is discussed below.

3. The idea here is presumably that they sank down into the sea.

seems rather unnecessary; the tyrant is merely saying that Germanus will never be allowed inside his fortress. Similarly in §40, where we find a knife or dagger (artauus) being placed 'in medio ficonis' (fico = a shoe or clog), in medio must mean simply 'inside' (or 'in'). The examples in §37 do not contradict this: there is a pool 'in medio pauimenti'; secondly, 'in medio eorum [sc. uasorum] tentorium est'; finally, 'in medio tentorii' are found two uermes. In none of these cases is the idea of 'in the middle' essential; a simple 'in' is quite sufficient. It would seem that we are dealing here with an idiom, and the most likely explanation is that in medio represents a literal Latin rendering of the Welsh preposition y mywn, 'in', 'into'.¹ It is perhaps a further justification of this view that four of the five examples occur in direct speech; the fifth (§40) is ⁱⁿan indirect command. The use of this idiom may have been intended by the author to impart a colloquial flavour to his characters' words.²

Finally, super (with the accusative case) is employed in an unusual fashion on two noteworthy occasions in our text. Its use in §35, 'super omnia mala adiciens', could perhaps be ascribed to etymologising tendencies on the part of the writer, but this will hardly do as an explanation in §34. There we find 'Hencgistus...',

1. As was first suggested by I. Williams, THSC 1946/7, p 56

2. W.G. Most, *op.cit.*, pp 62, 64, and 243, conjectures that a number of features is used unclassically for colloquial effect in some of the Hiberno-Latin saints' Lives. But this has nothing to do with vernacular usage.

cum explorasset super regem inheritem et super gentem illius que sine armis utebatur'. Again we may suspect the literal rendering of a Welsh construction involving the OW preposition guar/guor, 'on', 'upon'.

IX. The Verb and its Syntax.

There are few morphological features requiring notice here. In §81 flectauerit (future perfect indicative) displays in its first-conjugation inflection a change from the Classical third-conjugation form (flecto, -ere, flexi, flexum); I have encountered no earlier occurrences of this first-conjugation development.¹ In §72, 'quando inundatur mare ad sissam' seems to present an unattested deponent, for the passive is unnecessary here.² Finally, amaras in §36 is to be rejected as a scribal error; amas is the form required, and amaras must be one of the many cases of scribal duplication of syllables, recorded in the manuscripts of our text. In §40 a pluperfect subjunctive formed with the perfect, rather than the imperfect, of the auxiliary may be seen (exorti fuerint).

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1. Compare the case of compareo (§37, MS.R), used for comparo. This usage is noted by R.E. Latham, Revised Medieval Latin Word-list from British and Irish Sources (London, 1965), p. 100, as occurring already 'ca 704'.
 2. It occurs three times in §72 in the same sense.

The infinitive provides what are probably the only cases in our text of morphological confusion in the verbal system caused by orthographic irregularities. The i/e variation is found in many different times and places in mediaeval Latin, but nowhere so commonly as in the Insular orthography of the pre-Norman period. In §37, we catch a glimpse of this variation, for MS.H originally read congregare but was altered to read congregari in common with MS.R; in §19 MS.R reads dari rightly, while MS.H gives dare.

The syntax of the infinitive provides some interesting material. Our author was evidently rather unhappy with the accusative and infinitive construction. He seems to avoid it as much as possible, with the result that there are a good many examples of ut and the subjunctive following verbs which in the Classical language would have been followed by accusative and infinitive. These are discussed below. When the accusative and infinitive construction is used, it often deviates from the classical standard. In §34 'promisit rex supradictus dari illis uictum', Classical Latin would require the future passive infinitive; our author avoids this form, not only here but at other points in the text, with the result that this work contains not a single example of a future infinitive. The substitution of the present for the future infinitive is a regular feature in Late Latin texts. §76 contains an odd construction, 'Magnum mirabile est, uentus de terra flare'; this must belong to the recognised class of nominative and infinitive constructions. However, the phrase

'uentus...flare' may be construed as subject of est; in this, it can apparently be paralleled only by two examples noted by Dr. Most in the Hiberno-Latin Vita-Sancti Abbani.¹ Also worthy of note is a rather extraordinary construction in §34: 'inscius erat quia regnum ipsius tradebatur paganis, et ipse solus in potestatem illorum clam dari'. Instead of continuing with the imperfect passive, the author has used the passive present infinitive, thus creating a sort of nominative and infinitive construction. (For this use of quia. see below).

The gerund is little used in our text. Apart from five accusative examples with ad ('et nusquam reuersi sunt iterum ad habitandum', §60; 'in eo uadunt homines....ad lauandum,' §70; 'ad regnandum amplius', §26; 'ad legendum', §43; 'Factum est autem ut unus de rusticis sepeliret eum in terra ad probandum, §78), I have noted only 'ipsi legatos ultra mare....transmittebant uocando ciulas' (§39); such cases of the gerund in the dative are rare at all periods, and especially rare with an object. It is strange that one of the very few occurrences of the gerund in our text should be in such a rare construction. Examples of gerundive construction occur in §§9, 27, 32, 43 and 80, and are fairly unremarkable.

1. W.G. Most, op.cit., pp. 166-167. Although the Vita belongs probably to the period after the Norman invasion of Ireland, it appears to be based on ninth-century materials.

There are two cases worthy of note where the verb appears not to agree in number with its subject.¹ In § 81 'in una longitudine inuenitur sepulchrum et homo' may perhaps be explained on the basis that the tomb was found to be the same size as the man; the idea of apposition may be responsible for the singular verb. But in § 40 a different usage cannot be thus explained: 'At ille Guorthigirnus cum suis maioribus natu consilium fecerunt, et scrutati sunt quid facerent'. This feature has been identified by Dr. Most as constantly recurring in the Hiberno-Latin Vitae Sanctorum, where it is often preferred to co-ordination with et.²

The tense and mood of verbs in main clauses deserves brief consideration. Late Latin was much freer as regards the consistency of tenses employed in main clauses. In particular, the historic present was much more freely employed than in Classical Latin. An excellent example of such inconsistency, no doubt helped in part by the nature of the sources, may be observed in the bewildering alternation of tenses in § 27 of our text. This tendency to alternation of tenses without feeling of incongruity was no doubt aided in our text (and, indeed, in other Celtic-Latin works) by the universality of this practice in

1. Another occurs in § 9, 'rem publicam... que prius regia dignitate dampnata fuerant', where the plural auxiliary (which must be emended) doubtless results from the que (and dampnata) being momentarily taken as neuter plural.

2. W.G. Most, op.cit., p. 8.

vernacular story-telling. But in our text it is not a question merely of the widespread use of the simple historic present; a case like 'Hoc faciunt ab initio mundi usque in hodiernum diem' (§72), where one is compelled to understand the verb in the sense of 'have been doing', is by no means isolated.

A difficult case relating to the matter of sequence of tense and mood occurs in §39: 'Contra uoluntatem Dei quis resistere poterit et nitatu<r>?' Here the future indicative of poterit is closely followed by what appears to be the present subjunctive of the 3rd conjugation deponent verb nitor: the translation below attempts to reflect this sequence. The potential use of the subjunctive in main clauses may be sufficient to explain this case, but the coupling of nitatur with a future indicative suggests that it falls into the class of subjunctives used with the force of future indicatives; Dr. Most has identified this usage in the Hiberno-Latin saints' Lives also.¹ The only other case in this text where the (present) subjunctive appears in a main clause is in §70: 'sicut placuerit illi, lauacrum sic fiat sibi'. Here the same future indicative force seems to be required,² especially as that is used in the parallel clauses: 'si uoluerit lauacrum frigidum, erit; si calidum, calidum erit'.

1. W.G. Most, op.cit., p. 211. It is worth noting that one of the uses of the subjunctive in early Welsh is future indicative; and that in Breton the future indicative is the old present subjunctive. I owe these comments to Professor Jackson.

2. But fiat could be a scribal error for fiet, giving the future indicative.

The text contains what is, in effect, a new co-ordinative conjunction: nam et. It seems to mean simply 'and', with nam having little more force than a uero or quidem. It was no doubt formed by analogy with the Classical sed et. It occurs three times in our text (§§ 20, 53, 78); in each case it is followed by a personal pronoun (ipsi, ipse, ego respectively) used with some emphatic force. This conjunction is taken up and used in other parts of the text by the author of the 'Vatican' recension.

The use (or abuse) of particles has been discussed in the relevant section above. However, there are certain noteworthy cases of the unclassical use of prepositions with verbs: the type 'dare ad patrem' instead of the simple dative has been discussed above under the heading of prepositions, as has the unusual use of super after different verbs in §§ 34 and 35. Another unusual example is 'ut quid faceret ab eis interrogaret' (§ 36), 'to ask them what he might do'.

The many conjunctions which introduce subordinate clauses deserve careful attention. I begin with temporal clauses introduced by antequam and postquam. The sole example of antequam I have noted appears to retain its Classical nuance, namely its use with the subjunctive to suggest deliberate or precise timing: 'uenerat... centum quadraginta sex annis antequam Mailcun regnaret' (§ 60). Two examples of postquam used unclassically with the subjunctive deserve to be noted: in

'Postquam exorti fuerint illi' (§40) may be seen both that and the creation of a pluperfect subjunctive of exorior by the use of the perfect rather than the imperfect of the auxiliary; in 'postquam formaauerint' (§85) the perfective force is contextually appropriate.

Dum appears, as it does in Late Latin from the Vitae Patrum onwards, with the force - proper to cum - of 'when'. Two examples 'dum omnes descenderant in littore' (§8) and 'dum conuenta esset sinodus magna' (§35), both displaying pluperfect tenses; the indicative of §8 follows the Classical rules for the mood to be used with cum in temporal clauses, for dum here carries the sense of 'as soon as'; the subjunctive of §35 is the mood expected in this Late Latin construction.

A concessive use of dum - an uncommon construction until the patristic period in Latin (from Tertullian) - is found in §74: 'magnum mirabile, pisces in fonte, dum non flumen fluit in eo neque ex eo'. The use of the indicative here conforms to the historical practice of Latin rather than to the 'rules' of Late Latin.

One may find dum used commonly in its normal meaning of 'while' but with the subjunctive mood. Though this usage is found in some Classical sources, it belongs chiefly and commonly to the Late Latin period. Examples are 'Romani autem, dum acciperent dominium... miserunt' (§17) and 'qui mox dum in Gallias

transfretaret, Gratianus...superatus est' (§27); the latter also shows the use of mox, to accompany the conjunction introducing a temporal clause, which develops in the Late Latin period.

Apart from the cases discussed above, our text does appear to retain the broad Classical distinction between dum with the indicative meaning 'while' and with the subjunctive to mean 'until'. One interesting example of the latter does occur in §24, where dum is joined by usque to give the sense of 'right up to the time when': 'ciues expulsi sunt usque dum Deus auxilium dederit illis'.

The conjunctions quod and quia are used to express, inter alia, 'the fact that'. The indicative was normally used where this occurred in Early and Classical Latin: with this may be compared §35, 'premonuit...ut diceret quod ipse erat pater filii'. The use of the subjunctive appears to be exceptional at all periods,¹ but may be found here in §4 where the quod-clause effectively forms the subject of the sentence; 'nuntiatum est Aeneae quod nurus sua grauida esset'. Quia appears in this sense with the indicative in §34; another peculiarity appears, however, in that the construction mysteriously changes half-way. We read 'inscius erat quia regnum ipsius tradebatur paganis, et ipse solus in potestatem illorum clam dari', where the sentence is closed by a curious nominative and infinitive construction instead of another verb dependent on quia.

1. W.G. Most, op.cit., pp. 272-273, has collected some examples in the Hiberno-Latin saints' lives.

There remain two cases where quod, introducing a subordinate clause, functions as if it were an indeclinable relative, much after the fashion of the loose Modern English use of 'that':
 'unus est ab idolis eorum quod ipsi colebant' (§30);
 'usque ad discordiam...quod est Guoloppom'. It is possible that in the former example quod refers back to the unus, understood as 'unum idolum'; the latter has been discussed, and a possible explanation suggested, above. But, taken together, these two items raise a question about the author's use of the relative pronoun.

Another curious development involving the relative may be found in §8: 'excepta una ciula que confracta esset naufragio'. The pluperfect subjunctive was hardly to be expected here; it must presumably be taken in the sense of 'which is said to have been destroyed'.

One other very strange feature occurs in the last sentence of §81, which seems in very poor shape indeed. The clause 'quam
cosmi' presents many difficulties, of which the conjunction is a major one. It abisset solus in extremis finibus could stand for quamuis (likely, as the subjunctive follows) or quamquam (unlikely); at worst, it should be emended to one of these. H² has substituted etiam si, which gives the right sense and has the merit of presenting a parallel to the previous sentence, but this mediaeval emendation is rather drastic. The 'Gildasian' recension offers 'quamuis habitasset' for 'quam abisset' and this may be held to solve many

difficulties; unfortunately we cannot say whether this represents the original text or a mediaeval emendation. That recension offers two further emendations to this sentence, one of which certainly cannot be original.

One may now move finally, as far as conjunctions are concerned, to the use of ut. One is confronted at once by a group of three examples where, in final clauses, the future indicative appears to follow ut. The use of the indicative is a Late Latin development, and that may be what is manifested here, but there is room for doubt. Let us begin with the three examples: 'angeli Dei in aere expectant te ut gradieris cum illis' (§33); 'arcem munitam inuenies ut tu defendes' (§36); 'secunda [petitio eius est] ut ne a barbaris consumuntur in eternum' (§48). Each presents difficulties, however: although the two principal manuscripts (HR) agree on all these readings, in H the first two have been altered by H² to the subjunctive mood by changing the -e- of the inflexions to -a- (gradiaris, defendas); Vat. & Gild. agree with gradiaris, and Gild. (Vat. having altered the construction) agrees with defendas. Further, Vat. and Gild. both read consumeretur for the consumuntur of Harl., thus suggesting that the indicative plural form results from the misinterpretation of a suspension-mark, or from that loss of similar adjacent syllables often seen in our text. It is therefore quite possible that this indicative group is a phantom; alternatively, it is perfectly possible that redactors working on the text would eliminate inconsistent and Late Latin features of this nature.

A notable feature of our text is the common Late Latin development which allows the accusative and infinitive construction to be replaced by ut with the subjunctive. Examples are: 'neque Romani ausi sunt ut uenirent Brittanniam' (§ 26); 'et ceperunt uermes ut alter alterum expelleret' (§ 37); 'Hengistus omni familie sue iussit ut ...poneret' (§40); 'et nunquam addiderunt... ut...exigerent' (§53).

I conclude with a few observations on word-order in our text. By any Latin standard, it is highly eccentric and a full study could be devoted to its idiosyncracies. Three peculiarities stand out as worthy of immediate comment. The restatement of an object, be it in a main or a subordinate clause, is an extremely rare event; one may be expected on occasion to go for two or three sentences, continually supplying from memory the object of each clause. In this respect, the text reminds one forcibly of Celtic vernacular prose-literature; this feature is particularly noticeable in Old Irish saga. There are also occasions in our text where the word-order could be a help to comprehension (especially in cases where possessive pronouns are not sufficiently explicit) but unfortunately is not. A case in point is the last sentence of § 26: 'neque Romani ausi sunt ut uenirent Brittanniam ad regnandum amplius, quia duces illorum Brittones occiderant'. Who had killed whom? If one reads this chapter carefully and takes also § 28 into account, it becomes plain that the Britons had killed the Romans' duces; the Romans' fear was therefore not of

vengeance but was based on their previous experience of British treachery. This interpretation, however, requires that the word-order of the last clause be object-subject-verb, an un-Latin syntax which is at best eccentric, at worst misleading.

But the most extraordinary recurring feature of the word-order of our text is of a different nature. Four examples will serve to document this practice:

- (i) 'At ipsi cum orarent et expectarent iuxta portam arcis, et ecce, uir unus currebat...' (§33);
- (ii) 'At illi barbari cum multiplicati essent numero, non potuerunt Brittones cibare illos' (§34);
- (iii) 'Et hoc cum conceptum esset a sancto Germano, eum corripere uenit cum omni clero...' (§35);
- (iv) 'et ipse dum de loco ad locum uagus erat, tandem cor eius crepuit...' (§40).

Such types as these, where the subject of the subordinate clause stands at the head of the sentence before the conjunction which should introduce it, are based no doubt on the Classical word-order of subject, subordinate clause(s), object, main verb. Their immediate predecessor was no doubt a sentence like 'At ipsi, cum nauigarent circa Pictos, uastauerunt Orcades insulas' (§34) where the head-word was the subject of both clauses. It was then a small, if utterly misguided, step to the forms cited above. What we do not know is whether this word-order (a snare for the unwary) was a deliberate mannerism, or an error into which the author fell from time to time.

X. Vocabulary.

An examination of the vocabulary of our text must be divided into two parts, dealing first with neologisms and then with previously unrecorded semantic developments of well-attested words.

The new words also divide into two main groups. There are those of Late Latin origin, such as fratrueilis, 'nephew' (passim), mallina (for malina, a rare word possibly of Gaulish origin), 'high tide' or 'spring tide' (§78), sallire (giving the saliuntur of §71), 'to salt', and unianimiter, 'with one mind' (§9). Of the remaining new words, some are attested in other early mediaeval sources, some appear to be found only in our text. Ciula ('ship'), an early loan from Old English, makes its first appearance in Gildas, De Excidio. Abegetoria (pl), ¹ 'primers'/'abecedaries' (§47) is first attested in the seventh century (Muirchú) in the forms abgatoria (sing.) and abgetorium; likewise sissa (§§ 69,72,78), 'flood', appears in two seventh-century Hiberno-Latin works, the Hisperia Famina (A 397; D7) and the pseudo-Isidoran Liber de ordine creaturarum, ix.7 (it is found also in the forms sisam and scissam). ² Otherwise, there are some

1. On this word, cf. J. Loth, Revue celtique, 49 (1932), p.162. Early Welsh agwydor derives directly from abēcēdārium. The /b/ and /d/ of early Irish aibgitir, for /v/ and /ð/, are unexpected, but the Hiberno-Latin abgetorium suits aibgitir exactly.

2. Michael Herren (ed), The Hisperica Famina, i (Toronto, 1974), pp. 178-179, discusses this word.

seven words which are attested first or only in our text: artauus (§40), 'knife'/'dagger' appears here first, then in an Anglo-Latin glossary of ca 1000; fico (§40), 'shoe'/'clog' - represented by a genitive singular ficonis and an ablative plural ficonibus - has much the same history as artauus.¹ In catenatus est (§40), we have probably the first example of catenare, 'to enchain'. The noun lapidicinos (§37), 'masons' (?), and the adjective uulpicino, 'foxy' (§40), assuming they are not, as they stand, the result of scribal error, are unique formations. Ianuator, 'porter' (§32), for ianitor, is based on a wholly etymological approach and derived from ianua 'door'.² Finally, the Nordi, 'the Northerners', of §64 may be found in Annales Cambrie, s.a. 200A, but nowhere else, to my knowledge; the word must be of ultimately Germanic, and therefore English, origin.³

Comment is also required on a good many words whose use in our text shows a semantic shift either otherwise unrecorded or else attested only in Late or Mediaeval Latin writings. Nouns form the largest group to be examined. In §33 arx, ciuitas, and

1. It reappears ca 1000 in Ælfric's Colloquy, ed. G.N. Garmonsway (London, 2nd edn, 1947), p.35, where ficones is glossed by OE sceos ('shoes').

2. It occurs also in the Chartres recension (§16).

3. Estrangli (§55, gen.pl.) occurs only in MS.H, but its authenticity is guaranteed by its appearance in the proceedings of the Council of Hatfield, A.D. 680, quoted by Bede, Hist.Eccl., iv.15 (17). It is doubtless a variant of Easterangli, seen in our text in §64.

urbs are all used interchangeably in the sense of 'fortress'; urbs may be seen in the same sense in §§ 38 and 62, and ciuitas in § 67. At the end of § 34, however, ciuitas is seemingly used in its classical sense of 'administrative unit'; it is there referred to as supradicta, but unfortunately there appears to be no earlier mention to confirm or refute this deduction.

In § 60 we find attauus used perhaps to mean simply 'ancestor'; in this sense Classical Latin knew only ataui, 'ancestors', for atauus was a highly precise term meaning 'great-great-great grandfather'. In this sentence Cunedda is described as the attauus of Maelgwn: according to the Welsh genealogies, Cunedda was only Maelgwn's great-grandfather, but the five-generation span which is technically implied might suit better the 146-year period said by the text to have separated the legendary migration of Cunedda from Maelgwn's accession. This is a matter for further research.

The phrase '(usque) ad caput anni' uses the word caput to give the sense of 'end', though, as this phrase is a direct Latinisation of a vernacular idiom, the author no doubt continued to understand caput as 'head' for 'until the head of the year' would have seemed to him a natural form of expression.

Forceps (§ 35) is probably to be taken to mean 'scissors'. As a cutting instrument, it appears first in the work of Paulinus of

nola (though with the meaning of 'tongs', etc., it was current in Classical Latin). It is recorded as the plural forcipes or forpices with the meaning of 'scissors' or 'shears'; the examples are found mostly in Anglo-Norman or later sources, but one belongs to the late eighth century.

Fractio (§8) seems to be unique in the sense of 'shipwreck'. In origin it is a Late Latin word with the sense not only of 'breaking', which it retains throughout the middle ages, but also of 'weariness of spirit', 'illness'.

The word gronna (§84) presents some major problems. As grunna it appears first in the seventh century with the meaning of 'marsh'; all but one of the recorded examples belong to the pre-Norman period. On the four occasions in the brief §84 where it occurs, it can hardly mean 'marsh', for 'a marsh of tin' etc. makes no sense; and in clauses like 'primo circulo gronna stanni ambitur', gronna can hardly be taken as subject, with the genitive of the metal dependent on 'circulo'. At the moment, no solution can be offered.

The form Guen(e)dote, 'of Gwynedd', raises an interesting question. Guen(e)dot represents the adjective Gwyndod, from Uēnedotis. The examples in §§ 57, 62 and 63 are quite consistent with this interpretation: 'rex Guen(e)dote regionis', where the feminine singular genitive inflection agrees happily with regionis. However,

in §60, 'in regione Guenedote' must display a nominal rather than adjectival form, and this immediately raises doubts about the explanation of the other examples. Suspicions are confirmed by an examination of the A-text of Annales Cambrie, where three occurrences may be noted: s.a. 103, Mailcun rex Genedotæ; s.a. 354, Caratauc rex Guenedote; s.a. 365, Elbodg archiepiscopus Guenedote regione. The first two examples at least must be nouns. We must therefore reckon with a noun Guen(e)dota, 'Gwynedd', which is presumably a development from an adjectival form.

Locus (§41) in 'et condidit locum magnum' indicates an ecclesiastical building, here apparently a monastery. It was from this word that Welsh llog was borrowed. Its semantic development will therefore have been the same as Old English stow and closely comparable with that of Welsh llan.

Maiores has an interesting history. From the classical meaning of 'ancestors', it had by the sixth century achieved the force of 'predecessors'; and Cassiodorus referred to the 'maiores domus regiae' of the Gothic court, a group of outstanding Goths who were entrusted with various important commissions. From the adjectival 'maior (natu)', 'older', the noun 'maiores (natu)', must have been developed in the sense of 'elders' and therefore 'counsellors': this is certainly how the maiores of §34 and the maiores natu of §40 must be understood. ¹

1. It is worth noting that Welsh maer, Irish maer, and perhaps Pictish (?) (mor-)maer, all derive from Latin maior.

Peritia is an important word here. In Classical Latin it referred to 'skill', i.e. 'knowledge derived from experience'; in its use here (§15) it means at least 'tradition'/'lore', but may be a sufficiently precise term that it should be taken as 'genealogy'/'pedigree'. Professor F.J. Byrne has argued ¹ that in Celtic-Latin usage it developed a technical sense equivalent to Irish senchas: his chief example was from Muirchú's prologue to his Life of St. Patrick: 'Haec pauca de sancti Patricii peritia ² et uirtutibus Muirchu...conscripsit', but he cites also the Irish genealogists and the prologue to the 'Nennian' recension of the Historia Brittonum. An examination of the use of the adjectival formations peritus and peritissimus may help to throw further light on this semantic development. We read in Muirchú (A I.24, 26) that 'ubi usque hodie signa quaedam uirtutis esse manentia periti dicunt'; the words of such people are worth quoting, for they are the repositories of tradition. In the prologue to Lifris's Latin Life of St. Cadog, ³ 'Gundleius respondit, "Testante Deo et omnibus Brittannorum peritissimis, istius terrę heredem me esse profiteor"! One should note here what the Welsh peritissimi are expected to know about. It is therefore no surprise when in §9 of our text we read 'Si quis autem scire uoluerit quando uel quo tempore fuit inhabitabilis et deserta Hibernia, sic michi peritissimi Scottorum nuntiauerunt'; enquiry

1. Zeitchrift für celtische Philologie, 29 (1962-64), p. 385, n.5

2. L.Bieler, Medium Ævum, 43 (1974), p. 228, suggests a possible emendation to pueritia, but this is unnecessary.

3. A.W. Wade-Evans, Vitae Sanctorum Britanniae et Genealogiae (Cardiff, 1944), p. 26

was made of these peritissimi concerning Irish senchas.

Etymologically related to Latin peritia is experimentum (perī- is the root for both), which in Classical Latin means 'experience' but in Late Latin has come to have the force of 'example' and of 'knowledge'. This word is used twice in our text: 'hoc experimentum bifarie inueni' (§4); 'Aliud experimentum inueni de isto Bruto ex ueteribus libris ueterum nostrorum' (§13). Joseph Loth argued ¹ that its meaning was identical with that of peritia; I am inclined to agree, for 'tradition' or the like appears to give the sense required in these passages. In the example quoted by Williams ² from 'Codex Oxoniensis Prior' (A.D. 817), 'Incipit paruum experimentum de luna', we should perhaps take it in the sense of 'a piece of knowledge'.

The meaning of Romani in §24 is difficult to grasp precisely: 'In ueteri traditione seniorum nostrorum, septem imperatores fuerunt a Romanis in Brittannia; Romani autem dicunt nouem'. This word has been used to describe many different groups in different times and places: here it could mean the authors of Latin sources used by our author; it could mean a romanising ecclesiastical party (bearing in mind that the Welsh Churches had only recently been resolving their paschal dispute); or it could have another significance altogether.

1. Revue celtique, 49 (1932), pp. 162-163

2. Trans. Hon. Soc. Cymm. 1946/7, p. 55

Septimana (§7) is a Late Latin word. It is found in the mid-third century meaning 'a period of seven years', but from the late fourth century onwards is regularly attested in the sense of 'a week'. This^{is} almost certainly the meaning in §7: 'et uenit mortalitas super eos, et in una septimana omnes perierunt'. This word was borrowed into most of the Celtic languages where it invariably means 'a week'.¹

A small number of adjectives requires comment. The extension of meaning of exosus from the 'hating' of the Classical period to the passive 'hated' is a Late Latin development, being attested from the fourth century onwards. In this sense it occurs in §4 of our text, followed by the simple ablative: 'exosus omnibus hominibus'.

Guenedota has already been mentioned, for it appears to have become a Latin noun. Inhabitabilis was considered above in the section on prefixes, for it appears here (§9) to have come to mean 'inhabitable'/'inhabited'. Finally, peritissimus was dealt with in the discussion of peritia.

Two remaining adjectives, dexter² and sinistralis/sinister, are used in Celtic-Latin as the equivalents of vernacular terms which originally meant 'left' and 'right' but came to mean 'north' and 'south' respectively. These literal Latin equivalents are used

1. On the various borrowings, see K.H. Jackson, Language and history in Early Britain (Edinburgh, 1953), pp. 394, 395.

2. And dext(e)ralis, but this does not occur in our text.

freely in the Latin of both Ireland and Wales: in our text these words are found in §§ 6, 38, 51,⁵⁸ 60, and 74, for example.

The verbs constitute the other large group to be discussed. In the section on prefixes, above, I have already discussed adducere (§40), circumdare (§36), descendere and conscendere (§45), and subrogare (§50). All these appear to be suffering from the use of a wrong element, be that prefix or stem. And cunctantes (§37), requiring the sense of percunctantes, appears to lack its prefix. All of these could of course be errors developed during the process of transmission, but they seem to me to be too many for this to be likely in every case. We must rather reckon with the incorrect use (or abandonment) of particles by an author for whom Latin was a wholly foreign and acquired language.

Breuiare (§50) could be another such case. It appears to mean here 'to keep it short'. This verb is otherwise unattested in the British Isles before the late twelfth century when it is an administrative term meaning 'to commit to writing' or 'to summon by writ'. On the other hand adbreuiare (> abbreuiare) is a Late Latin verb meaning 'to epitomise' or 'to break off'. In breuiare we may have a version of that verb (cf. the case of cunctantes, above). The only comparable example known to me occurs in the miniugud of the Leabhar Gabhála Éirenn: 'Iterum, breuiamus de genelogis Túath Dé Danann, quia plene ante scripsimus'.¹

1. R.A.S. Macalister (ed. & tr.), Lebor Gabála Éirenn. The Book of the Taking of Ireland, iv (Dublin, 1941), p.132

Comperior (§37) appears as a deponent equivalent of comperio as early as Terence; both have the sense of 'to find out', 'to discover', in Classical Latin. In our text, however, there has been a slight shift, for comperior must be translated 'I know'. This usage confirms the evidence of the main witnesses in §35, where, in the clause 'Et hoc cum conceptum esset a sancto Germano', H² (supported by L) alters conceptum esset to read compertum esset; it is very unlikely that comperior would have here its Classical sense, but in §37 a new meaning.

The phrase capite damnare meant in Classical Latin 'to condemn to loss of civil rights'. But in §27 capite dampnatur must mean that Maximus was sentenced to death. The expression must have been **taken** by our author to have the apparent force of the words rather than the technical sense which was probably unknown to him.

In §47, what is very likely a scribal error must nonetheless be mentioned: among the recital of St. Patrick's apostolic miracles is 'demonēs obsessis corporibus fugiebat', according to the main manuscripts. Yet fugio means 'to take to flight', 'to flee from'; it never seems to acquire the sense of fugo. MSS LV have accordingly written fugabat, 'he put to flight'/'he chased away', which I have adopted in my text. The use of fugiebat by MSS. HR remains a mystery.

Iudicare is used interestingly. In Classical Latin it has the sense of 'to judge', 'to be a judge'; it retains this meaning through the middle ages. Yet in our text it seems to have the force of 'to rule', 'to hold sway'. 'Sic in proverbio antiquo dicitur, quando de iudicibus uel regibus sermo fuit: "Iudicauit Brittanniam cum tribus insulis" ' (§3) begins to point in this direction, but the extended sense is assured in §4: 'Brittones dim, implentes eam, a mari usque ad mare iudicauerunt'. The verb also appears in §5: 'Quando regnabat Britto in Brittannia, Heli sacerdos iudicabat in Israel'.

Nutrior appears already in Classical Latin as a deponent equivalent of nutrio, 'to nourish', 'to bring up'. In §4, nutritus est is passive of nutrio and appears to have the technical sense of 'was fostered' rather than simply 'was brought up': 'In natiuitate illius mulier mortua est; et nutritus est filius; et uocatum est nomen eius Britto'. This use of nutrire is the common coin of Celtic-Latin, from Brittany to Ireland, for the institution of fosterage was universal in the Celtic countries. ¹

In Celtic-Latin, the verbs teneo and obtineo have developed a use with in and ablative in addition to their employment of a simple direct object. There are two outstanding examples together: 'Buile autem cum suis tenuit Euboniam insulam et in aliis circiter.

1. For a full study, based on the Latin terminology, see F. Kerlouégan, 'Essai sur la mise en nourriture et l'éducation dans les pays celtiques d'après le témoignage des textes hagiographiques latins', Études celtiques, 12 (1968-71), pp 101-146.

pili autem Liethan obtinerunt in regione Demetorum et in aliis regionibus... (§8). In the first sentence we see teneo with both constructions; here the sense is one of the Classical meanings of this verb, 'to seize' (Bulc seized the island of Man and others round about). In the second sentence it is uncertain, because of this construction, whether the whole of Dyfed was taken (this seems the more probable) along with other regions, or if land was taken in Dyfed and in the other districts. ¹

Finally, one may note that in our text the deponent verb utor ('use'/'possess'/'enjoy') has come to be understood in its mediaeval sense of 'dwell'. This force is found on two occasions where we read 'quia sine armis utebantur Brittones' (§9) and 'gentem illius que sine armis utebatur' (§34). ²

It remains to comment on three adverbs. In §39 petulanter seems to have developed from its Classical meaning of 'impudently' or 'petulantly' and to require rather the sense of 'aggressively'. ³

1. For an example of teneo with in and accusative, see §17: 'Iulius... tenuit in ostium Tamesis.' Here the meaning would seem to be the more or less Classical one of 'held course into', in which case it is irrelevant to this discussion.
2. For the British Isles, the earliest record of this meaning is apparently otherwise ca 1000: see Latham, op.cit., p.502.
3. J. Loth, *Revue celtique*, 49 (1932), p. 157f., argues that auide (also in §39, describing Gwrthefyr's attacks on the English) stands for Welsh awydd(us). The point is not clear however, for the sense of Latin auide is that given by the Classical usage and appears to be no different from that offered by the Welsh word.

I have been unable to find other examples of this usage, and am tempted to wonder if it does not depend on the etymologising inclinations we have noted before, this adverb being referred to peto, one of whose meanings is 'attack'/'assail'. Compare also the mediaeval Latin adjective petulcus ('aggressive'), attested first in the British Isles in the ninth century. In § 21, tyrannide has the meaning of tyrannice; I have not seen the form in -ide elsewhere. Finally, the use of interea deserves mention. It introduces two chapters, namely §§ 30 and 33, where it is arguable that it does not have its normal sense of 'meanwhile'. In § 33, this must certainly be very unlikely, for it is part of a sequence of events: it can hardly have greater force than 'then'. At the head of § 30 we read 'Interea uenerunt tres ciule...', which begins the story of the aduentus Saxonum. Yet § 29 has just given a chronological resumé which (taken together with the chronological data in §§ 65-66) demands that the aduentus follow the events summarised in § 29.¹ At the best, the interea of § 30 must refer to the reign of Gwrtheyrn, picking up the dum of 'dum ipse regnabat in Brittannia'. The sequence in § 29 is that with the killing of Maximus (A.D. 388) Roman rule in Britain has passed; there follow forty years of fear (bringing one to A.D. 428, the year of the aduentus Saxonum, according to § 65). At the end of this period Gwrtheyrn was ruler in Britain. Then ('interea') came the three ships from Germany.

1. On all this, see D.N. Dumville, BCS, 25 (1972-74), pp. 444-445.

XI. The influence of the vernacular.

As was stated at the outset, comparatively few vernacular features are identifiable in the Latinity of our text. Of those that are, some have already been met with above. And such identification was the main purpose of the relevant sections of the articles by Joseph Loth and Ifor Williams, already cited above; in fact, in their enthusiasm, they sometimes appear to have gone too far.

The use of prepositions seems to offer the most fruitful field of enquiry: apud = 'against'/'by'/'over', representing the Welsh prepositions gan and ar (OW guar/guor)¹; cum, representing gan (OW cant)²; in medio (in medium), representing y mywn³; super, representing ar.⁴ Perhaps the major difficulty for anyone rendering thoughts in one language into another (which is not native to him) is the correct use of prepositions. Hence

1. See above, p. 84f.

2. See above, p. 87. Joseph Loth, Revue celtique, 49 (1932), p. 158, draws attention to a possible example (not considered above) where cum appears to represent the usage of gan: 'et [Britto] impleuit eam [sc. Britanniam] cum suo genere' (§4).

3. See above, p. 89f.

4. See above, p. 90f. Cf. Ifor Williams's translation of the relevant part of §34, which brings out the relationship of super and ar very well: Trans. Hon. Soc. Cymm. 1946/7, p. 55. However, his other examples (p. 56) are cases where the Latin use of super can hardly be said to be unusual.

the muddle indicated by the above un-Latin use of certain prepositions. Sometimes, however, we find whole idioms being rendered into Latin: a case in point is the cum (illis) omnibus fuit of §§ 34 and 40, which must represent Welsh a fu ganddynt oll. Most of these cases have already been studied above.¹

Vocabulary is partly influenced by the vernacular in our text. Two Celtic-Latin expressions are caput anni, 'the end of the year'², and sinistralis/sinister, dext(e)ralis/dexter for 'north' and 'south' respectively;³ these are the common coin of Celtic latinity and are used to render exactly their vernacular equivalents. Semen bellicosum (§17), 'caltrops', is simply a calque on cethilou and is hardly to be taken too seriously as a feature of the author's latinity; on the other hand, the fact that our author should produce such a calque (which to the non-Celtic reader would be inscrutable), rather than use a word such as calcitrumentum or a phrase to explain just what was wanted, is indicative of a certain state of mind.

The use of 'inter....et' to mean 'both....and' reflects a vernacular usage. In § 40 we read 'inter potentes et inpotentes, inter seruum et liberum, inter monachos et laicos, inter paruum et magnum' where 'both....and' is unquestionably the sense

1. Williams appears to suggest (art. cit., p.56) that 'ut dolum.... facerent' represents a Welsh idiom; this may not be perfect Latin, but to invoke the vernacular seems unnecessary here.
2. See above, p. 105. The Welsh is pen y flwyddyn, OW. penn ir bloidin.
3. The examples are collected above, p. 110f.

required on each occasion. With this expression we may compare Irish 'etar...ocus' and Welsh '(y) rwng..a(c)'; both have this meaning in spite of the apparent sense of 'between' conveyed by the preposition. Again, we have to do with a direct latinisation of a vernacular preposition rather than an attempt to render its sense into Latin. ¹

Ego solus (§80), tu solus (§33), and ipse solus (§§18,34, 40) are all found in our text; solus gives the emphatic reflexive force proper to ipse. These are again direct latinisations of Welsh forms: fy hun, dy hun, and ei hun are all created by the addition of hun, a form of the numeral un ('one'), to the independent personal pronoun. ² One of the senses of un is 'only'; it is this that has been felt to give the appropriate sense when a Latin equivalent was required - hence the use of solus. This characteristically Cambro-Latin formation is found again in Liber Landauensis, as Joseph Loth pointed out: ³ 'et ita nisi ipse solus succurreret'. ⁴

1. For the Welsh usage, see D. Simon Evans, A Grammar of Middle Welsh (Dublin, 1964), p 208. A similar sequence (inter....et....et) in §20 is a different construction and is not relevant here. Ifor Williams's suggestion (art.cit., p 55) that the interea of §33 stands for emysc hynny is misguided; the Welsh is rather a calque on the Latin and is a sufficiently rare usage itself to be worthy of comment. It has the usual meaning of interea, namely 'meanwhile'.

2. D.S. Evans, op.cit., pp. 89-90.

3. Revue celtique, 49 (1932), p 161.

4. J. Gwenogvryn Evans and John Rhys (edd), The Text of the Book of Llan Dâv reproduced from the Gwysaney manuscript (Oxford, 1893), p. 141.

§33 may present another vernacular feature: 'At ipsi cum orarent et expectarent iuxta portam arcis, et ecce, uir unus currebat et sudor illius a uertice ad plantas pedum distillabat'. While judicious use of punctuation may make this seem less un-Latin than it appears to be at first sight, in fact this use of ecce must represent what in Modern Welsh would be dyma.¹

The expression filius mortis in §4 is an unusual one: it is exactly comparable, however, with Old Irish macc báis, 'one of the damned'. I know of no Welsh cognate idiom, but there must be a strong suspicion that one existed in the Old Welsh period and that we have here a latinisation of it.

In §40, 'regiones plurimas pro redemptione anime sue illis tribuit' seems a little odd. Although in Classical Latin anima could mean 'the life force', while animus was used for 'soul', the extensive ecclesiastical usage of anima as 'soul' in the Late Latin and mediaeval periods makes its use for 'life' here seem unusual. We may perhaps compare Welsh enaid (and Irish anam) which carried the sense of both 'life' and 'soul'; this Welsh word in the author's mind may have caused anima rather than uita to be used.

In conclusion, one minor point may be noted. The Uí Liatháin appear in §8 as fili Liethan; the usual latinisation of Uí in

1. Compare Ifor Williams's Modern Welsh version: Trans. Hon. Soc. Cymm. 1946/7, p 55.

such constructions is nepotes (e.g., nepotes Néill for the Uí Néill), and the use of fili may perhaps suggest that it was not an Irishman who was responsible for the latinisation. Welsh meib(ion) often has the sense of 'descendants (of...)', and it may be this that has been latinised. One may compare the Dind map Lethan (in Cornwall) of the Glossary of Cormac mac Cuilennáin (ob. 908), where the same sense is probably required.

XII. Some personal characteristics of the author's Latin style.

In this section, I wish to conclude my study of our author's latinity on a more subjective note, by drawing attention to some expressions which have seemed to me to be the more obvious predilections of the author. The personal note which the author conveys in his work is outstanding: from beginning to end there are scattered first-person references, to whose importance Joseph Loth drew attention with a collection of most of the examples.¹ On a number of occasions he introduces a new piece of information with the formula 'Si quis scire uoluerit...' (§§ 4, 9, 61); when he wishes to turn to a new topic he may say 'Satis dictum est de...' (§42) or 'pro compendio sermonis uolui breuiare' (§50) or, admitting that he has gone off at a tangent, 'et redeam nunc ad id de quo digressus sum' (§16). When people are received, the formula 'eos benigne suscepit' is employed (§§ 31, 33, 35); when nations extend their territory, 'dilatauerunt terminos suos'

1. Revue celtique, 49 (1932), p. 165. They have been studied above.

(§§ 13, 39); and when St Germanus does something in his usual way, it is 'solito (ex) more' (§§ 33, 40). Constructions are invariably of stone and brick: 'castellis ex lapidibus et latere fabricatis' (§ 3); 'muro ex latere et lapide facto' (§ 70). And the author's stepping-stone method of dating can lead to post appearing too frequently: 'post mille et duos annos postquam mersi sunt Egiptii in rubrum mare' (§ 9); 'post centum et sexaginta septem annos post aduentum Christi' (§ 19). In addition to these two we find 'Factum est autem post(quam)'... (§§ 29, 34, 40) and 'Post interuallum multorum annorum' (§ 6), 'post multum interuallum temporis' (§ 9), 'post modicum interuallum' (§ 39).

Conclusion

It remains now merely to draw together the threads of the preceding discussion. Joseph Loth emphasised the uniformity of the latinity throughout the text; ¹ it seems to me that the far greater body of data collected and studied above entirely supports his view. We have no reason to doubt on linguistic or stylistic grounds that the text of the 'Harleian' recension, as transmitted, is a unity.

The foregoing study has provided some evidence that the peculiarly 'Celtic' features of our author's latinity cannot now be explained purely in terms of the Welsh vernacular.

1. Revue celtique, 49 (1932), pp 157, 165.

Various features (e.g. filius mortis, inter...et, and so on) are more easily explained as Hibernicisms. If this be so, some thought must be given (as has been done earlier in this introduction) to the possibility that there existed in the early middle ages a 'Common Celtic Latin' which owed a great deal to Irish influence. Such a theory must be carefully tested against other Celtic-Latin texts of non-Irish origin to discover if there is any confirmatory evidence.

Perhaps the most notable feature to emerge from this study is the very strong element of Late Latin usage in our author's vocabulary and syntax. We must, I think, conclude that the formation of his latinity, in so far as it depended on literary (rather than simply pedagogical) stimuli, owed a great deal to texts (no doubt largely ecclesiastical) of the Late Latin period. We know some of his sources: Eusebius-Jerome, Prosper, Gildas, Isidore, Bede. Of these he must have found Gildas almost impossibly hard going: his own Latin is the complete antithesis of the highly stylised Late Latin literary language of Gildas. Our author writes a simple - too simple, in fact - functional mediaeval Latin which owes a certain amount to his own vernacular, a great deal to the general tendency of Late Latin syntax gradually to assimilate itself to that of the European vernaculars, and even more to his own ignorance of Latin stylistics. We may suspect that his Latin was formed more by using the Bible, the annalists, and the chroniclers than by reading the Latin

historians, much less the Fathers or the Classics. He certainly had access also to a quantity of sources now lost, reading-matter of the eighth or earlier centuries which no doubt supplied him with some of the vocabulary which is found here for the first time. His is the language of hagiography and annals, both utilitarian genres in which works could be executed with a minimum of fuss and linguistic proficiency. The lasting impression left by the Latin of the Historia Brittonum is that of bizarre language and style; this investigation has shown, however, that behind the extraordinary front there is an extensive and varied linguistic history.

THE MANUSCRIPTS

I. The complete witnesses to the text.

By 'complete witnesses', I understand copies which give the whole of the text they represent, without substantial alteration or rewriting. In other words, the silence at any given point in the apparatus of any such witness allows the conclusion that it agrees there with the printed text. S, therefore, which contains the whole of §§ 68-85, is, in these terms, a complete witness to the chapters it contains. All the 'partial witnesses' discussed in the next subsection have a more or less seriously modified text, even where — like L — they represent almost the whole of the content of the work.

H: LONDON, BRITISH LIBRARY, MS. HARLEY 3859.

(Mommson, H; Hardy, 778; Petrie, X; Stevenson, A.)

Fos. 365. Approx. 26.5 x 15 cm. Ruled for 36-42 long lines per page; written space, 18-20.5 x 9 cm.¹ 2° fo.: ex quibus regionibus (rubric); Rerum ordo deposcit (text). Date, ca 1100. Origin and mediaeval provenance unknown.

This is a unitary manuscript² containing Vegetius, Macrobius, the

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1. Whatever the depth of the written space, the width is constant. Only in quire 17 (containing the Inuectiua) is this untrue: the width increases to 9.5 cm. This is also the quire with the fewest lines per page: it has 27, whereas the others have from 36 to 42 lines each.
 2. L. Alcock (Arthur's Britain, pp. 29-30), reviving an unhappy thesis of old, has quite absurdly insisted that Harley 3859 is a collection of unrelated manuscripts of which fos. 174-198 (containing his 'British Historical Miscellany') constitute but one.

spurious Imuectiua of Cicero and Sallust, the Historia Brittonum with its two interpolations (on which see below), part of Augustine's De haeresibus, Solinus, Aethicus Ister, and Vitruvius. The volume is written throughout in an Anglo-Norman script which may be assigned to ca 1100.¹ Its origin is unknown; the script seems to offer no precise resemblance to that of any readily identifiable scriptorium.

The manuscript bears no overt indication of any mediaeval provenance; it first appears in 1729 when it was bought for the Harleian Library. It had belonged to the collection of the Italian humanist scholar Ovidio Montalbani of Bologna (ca 1602-71).² No work seems to have been done on the sources of Montalbani's library; only two other manuscripts of his are known to be in British libraries (BL MS. Additional 22313, bought from Boone in 1858; Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS. Auct. F. 2. 6 [S. C. 8855], given by Montalbani to Nicolas Heinsius) and these do not help to clarify the picture at all.

Two statements by N. Denholm-Young, Handwriting in England and Wales (Cardiff, 1954), require comment. On p. 41 he ascribes this volume without further comment to St David's; this must however be a misunderstanding deriving from the fact that the Annales Cambrie,

1. This is the usual dating and is certainly correct. The attempt of Morgan Watkin (National Library of Wales Journal, 11 [1959/60], pp. 181-226) to postdate this volume by a century (to ca 1200) on the basis of 'Old French graphical phenomena' is quite misguided, being wholly contradicted by the more secure evidence of palaeography.
2. See Cyril E. Wright, Fontes Harleiani. A study of the sources of the Harleian Collection of Manuscripts preserved in the Department of Manuscripts in the British Museum (London, 1972), p. 242. The inability to read the legend on his coat of arms (in Harley 3859) led to Joseph Stevenson's conjecture (Nennii Historia Britonum, p. xxi), which has subsequently become dogma, that the mediaeval provenance of this manuscript was Montauban (near Toulouse).

interpolated into our text, are of St David's origin.¹ This fact of course tells us nothing about the origin of the present manuscript, which is English and whose copy of the annals finishes in the mid-tenth century. All we can say is that the three texts on fos 174^v-198^r probably derive ultimately from a copy written at St David's in the middle of the tenth century. Denholm-Young also recommends comparison with Plate XXIV² in Edmond Reusens, Éléments de Paléographie (Louvain, 1899), pp. 200-202, which shows a specimen of the hand of Sigebert of Gembloux, writing there between 1101 and 1106 (Brussels, Bibl. Royale, MS. 18239-40, fo 34^v). However, this specimen bears no more than a distant general resemblance to Harley 3859, and it is difficult to see why it has been quoted. Denholm-Young's evidently ill-considered remarks have not served our manuscript well.

The text of the Historia suffers, as has already been mentioned, from two interpolations which occur between §§ 66 and 67. The first is the A-text of the so-called Annales Cambrie which occur on fos 190^r-193^r, and the other is a collection of Welsh royal genealogies (the 'Harleian Genealogies') on fos 193^r-195^r. The Historia Brittonum proper therefore occupies fos 174^v-190^r, 195^r-198^r. That these two texts are interpolations (though made as early as the middle of the tenth century) and not an integral part of the Historia is demonstrated by a number of considerations. First, no other manuscript of this version of the Historia Brittonum contains them (or is known previously to have contained them); secondly, no other

1. He is regrettably followed by Alcock, Arthur's Britain, pp. 31-32.

2. Denholm-Young's book says 'plate xxvi', but this is evidently a misprint.

recension, whether departing from the 'Harleian' tradition at an earlier (like the 'Vatican' recension) or a later date (like the 'Nennian' and 'Gildasian' recensions), is found in association with these annals and genealogies nor can any evidence be adduced from elsewhere to show that they have been found in association. Further, as has been demonstrated above, this 'Harleian' version of the Historia Brittonum is a composition of the early ninth century (the year 829/30, to be precise), whereas the annals and genealogies found in Harley 3859 both belong to the mid-tenth century. The genealogies, in particular, exist to document the position of Owain, king of Deheubarth (950-88).¹ We may therefore be confident that these two texts were inserted into an ancestor-copy of H made in the third quarter of the tenth century. I have therefore felt quite justified in omitting these two texts from this edition of the Historia Brittonum.²

The copy of the Historia Brittonum in MS. Harley 3859 is remarkably carelessly written. The text is replete with minor erasures and corrections of absurd mistakes. It has plainly been subjected to an intensive 'official' correction. Of more importance, however, is the activity of a slightly later hand which attempts to reform the orthography, to correct some errors not dealt with at an earlier stage, and to alter some readings completely. The work of

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1. Even if the genealogies were originally compiled in the reign of Rhodri Mawr (844-877), as suggested by H. M. and N. K. Chadwick, The Growth of Literature, i (Cambridge, 1932), pp. 149-153, 273-6, they would still be too late to belong to the original text of the Historia Brittonum.
 2. Convenient editions are as follows: of the annals and genealogies, by E. Phillimore, Y Cymmrodor, 9 (1888), pp. 141-183; of the genealogies, by P. C. Bartrum, Early Welsh Genealogical Tracts (Cardiff, 1966), pp. 9-13.

this reviser is denoted by the siglum H^2 ; when the original readings of the manuscript are quoted in opposition to those of H^2 , they are given the sigla H^* (when erased or otherwise heavily disguised) and H^1 (when H^2 supplies a variant, or the alteration is patent). H suffers from three frequent types of scribal error:

(i) a and e are very often confused; (ii) syllables are erroneously duplicated or, where they should be duplicated, reduced (and unwanted syllables are sometimes unaccountably added); (iii) unjustifiable metatheses occur.

Some readings in the text presented by H point to an ancestral copy in Insular script. This need occasion no surprise, for that script was in use in Wales down to the opening years of the twelfth century, and a modified version survived in England (Anglo-Saxon Square Minuscule) down to the end of the tenth century for Latin works. (The native hand was still used in England in the twelfth century for vernacular texts.) One may note the confusion of n and r (e.g., Armonicas § 3, a mistake not shared by MS. R); of d and o (e.g., Eoguin for Edguin, § 61); of d and u (e.g., Eandulf for Eanuulf, § 56); of a and u (e.g., Ulli for Alli, § 57), of i and l owing to the use of i-longa in Insular script (e.g., Aedibrith for Aedlbrith, § 53).

The retention in H of a number of Insular spellings (i/e and o/u variations; i for ii; unhistorical doubling of s; irrational use of z for s; ag- for aug-; b/p variation, though this is of doubtful significance; dropping of h, and use of otiose or unhistorical h) tends to suggest that an ancestor written in accordance with Insular traditions did not stand at many removes from our present manuscript. The copy in MS. R, by way of contrast, quite lacks these orthographical peculiarities.

One small point is worthy of notice: H and R share the omission, in § 67, of the initial C- of each occurrence of (C)air, not only with each other but also with members of at least two of the sub-groups of the recension attributed to Gildas. We may therefore suspect that this error goes back some way in the tradition of the Harleian version. (However, it is also the sort of error that can occur sporadically — e.g., the C- is present in L, but absent in one of its copies — since it was often the rubricator's task to insert coloured capital C-s, a task which was often overlooked.)

H does not derive from any surviving manuscript, nor can any other manuscript be shown to be a copy of it. It lacks two short passages which have been omitted by haplography (§§ 16, 40) but which can be supplied from R; in like fashion R (followed by C and V) omits by scribal error four passages which must be supplied from H. In general, apart from a host of tiny and ridiculous errors due doubtless to the scribe of Harley 3859 itself, H presents a much better text than R; it is, however, far from perfect and there are many occasions when R or one of the partial witnesses can supply a better reading. In general, the partial witnesses tend to agree with the readings of H, but by no means invariably do so.

H has therefore been adopted as the basis for the present edition. Its chapter-divisions, marked in the manuscript by red capitals, have here been followed for the first time (except at §§ 61 and 74, q.v.). The rubricator has in fact added the coloured capitals only as far as the foot of fo 180^r (§ 33); thereafter the blank spaces remain for the capitals but small letters (corresponding to the capital to be inserted, and acting as instructions for the rubricator) may still be seen in the outer margins of the manuscript when the binder's

plough has not removed them.

R: LONDON, BRITISH LIBRARY, MSS. ROYAL 15. A. 22 + COTTON
VESPASIAN D. 21, fos 1-17.

(Mommson, K; Hardy, 780; Petrie, Y; Stevenson, B.)

Fos. 122 + 17, numbered as (Royal MS.) 1-109, 109^A, one unfoliated blank leaf, 110-117, 117^A, 118-119; (Cotton MS.) 1-17.¹ Approx 22.5 x 15 cm (Royal MS.; the Cotton MS. has been cut down to 19.3 x 13.3 cm.). Ruled for 30 long lines per page; written space, 15.5-16 x 9.5 cm. 2^o fo.: deuenisse. Date, the first half of the twelfth century.² Origin, and mediaeval provenance:

Benedictine Cathedral Priory of St Andrew, Rochester (Kent). The Royal manuscript is fully described in George F. Warner and Julius P. Gilson, British Museum Catalogue of Western Manuscripts in the Old Royal and King's Collections (London, 1921), ii. 148-9.

The leaves which now constitute fos 1-17 of Cotton Vespasian D. 21. originally followed fo 117 of the Royal manuscript. This is suggested by the collation of the manuscript and confirmed by the Rochester library-catalogue and the 1542 Westminster inventory of the Royal Library. The British Library authorities have not seen fit to replace them in the Royal manuscript. They were removed thence (presumably by Sir Robert Cotton or one of his agents) at some time between the inventory of 1542 and their appearance in the Cottonian

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1. The Cotton codex contains in addition two unrelated manuscripts bound up with this fragment by Sir Robert Cotton.
 2. N. R. Ker, Medieval Libraries of Great Britain (2nd edn, London, 1964), p. 163.

Library's catalogue of 1621 (BL MS. Harley 6018) as part of MS. 80 (the present Vespasian D. 21).

The manuscript was written at Rochester by identifiable scribes in the first half of the twelfth century. As a complete unit, it is mentioned in the Rochester library-catalogue in the Textus Roffensis:¹

Solinus. et dares. et liber pergesis.

.i. de situ terre prisciani grammatici urbis rome. 7 uaticinium sybille. et historiam britannorum in .i. uolumine.

We may note the coincidence that the first part of the Textus (which was being compiled immediately after 1122, and which contains a collection of Old English royal genealogies and regnal lists) is written by the same scribe as fos 110-117 of the Royal manuscript. For other specimens of his work, see N. R. Ker, English Manuscripts in the Century after the Norman Conquest (Oxford, 1960), p. 31.

Fos 1-109 are written by another well-known Rochester scribe (on him too, see Ker, English Manuscripts, p. 31). Ker does not assign fos 1-17 of the Cotton manuscript to either hand, but we may note the coincidence that one group of scribes was responsible for copying a version of the genealogical source of §§ 30, 53-57 of our text, as well as the Historia Brittonum itself. The manuscript probably came direct from Rochester to the Royal collection, perhaps as a result of the activities of John Leland. It bears the 'Old Royal' pressmark

1. See fo 229^v, in the facsimile edition edited by Peter Sawyer, Textus Roffensis. Rochester Cathedral Library Manuscript A. 3. 5. Part II. (Copenhagen, 1962), as Volume 11 in the series of 'Early English Manuscripts in Facsimile'.

'no. 823', and was, in any case, in the Royal collection before the inventory of 1542.

Fo 1^v bears an apparently contemporary ex-libris (now erased) of Rochester priory as well as a contents-table for the volume. The last two entries have unfortunately been erased, but the words De miraculis Britannie can still be read. The evidence of MS. Cotton Vespasian B. 25 (our MS. C, on which see below) suggests that the lost words were <Narratio de Britonibus>. Taken as a whole, therefore, R contains Solinus, Priscian's Periegesis, the Sybilline prophecy, Versus Segardi, and the Historia Brittonum.

The text of the Historia lacks the two interpolations found in MS. H but also lacks §§ 1 and 2, containing the chronological computations. One must simply presume that these two first sections were omitted deliberately as being out of date. Unfortunately, however, we have no evidence to show whether or not the Annals and Genealogies were ever present in an ancestral copy of R. R's independence of H as demonstrated by its preservation of different, but equally good, Old Welsh forms may suggest that their ultimate common ancestor may be fairly remote in date and belong to the lost, Welsh, period of the transmission of the Harleian recension. That they do not go back independently to the original copy is, however, demonstrated by the fact that they both contain the interpolated § 12 which has been shown to belong to the year 857 or later.

Our text is neatly and accurately written in R; such correction as there is — and it is very little — is somewhat messily effected, suggesting that the ink may not yet have dried when subject to erasure. Therefore scribal, not 'official', correction may be postulated.

A comparison of the text with H reveals that certain

inaccuracies and infelicities in the style of that version have been silently altered. Such examples are not very numerous, but taken together they are suggestive of a desire to improve the intelligibility of the text. It is not, however, possible to say when or where these alterations were effected. However, if R, as the hyparchetype of a distinct sub-group within the recension, was prepared in order to be a master-copy, it is likely enough that these alterations were carried out specially in preparation for the writing of this manuscript. Unlike H, R does not preserve in its Latin orthography obvious traces of an 'Insular' period of transmission.

R does not descend from any surviving manuscript, but rather stands at the head of its own group of extant copies. Two short passages erroneously omitted from H (in §§ 16, 40) are preserved by R; similarly R omits by haplography four passages which are found in H (see §§ 11, 13-14, 27, 37), and there is one noteworthy case of dittography in R (in § 52). As in H and in certain members of the Gildasian recension, the initial C- in Cair (§ 67) is lacking.

In common with H, the text in R is given no title. Nor, however, does it have the rubrics found in H (§§ 1, 54, 55, 56, 57, 58). The number of sections has been reduced from 85 to 45, but the material is the same apart from the omission of §§ 1 and 2. Each section is introduced by a coloured capital letter, alternately red and green.

There are two early modern transcripts which depend on MS. R.

(i) London, British Library, MS. Harley 624, fos 3r-20v.

This manuscript is a collection of transcripts, including three of different manuscripts of the Historia Brittonum. It formerly belonged to Sir Simonds D'Ewes, and much of it is in his own hand.

This copy dates from the first quarter of the seventeenth century: see A. G. Watson, The Library of Sir Simonds D'Ewes (London, 1966), p. 160, under entry A465; C. E. Wright, Fontes Harleiani, pp. 383 and 131.

(ii) Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS. James 18 (S.C. 3855), pp. 49-50.

This manuscript is a collection of extracts from various manuscripts, and was written in the years ca 1625 x 1638 by Richard James.

Item f is headed Ex Nennio and contains extracts from (according to a modern pencilled note) Cotton Vespasian D. 21. This has been confirmed by collation. These extracts are, of course, of no value. For a description of the James manuscript, see Falconer Madan, et al., A Summary Catalogue of Western Manuscripts in the Bodleian Library at Oxford, Vol. 2, Part 2 (Oxford, 1937), pp. 758-9.

One may also note that R was used for their respective (manuscript) editions by Ussher (his MS. N) and Gale (his MS. E).

C: LONDON, BRITISH LIBRARY, MS. COTTON VESPASIAN B. 25.

(Mommsen, Spec. 2; Hardy, 782; Petrie, Z; Stevenson, C.)

Fos i + 146. Approx. 27.2 x 19 cm

Quires I-XI (fos 1-88) ruled for 26 long lines per page; written space, 19 x 13 cm. Quires XII-XVIII (fos 89-144) ruled for 27 long lines per page; written space, 20 x 13 cm. 2^o fo.: deinceps ut tutissima. Date, the first half of the twelfth century. Origin, and mediaeval provenance: Christ Church, Canterbury.

Unlike most volumes in the Cotton collection, this is a unitary manuscript. It contains Solinus, Priscian's Periegesis, Dares, the Prophecy of the Sibyl, the Versus Segardi, and the Historia Brittonum,

as well as a few short pieces throughout the volume which are found in neither R nor V. Its mediaeval provenance is Christ Church, Canterbury, whose pressmark is found on fo i* recto. The volume is identifiable in the early-fourteenth-century catalogue of that library.¹ The manuscript has been dated by its ornament to the period 1110x 1140, and definitely assigned a Christ Church origin.²

At the head of fo i* verso is an ownership-inscription dated 1503: Liber Dompni Iohannis Holyngborne monachi ecclesie Christi Cant'. emptus a quodam fratre anno domini 1503. — pretium xx^d. His name occurs also in Lambeth Palace MS. 558, with a date in the first decade of the sixteenth century; in Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS. Corpus Christi College 189, with a note de empcione; and perhaps also in Cambridge, Trinity College, MS. R. 9.28 (829), erased, and overwritten by the name of Johannes Chyllynden, commonachus, and the date 1513.³ It is not known how the manuscript came to Cotton, but it must have done so at a comparatively late date. It is not entered in the 1621 catalogue, nor was it used by Archbishop Ussher for his 'edition'. By the time (1638x 1654) of the catalogue in BL MS Additional 36682, however, it had joined the Cottonian collection.⁴

The text of the Historia Brittonum occupies fols 126^v - 143^v. Like R and V, it too has no title. However, the probably contemporary contents-list on fo i* verso contains the entry: Narratio de britonibus.

1. See M. R. James, The Ancient Libraries of Canterbury and Dover (Cambridge, 1903), p. 44, item 244. The pressmark is difficult to read: James suggested D. v. g. iiii. or D. v. g. viiii.; Ker (see below) offers D. v. g. xiiij.
2. C. R. Dodwell, The Canterbury School of Illumination 1066-1200 (Cambridge, 1954), p. 121.
3. See N. R. Ker, Medieval Libraries of Great Britain (2nd edn, London, 1964), pp. 240, 239.
4. BL Add. 36682, fols 190^v - 191^r.

et de miraculis britannie. It was very likely the first three words which were erased in the contents-list of MS. R. This is a tolerable but noticeably inferior copy of R: it will be seen from the apparatus to share all the characteristics of that manuscript.¹ It is approximately coeval with R, but must of necessity be slightly later.

On fo 126^v an apparently sixteenth-century hand notes 'Hic liber alibi inscribitur Gilde'.² The same hand adds a series of marginal variants, from a text of the 'Gildasian' recension, throughout the text.

S: SALISBURY, CATHEDRAL LIBRARY, MS. 146.

(Unknown to previous editors.)

Fos 181. Approx. 33.2 x 22.3 cm. Ruled for two columns of 42 lines each per page. Date, the twelfth century. Origin, and mediaeval provenance, unknown.

This twelfth-century English manuscript is summarily described by E. M. Thompson in S. M. Lakin, A Catalogue of the Library of the Cathedral Church of Salisbury (London, 1880), p. 27. The mediaeval history of this volume is unknown. N. R. Ker observes³ that the distinctive binding of the manuscript shows it to have been at one

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1. The relationship of R and C was accurately stated, correcting Mommsen, by N. R. Ker, English Manuscripts of the Century after the Norman Conquest (Oxford, 1960), pp. 12, 15.
 2. There is also an inscrutable later reference to MS. Cotton Claudius A.8; presumably Caligula A.8 is intended (see section VI, below).
 3. The Wiltshire Archaeological and Natural History Magazine, 53 (1949/50), p. 181, n. 1.

time in the library of King Henry VIII. The manuscript was not recorded by Patrick Young at Salisbury in his catalogue of 1622; it had, however, arrived there by 1670 when it became no. 82 in the catalogue of that year.

The main content of the manuscript is a copy of Isidore's Etymologiae, preceded and followed by a number of small tracts, including the Sybilline Prophecy, and the mirabilia from the Historia Brittonum (§§ 68-85). This extract from the Historia completely fills fos 180^v-181^r. The marvels are numbered in order from .i. to .xvii. (§83 is included in §82 as item .xv.). Each is introduced by a coloured capital letter. There is neither title nor colophon to this text.

The text of the mirabilia agrees in general with that of MS. R. It cannot derive from C: not only are all C's trivial errors avoided, but S has the interlinear gloss .i. stain in §84 which is omitted by C. S derives either mediately or, quite plausibly, immediately from R.

V: LONDON, BRITISH LIBRARY, MSS. ROYAL 15.B.11 + COTTON VITELLIUS A.13, VOL. 2, fos 91-100.

(Mommsen, Spec. 1; Hardy, 781; Petrie, AA; Stevenson, F.)

Fos 69 + 10, foliated 1-69 (Royal MS.) and 91-100 (Cotton MS.).

Approx. 24.3 x 17.5 cm. Ruled for 30 long lines per page;¹ written space, 17 x 11.5 cm. (The edges of the Cotton manuscript have been lost owing to damage in the 1731 fire; the leaves have been separately mounted.) 2^o fo.: Vnde tamen primo. Date, the first half of the

1. Fos 2^v-11^v, containing verse, are ruled for two columns per page.

thirteenth century.¹ Origin, and mediaeval provenance: Benedictine Cathedral Priory of St Andrew, Rochester (Kent). The Royal codex is fully described in George F. Warner and Julius P. Gilson, British Museum Catalogue of Western Manuscripts in the Old Royal and King's Collections (London, 1921), ii. 157-158.

Royal 15.B.11 appears to comprise two separate manuscripts, namely fos 1-69, 70-102. It is with the former that we are immediately concerned. Similarly, the Cotton volume is made up of several unrelated sections: fo. 91^r contains the partly erased conclusion of the copy of Dares Frigius which occupies fos 57-66 of the Royal codex. Fos 91^v-100^v bear the text of the Historia Brittonum. These folios were presumably removed from the manuscript in the Royal Library by or for Sir Robert Cotton, but apparently at a later date than those in Vespasian D.21. In 1621 (cf. MS. Harley 6018, fos 25^r-26^r), MS. 40 contained only fos 101, 20-82 of the present Vitellius A.13. This copy seems to have entered the Cotton Library while Archbishop Ussher was working on his 'edition' of the Historia Brittonum (it is his MS. O).² The original order and the complete contents of the Rochester manuscript appear to have been: Priscian's Periegesis, Solinus, Dares, the Historia Brittonum, and the Prophecy of the Sibyl (viz., Royal fos 1-66; Cotton fos 91-100; Royal fos 67-69). It is fortunate that the juxtaposition of the Solinus with our text guarantees this order, for the manuscript was written too late to be entered in the Rochester library-catalogue of 1202, and the entry in the 1542 Royal inventory

1. N. R. Ker, Medieval Libraries of Great Britain (2nd edn, London, 1964), p. 163.

2. It occurs in the Cotton library-catalogue in BL Add. 36682 (compiled 1638 x 1654) on fo. 154^{r/v}.

is summary ('Solinus cum aliis historicis'). Presumably this manuscript came into the Royal collection at the same time as R and also directly from Rochester. It bears the Old Royal pressmark 'no. 808' (fo. 3^r), and a Rochester ex-libris (fo. 3^r): 'Liber de clauistro Roffensi per W. Roffensem episcopum' (last two words in rasura). Warner and Gilson conjecture that 'W.' is Walter de Merton (bishop, 1274-77).

The text of the Historia, as presented by this manuscript, agrees in all essentials with that of R, described above. It omits and retains the same passages as R; at a century's remove it derives from the same scriptorium as R.¹ As will be seen from a perusal of the apparatus, V is a direct copy of R. That it is not a copy of C (which would in any case be unlikely) is shown by its preservation of R's better readings against C's innovations or corruptions. It is fortunate that we do not need to depend on V to help establish the text, for we have here a sample of the work of the 'intelligent scribe'. Corrupt English names have been altered; Guined (§ 36) has become Guenet, an acceptable form (cf. Vat. § 24) and an unlikely scribal error, and therefore a reading which suggests that the scribe had some special knowledge.² What is more, at textual cruces or at points where the most elementary requirements of the Latin language seem to have been defied - in short, at the places where a modern editor must give most thought to his text - the scribe of V has recognised the difficulties, given careful thought to them, and emended accordingly. The scribe

1. An accurate statement of the relationship of these two manuscripts was given, correcting Mommsen, by N. R. Ker, English Manuscripts in the Century after the Norman Conquest (Oxford, 1960), pp. 12, 15.

2. Cf. also Eldad (§ 42), replacing the older Eldat (and Eltat, Vat. § 26).

has also made further orthographical changes to ensure that the copy met the requirements of the Latin of his day.

Cambridge, Trinity College, MS. O.5.37 (1318), which has neither foliation nor pagination, is a volume of the papers of Dr Thomas Gale (1635/6-1702). The 'edition' of the Historia Brittonum, which occurs near the end of the manuscript, is a fair copy of a collation of nine texts of the Historia with Gale's base-text. As a basis he chose Cotton Vitellius A.13, of which this manuscript is therefore a copy. See the full description of the manuscript by M. R. James, The Western Manuscripts in the Library of Trinity College, Cambridge: A descriptive catalogue, iii (Cambridge, 1902), p. 341. Gale's edition of the Historia Brittonum, published in 1691, is based on a quite different text: see section VII, below.

II. The partial witnesses to the text.

By 'partial witnesses', I understand witnesses which for various reasons are unable to supply a complete or unadulterated text of the sections which they contain. For example, while L is a witness to the use of a complete copy of the work and almost every chapter is represented, it has been so heavily revised, abridged, and generally rewritten that its evidence is only trustworthy where it agrees with one or other of the complete witnesses. In short, the silence in the critical apparatus of these partial witnesses is not to be taken as agreement with the printed text. The silence simply indicates that the text supplies no comparable reading at the point in question.

A: LONDON, BRITISH LIBRARY, MS. COTTON TITUS A 27.

(Unknown to previous editors.)

Fos 217. Approx. 17.5 x 13.8 cm.

Section (i), fos 1-88: ruled for 26-27 long lines per page; written space, 14.2 x 10.3 cm; 2^o fo., Tres filii Locrinus.

Section (ii), fos 89-175: ruled for 24-26 long lines per page; written space, 15.3 x 9.4 cm; 2^o fo., menta nouitent.

Section (iii), fos 176-217: ruled for 23-27 long lines per page;¹ written space, 14.8 x 9.9 cm; 2^o fo., Iaspidis esse decem.

Date, ca 1200. Mediaeval provenance, and probable origin: St Augustine's Abbey, Canterbury.

This codex, constituted in its present order, was identified by M. R. James² in the late-fifteenth-century catalogue of the books of St Augustine's, Canterbury. The mediaeval pressmark (D.9. G.4) is now missing from the book. The volume divides naturally into three parts, of which the first and last may once have formed an independent book of pseudo-historical texts. The central section (fos 89-175) contains law-codes of various English kings; its script presents an appearance quite distinct from that of the rest of the volume. Section (i) contains a copy of the 'Second Variant Version' of Geoffrey of Monmouth (2^v-87^r), a paraphrase of part of the Historia Brittonum (87^r-87^v), and an index of some places in the text of Geoffrey (87^v-88^r). Section (iii) begins with some verses (176^v-181^v), followed by the Letter of Prester John (182^v-185^v), a paraphrase of more of the Historia Brittonum (185^v-186^v), and assorted material relating to

1. Fos 176-186 have 27 lines, 176-181 being ruled for two columns; fos 187-217 have 23-27 long lines.

2. The Ancient Libraries of Canterbury and Dover (Cambridge, 1903), p. 293, no. 895.

Alexander (187^v - 217^r). The whole codex belongs to the end of the twelfth or the beginning of the thirteenth century.

The second of the two items dependent upon the Historia Brittonum was first noticed by Edward Owen, Catalogue of materials relating to Wales in the British Museum (London, 1900-08), i, no. 73. Both items were published by D. N. Dumville, Bulletin of the Board of Celtic Studies, 25 (1972-74), pp. 101-105, unfortunately with some errors.

These two items are both paraphrases of parts of the Historia Brittonum. The first, and shorter, text (fo. 87^{r/v}) derives chiefly from §§13-16 but is closed by one item from each of §§10, 31, 66. The second text paraphrases §§3-7, 9, 17. Each of these two texts gives a rewritten version of part of the Historia Brittonum, in a largely successful attempt to improve both the sense and the latinity of the original. Such an attempt cannot fail, however, to cause occasional corruption or confusion of the meaning of the source. Taken together, these two items constitute an attempt to simplify and explain, probably for students, the often confusing arrangement and language of the original text. For example, in the first piece, there is given an explanation of the differing Latin forms of various legendary names; in the second, the two conflicting versions of the British origin-legend are clearly expounded, with additional comment where necessary. There is more than a little room for a suspicion that the two pieces may originally have been a unity, the first (87^{r/v}) being intended to follow immediately on the second.

The writing of these paraphrases would seem to belong to a period beginning with the publication (probably in 1136) of Geoffrey of Monmouth's Historia Regum Britannie and ending ca 1200, the date of

the present manuscript. They belong to a class, one might almost say a genre, of small texts, largely drawn from (varying recensions of) the Historia Brittonum, which are found in manuscripts of the Historia Regum Britannie in a more or less close association with that work. This is the only definite surviving example of the direct use of a text of the 'Harleian' recension in such a situation.

The textual position of the witness represented by these paraphrases is a most interesting one. Although rewritten, the text preserves many important points of comparison: its significant readings allow us to prove beyond question that the copy of the 'Harleian' recension from which A derives was directly related to no complete surviving witness to that recension. It shares this textual independence with two other partial witnesses to our text, I and L; on these, see below.

F: LONDON, BRITISH LIBRARY, MS. COTTON DOMITIAN A.8, fos 30-70.
(Unknown to previous editors.)

Fos 41, numbered 30-70. Approx. 21 x 14.7 cm. Ruled for 21-45 long lines per page; written space, 17.6-18.2 x 10-10.7 cm. 2° fo.:
Britannia insula habet. Date, ca 1100. Origin, and mediaeval provenance: Christ Church, Canterbury.

This codex is constructed, like most of the Cottonian volumes, from a series of unrelated manuscripts. Fos 30-70 contain the so-called 'F' version of the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle. This text is a Latin-Old English bilingual, and has been identified with considerable probability in the early-fourteenth-century catalogue of Christ Church, Canterbury,

as Cronica latine et anglice.¹ The text breaks off incomplete, the manuscript being mutilated, at the year 1058. The manuscript is not, however, earlier in date than the end of the eleventh or beginning of the twelfth century.² Ker conjectures, not with any great plausibility, that our manuscript was once bound with Cambridge, University Library, MS. Hh. 1.10 (1624).³

The main hand of our manuscript (which is replete with alterations and additions) is the chief annotating hand in the A-text of the Chronicle (in Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, MS. 173, fos 1-56), which had reached Christ Church between ca 1001 and ca 1070.⁴ The A-text has been identified as the Cronica uetustissima a(nglice) in the early-fourteenth-century Christ Church library-catalogue.⁵

The Latin sections of the text have drawn on a copy of the 'Harleian' version of the Historia Brittonum §§ 4 and 3 respectively are laid under contribution. The few significant readings agree generally with H, but one or two small indications may suggest that, as in the case of A, I, and L, the text of the Historia Brittonum underlying this work was also independent of any of the surviving complete manuscripts.

The Latin sections of this chronicle were published by F. P. Magoun, jr., 'Annales Domitiani Latini: An Edition', Mediaeval

1. M. R. James, *op. cit.*, p. 51, no. 318.

2. Cf. N. R. Ker, Catalogue of Manuscripts containing Anglo-Saxon (Oxford, 1957), p. 187 f., no. 148.

3. *Op. cit.*, p. 22 f., no. 17.

4. Charles Plummer and J. Earle (ed.), Two of the Saxon Chronicles Parallel, ii (Oxford, 1899; rev. imp., 1952), pp. xcvi-xcviii, cxvii-cxviii.

5. M. R. James, *op. cit.*, p. 51, no. 311.

Studies, 9 (1947), pp. 235-295, and further discussed by him in 'The Domitian Bilingual of the Old-English Annals: The Latin Preface', Speculum, 20 (1945), pp. 65-72. The Old English entries must still be read in the edition of Benjamin Thorpe, The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, i (London, 1861).

The quotation, from the Historia Brittonum, which now concludes the second (i. e., the Latin) preface is in a script quite different from that which precedes and is arranged differently on the page (fo. 31^v). It is plainly a later addition to the original plan, though it is no later than any of the numerous additions throughout the manuscript.

I: OXFORD, BODLEIAN LIBRARY, MSS. LAT. MISC. D. 13/30/14 (S.C. 30572, 30584, 30573).

(Unknown to previous editors.)

Fos 24 + 14 + 5, numbered eccentrically. Original dimensions unknown; all the surviving leaves are fragments drawn from books in Oxford bindings of ca 1600. Ruled for 26 (d. 30, fos 2-8) and 29 (d. 30, fos 9-20, and d. 13) long lines per page. Date: the first half of the twelfth century (d. 13 and d. 30); the first half of the thirteenth century (d. 14). Origin and mediaeval provenance: Christ Church, Canterbury.

The thirty-eight leaves which constitute the twelfth-century section of this manuscript (d. 13, d. 30) are the remains of a Latin chronicle from Creation to the English conquest (the last surviving entry is for A. D. 516). In the first half of the thirteenth century, an account of Anglo-Saxon history was added (this is now d. 14). In lat. misc. d. 30,

fo. 20^r, stands the title 'Cronica Imperfecta'; this is listed in the early-fourteenth-century Christ Church catalogue.¹ Some of the leaves have the marginal markings characteristic of Christ Church manuscripts.²

These fragments are described in Falconer Madan, A Summary Catalogue of Western Manuscripts in the Bodleian Library at Oxford, Vol. 5, nos 24331-31000 (Oxford, 1905), pp. 837-841, where those in d.13 and d.30 are assigned to the early twelfth century. Since that time, further fragments have come to light: see Neil R. Ker, Fragments of medieval manuscripts used as pastedowns in Oxford bindings with a survey of Oxford binding c. 1515-1620 (Oxford, 1954), nos 945, 959, 963, 964, 969, 976.

One Old English gloss attends the Latin text (d.13, fo. 23^v). The date of the compilation of this chronicle has not yet been ascertained. It can hardly be very much later than ca 1100. Nor do its sources give a great deal of help. The only significant feature may be that it is plainly indebted to a representative of the F-text of the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, which suggests that the earliest possible date for its composition would be ca 1023 x ca 1036 when the known ancestor of F³ came to Canterbury.⁴ Among the extracts from the Historia Brittonum (on which see below), one possibly significant alteration is made. In the annal for A.D. 467, where § 34 of the Historia Brittonum is being used, the 'regionem que in lingua eorum

1. M. R. James, *op. cit.*, p. 49, no. 283.

2. N. R. Ker, *op. cit.*, p. 418, no. 339.

3. Plummer's ε: see his stemma, *ed. cit.*, ii, p. lxiii.

4. The absolute outside limits are 966 x 1036 (Plummer, *ed. cit.*, ii, pp. cxxi-cxxii). The Chronicle was certainly a contemporary Canterbury (St. Augustine's) record from 1036 onwards (Plummer, *ed. cit.*, ii, pp. xlviii-xlix).

uocatur Canturguoralen, in nostra autem Cent' of the source appears as 'uocatur lingua regis^e cantia guoralen id est cantia illius qui uocabatur guoralen'. The plain implication of this alteration is that the compiler of the chronicle is identifying himself and his countrymen with the Historia Brittonum's phrase 'lingua eorum'. The alteration to 'lingua regis^e' could hardly therefore have been made much, if at all, later than the Norman Conquest when English ceased to be the royal language.¹ The references to the British tongue as nostra are consistently omitted in the Cronica, and references to things English as eorum (etc.) are altered to noster. The most likely interpretation of the evidence is that this Cronica Imperfecta was initially compiled at Canterbury in the last decade or two of the Anglo-Saxon state.

Why was the work called the Cronica Imperfecta? There would seem to be two possibilities. It may have been intended to continue the work beyond the early sixth century, and the word imperfecta is an indication that this had not yet been done. Alternatively, we may conclude from the physical lay-out of the text that we have a chronicle which was still intended to be improved internally by the addition of further material. Even in the fragments which survive we can see gaps, sometimes extending to a whole page. This would seem to be the likely explanation of the name.

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1. I dissent strongly from the view of E. W. B. Nicholson, apud Madan, op. cit., p. 839, who felt that the king in question was the Vortigern of the text and the language therefore Celtic: 'No such variation could have arisen at the time when the fragments were written (the King's language then being Norman-French), and the phrase suggests a region and period in which part of the population still spoke Keltic'. He has missed the plain implication of the alteration of the source-text. Nicholson was a fine palaeographer, but on other matters his judgment was less than sound.

But the surviving fragments indicate a fair copy, not a working text, of the chronicle. This is no manuscript showing a chronicle in an active state of compilation. It is rather a transcript which shows the work petrified at a certain stage of its growth. It seems likely that the original compiler ceased work, leaving an unfinished chronicle (perhaps, as indicated above, in the last years of the Anglo-Saxon state) which was copied out in the early twelfth century. It is a fair guess that the title Cronica Imperfecta (which is in the same hand as the rest of the manuscript) is due to the scribe of the extant manuscript, though it could of course be due to any reader of the exemplar.

As noted above, the Cronica draws on a text of the Historia Brittonum. §§ 44, 34, 35, 37-40, 52 are here laid under contribution. Again, as with A and L, the copy employed was a text of the 'Harleian' version independent of any of the surviving complete copies. The annals which draw on the Historia Brittonum are listed in Appendix III below.

L: GHENT, UNIVERSITY LIBRARY, MS. 92.

(Unknown to previous editors.)

Fos i + 289. Approx. 37 x 20.4 cm. Ruled for 27-47 long lines per page (but occasionally in two columns); written space, approx. 27 x 17 cm. but with great variations. 2^o fo.: Adam cum fere. Date: A.D. 1120. Origin, Saint-Omer; mediaeval provenance, St. Bavo's, Ghent.

This volume is the autograph copy of the Liber Floridus of Lambert, canon of the collegiate church of Saint-Omer. This encyclopaedic

work was completed in the year 1120. The entire text has recently been published in a semi-diplomatic edition by Albert Derolez, Lamberti S. Audomari Canonici Liber Floridus: Codex Autographus Bibliothecae Uniuersitatis Gandauensis (Ghent, 1968). It has also been the subject of a number of critical studies.

One of Lambert's sources was a copy of the 'Harleian' version of the Historia Brittonum. This was drawn upon for two chapters of his encyclopaedia: LII. Miranda Britannie, where §§ 68-85 of the Historia Brittonum were paraphrased (fos 63^v - 64^v); and LVII. Historia Anglorum which gave a version of §§ 3-66 (fos 68^v - 73^r) and, after material drawn from another source, a copy of § 67 (fo. 75^{r/v}). Lambert's version of the Historia Brittonum is substantially rewritten and reorganised, but it does represent to us a complete text of the work. It is a witness of the first importance in that, like A and I (and perhaps F), its text is independent of all the complete surviving copies of this recension. Unlike A and I, it offers itself as a copy which draws on every part of its source-text.

There is a full study, with text and critical apparatus, of this derivative of the Historia Brittonum by D. N. Dumville, 'The Liber Floridus of Lambert of Saint-Omer and the Historia Brittonum', Bulletin of the Board of Celtic Studies, 26 (1974-76), pp. 103-122. Other studies of this aspect of Lambert's work are by René Derolez: 'An epitome of the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle in Lambert of Saint-Omer's Liber Floridus', English Studies, 48 (1967), pp. 226-231; 'King Arthur in Flanders', Festschrift Rudolf Stamm zu seinem sechzigsten Geburtstag am 12. April 1969, ed. Eduard Kolb and Jörg Hasler (Bern & München, 1969), pp. 239-247; 'British and English history in the Liber Floridus', Liber Floridus Colloquium: Papers read at the international meeting held in the University Library Ghent on 3-5 September 1967,

ed. Albert Derolez (Ghent, 1973), pp. 59-73.

There are also certain selective copies of the Liber Floridus which contain part or all of his material borrowed from the Historia Brittonum. For full details, see Dumville, art.cit., pp. 121-122. Lambert's work had a vogue in a limited area of north France and southern Belgium in the middle ages, but its influence does not seem to have been felt elsewhere.

THE TEXTUAL HISTORY OF THE HARLEIAN RECENSION: A SURVEY.

A tentative stemma may be presented at the outset, partly on the basis of indications already given in the survey of the individual manuscripts.

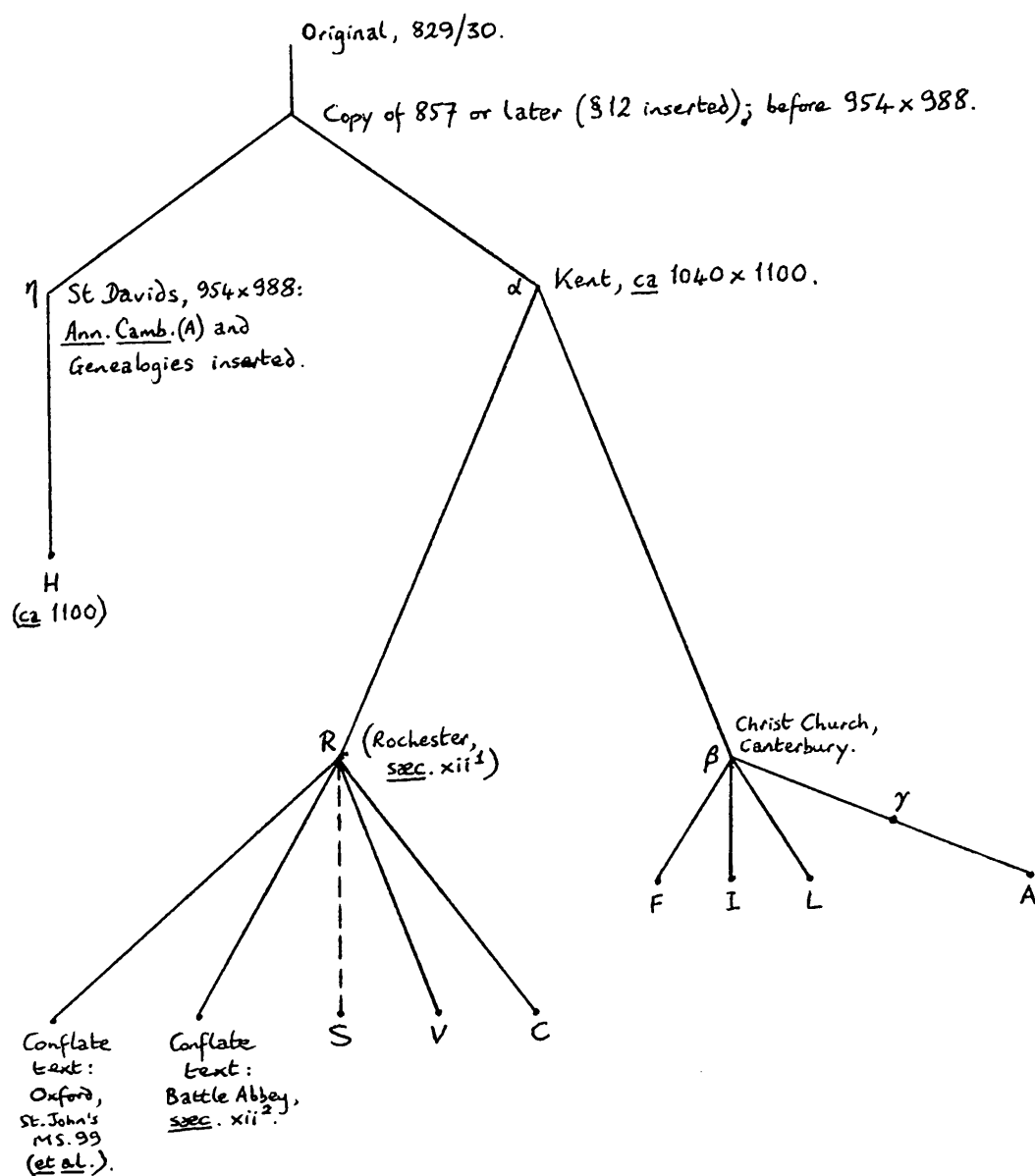


Fig. II. The transmission of the 'Harleian' recension of the Historia Brittonum

Although it is not absolutely certain how distantly H and R are related, some points may be established with a reasonable degree of probability. First, the evidence of the Old Welsh material must be held to establish that their common ancestor belonged to a Welsh stage of the transmission of the text, for they often present different readings where both forms are acceptable Old Welsh. R normally shows a more careful distinction between 'single' and 'double' final consonants (in fact, different phonemes) than does H: e.g., Cabal(1), Categirn(n), Catel(1), Ci(t)hein(n), Lin(n). Other readings show different variations: e.g., Catgualart / Catgualatr, § 62; Guir / Guhir, §§ 8, 77; Teudubir / Teudubr, § 42. These tend to indicate that, so far as Old Welsh linguistic criteria are concerned, H and R are both of good authority in establishing the text.

Secondly, there is the question of the interpolations in H between §§ 66 and 67, namely the A-text of the Annales Cambrie and the so-called 'Harleian Genealogies'. These are absent from R but it is difficult to say whether this is because R does not descend from the interpolated copy which stands behind H or because the writer of R (or an ancestral copy) deliberately excised them. Against the latter view may be advanced the consideration that anyone wishing to excise the interpolations would not know exactly what to take out (why should § 65 or § 67 survive, for example?). This is not a decisive argument and is complicated by the fact that §§ 1 and 2 are missing in R, thus showing some indication of a desire to abridge, but on the whole it would seem preferable to believe that H and R derive independently from a common ancestor written before the interpolations were made — probably at St David's in the third quarter of the tenth century — into the H-branch of the tradition of this recension.

That the common ancestor of H and R was written not earlier

than 857 is shown by the fact that the interpolated § 12, composed in or after that year, is found in both manuscripts. A substantial number of errors common to both manuscripts indicates a period of transmission before the traditions diverged.

None of the above points has much possibility of application to the partial witnesses A, F, I, and L. In their extant form these are highly fragmentary witnesses to the state of the text. Their authority derives from the help they give on individual points as a result of their independent position in the tradition of this recension. It is therefore not possible to say with absolute certainty whether their common exemplar ever contained § 12 or the two interpolations (or indeed §§ 1 and 2), or even — in most cases — what reading that ancestor gave of Welsh names (these are grossly corrupted after passing through the hands of a number of non-Welsh scribes). On this point, one may say that the tolerable reliability of H on such points is a further argument in favour of the view that it descends closely from a Welsh exemplar. Nor can R stand at very many removes from a Welsh manuscript.

An interesting, but at present probably insoluble, problem is the precise interrelationship of the partial witnesses. A, F, and I are all Kentish products, while Lambert must have drawn his text from a Kentish source in order to produce L. For full argument on the question of the origin of Lambert's copy of the Historia Brittonum, see D. N. Dumville, 'The Liber Floridus of Lambert of Saint-Omer and the Historia Brittonum', Bulletin of the Board of Celtic Studies, 26 (1974-76), pp. 103-122. R, too, is a Kentish manuscript. The readings held in common by R on the one hand and by A, I, L on the other may perhaps be held to indicate a common ancestor for these witnesses which is independent of H. This would satisfy the minor

difficulty that independent amelioration of the latinity would otherwise have to be postulated (cf. for example in § 33: inclinabat H, inclinavit LR; baptizatus est H, baptizavit eum LR; osculavit eum H, osculatus est LR). This common ancestor would be the manuscript (α) of the Historia Brittonum which came to Kent in time to be used by the compiler of I within the period ca 1040 x 1100, or a copy (β) of that manuscript.

The relationship of F to the other partial witnesses cannot be certainly established on textual grounds, for lack of evidence. It draws only on §§ 3 and 4 of our text, where the partial witnesses generally agree with H against R; F does likewise. Since F, like I, is a Christ Church product (and they are related in other ways both to each other and to L) it is taken here to be probable that F and I draw on a common source-copy of the Historia Brittonum. That L drew its text from Christ Church, Canterbury, has been argued in my paper on Lambert (see reference above). In these circumstances a common ultimate source for I (ca 1040 x 1100), F (ca 1040 x 1100), and L (1120) is very plausible. What, therefore, is the textual evidence? Unfortunately, there is not as much overlap between the partial witnesses as one would like. To create a certainty that these partial witnesses drew on a common source, there must be persistent agreement between at least two of the partial witnesses in their relationship to H and R. The extent of the indebtedness to the Historia Brittonum of A, F, I, L is indicated in the descriptions of the individual manuscripts, but the context for such agreement exists only in a few places: §§ 3, 4 (A, F, L); §§ 9, 17, 31 (A, L); §§ 34, 35, 38, 39, 40, 44, 52 (I, L). However, even in these chapters the amount of overlap is not always great, and the number of points at which a significant reading is held in common is even smaller. Out of a

possible twelve examples, the chance of independent scribal correction exists in five: (i) § 3 Armoricas R, Armoricos AF, Armonicas HL; (ii) § 3 Sabrina AL; Sabrine HR; (iii) § 4 Britto FH, Bruto R, Brutus A; (iv) § 34 cum quadraginta H²IL, quadraginta H¹R; (v) § 44 Scelestiano HR, Celestino IL. A syllable may have been omitted independently in a further case: § 34 creuisset et HI, creuisset LR. At the remaining six points where a comparison can be made, there is consistent agreement between two (or, in one case, three) partial witnesses: (i) § 3 et uocatur AFHL, om. R; (ii) § 3 multa AHL, om. R; (iii) § 34 nostre regionis H, regionis nostre IILR; (iv) § 34 cum ciulis HIL, ciulis R; (v) § 39 eos HIL, eo R; (vi) § 39 uersi HIL, uersi sunt R. Although this is not the strongest textual basis on which to build an argument, yet taken together with the general considerations it would seem to create a reasonable presumption in favour of a common source (β) for the partial witnesses.

It is interesting, and worthy of note, that C, written specially at and for Christ Church, Canterbury, in the period 1110 x 1140, was copied from a Rochester exemplar even though the combined evidence of F and I, and probably that of L, demonstrates that Christ Church itself possessed a copy just a short while before. The probability must be that their common source was the very copy that was sent to Saint-Omer before 1120, which was then replaced at Christ Church by arranging to make a copy of the Rochester manuscript.

The copy of the text on which A draws will then have been a copy of β , made for another house (probably St Augustine's, Canterbury, the home of A itself) at some time before β was sent to Saint-Omer.

It remains to discuss the derivatives of R. There are two complete copies, identifiable as such by having the same omissions,

alterations, and corruptions as R. C, as noted above, was executed at Christ Church, Canterbury, very soon after the writing of R and probably to supply the lack caused by the sending abroad of β . This was done at a known period of very close relations between Christ Church and Rochester.

V is another Rochester manuscript, made a century later than R, of which it is a copy. (That it does not derive from C is shown by its preservation of readings of R which C omits or corrupts.)

S derives mediately or immediately from R. It is a complete copy simply of the mirabilia (§§ 68-85), which it appends to a text of Isidore, Etymologiae. It dates from the twelfth century, but its origin and mediaeval provenance are unknown.

R had, in addition, two other areas of influence. Texts derived from it were combined, apparently independently, with copies of the 'Gildasian' recension.

One such conflation was perhaps made at Battle Abbey in Sussex. At any rate, that is where the manuscript was during part of the middle ages and, judging by the contents of the surviving portions — Hereford, Cathedral Library, MS. P. 5. 1 + Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS. e Musaeo 93 (S. C. 3132) — that is where it was written. The Historia Brittonum is now lost, and by the sixteenth century had apparently already lost a leaf (although the missing text may have been due to a fault in the exemplar). By the Dissolution the manuscript had travelled (and perhaps only recently) to Battle's cell at Brecon, as is witnessed by a subsequent owner (Sir John Prise, the antiquary: see B. L. MS. Cotton Titus F. 3, fo. 188r); this accords with John Leland's statement that at Battle he found 'Gildas' tantum in indice (Collectanea, iv. 68). The text from this manuscript (perhaps written in 1161/2) must now be reconstructed from four early modern transcripts.

The recension is attributed to Gildas. Some evidence of knowledge of it in the middle ages is suggested by John Leland's report (De Scriptoribus Britannicis, p. 55) of a manuscript at Winchester, containing Roger of Howden's Chronicle, which bore a marginal note to the effect that 'Gildas' called Lindisfarne Medcaut. This combination of the name Medcaut, found only in §§ 61 and 63 of the Harleian recension, with that of Gildas must suggest knowledge of such a conflate. A full discussion of this conflate text and its history may be found in Appendix I, below.

The other conflation may once have existed in a number of manuscripts. Oxford, St John's College, MS. 99 (provenance Jervaulx), containing a mutilated copy of the Historia Brittonum, is another and independent conflation of the 'Harleian' and 'Gildasian' recensions. A related copy appears once to have existed in a now missing section of London, British Library, MS. Additional 38817 (formerly Phillipps 25402), provenance Kirkham; a juxtaposition of entries (item 463) in a St Augustine's, Canterbury, library-catalogue of the late fifteenth century, suggesting a manuscript with contents similar to those of the above two volumes, indicates the possibility of another manuscript of this conflate text of the Historia Brittonum. The 'Harleian' element in St John's 99 derives ultimately from R. Both this and BL Additional 38817 date from the second half of the twelfth century. A full description of this conflate may be found in Appendix II, below.

PRINCIPLES OF EDITION AND TRANSLATION

I. Edition

As stated above in the section on the textual history of the Harleian recension, the major aim has been to reconstruct, as far as possible, the common ancestor of all the independent witnesses to this text. This must of necessity mean the joint ancestor of H and R, our two chief complete witnesses. However, the expanded textual base of this edition, deriving from the use (for the first time) of the partial witnesses, gives a greater degree of certainty as to the state of this archetype. In general, the readings of H have seemed to be superior. Its text has therefore been taken as the basis of this edition. Its renderings of Old Welsh words are in general more accurate. R, however, presents an essential controlling influence on the establishment of the text. For further remarks on the state of the texts presented by H and R, see the descriptions of the individual manuscripts and the survey of the textual history of this recension (above). It should be noted again, however, that some of the readings of R seem to result from a deliberate attempt to reform aspects of the latinity of the text, to improve the style, and to clarify the sense. This must not be given too much emphasis, however, for the alterations are not profuse.

The partial witnesses present a vital new factor in the establishment of a critical text. They draw attention to the existence of at least one lost manuscript (and probably two) of the Harleian recension in Kent within an approximate period 1050-1200. Such a manuscript was derived neither from H nor from R, and its independence is a valuable gain in establishing a critical text.

Except where there is an obvious possibility of independent scribal-editorial alteration, agreement of one of the partial witnesses with either H or R against the other has been taken to indicate the reading of the archetype of all the extant manuscripts of this recension. (Owing to the lack of substantial overlap between the various partial witnesses, it is not possible to say with certainty on textual grounds whether or not these partial witnesses all derive from the same complete copy of the Historia Brittonum. General probability would seem to suggest that the copy available to Lambert in 1120 — i. e., the immediate exemplar of L — was not the same manuscript as that available to the author — in the second half of the twelfth century — of the paraphrases in A. Rather, these exemplars probably derived from a common exemplar.)

Conjectural emendation has still been necessary in a number of cases, however, for our surviving manuscripts are not sufficiently close to the ninth-century author's original copy to guarantee a pure text. Comparison with other recensions (particularly the 'Vatican' and 'Gildasian' texts) of the work has required a small number of minor restorations of items which must already have been lost in the common ancestor of the manuscripts of the 'Harleian' recension; a small number of scribal errors has also been corrected in this way. Emendation has been most frequent in the case of proper nouns, where unfamiliar names and unfamiliar script have together often baffled the Anglo-Norman scribes of our extant manuscripts or of their immediate exemplars. All emendation is signified by the use of angle-brackets. Among the textual notes and variant readings, the expression 'my emendation' has been used to introduce a notice of the emendation and of the actual readings of the manuscripts; by the use of the possessive I make no claim to be the original author of any given

emendation, but simply accept responsibility for its adoption in this edition against the evidence of the manuscripts.

Chapter-division follows, for the first time, the practice of H, save for the two exceptions recorded in the apparatus (see §§ 61, 74).

The punctuation I have employed is pedestrian; I have felt this to be necessary because of the often confused, and more often confusing, nature of the syntax. I hope it will be possible to deduce with the aid of the punctuation my interpretation of the syntax of the text; there remains, however, a small number of passages which can be explained satisfactorily only by reference to the translation.

The orthography of the manuscripts has been followed in text and apparatus; I have rejected any idea of normalisation to a classical standard both as being anachronistic and as tending to detract from the rugged appearance which the text seems naturally to require. All traces of Insular spelling have been allowed, indeed encouraged, to stand. In this edition the orthography of H has been followed in all save two respects: (n)unquam and quicunque are always reproduced thus; e-caudata (e) is rendered as e save in the stems of proper nouns, where it is expanded as ae. In the case of -ti-/-ci-, the usage of H is reproduced; no variants are recorded save for proper nouns. Brittannia is the invariable usage of H (and so of this edition) and the normal practice of R.

Since this edition is intended to offer a definitive text, the critical apparatus is complete. Every effort has been made to ensure its accuracy in the hope that future students of the text will not need to repeat the work. In order that the relationships of all the manuscripts may be plainly displayed, all witnesses, however

derivative, have been collated and their variant readings recorded.

A word remains to be said about the various partial witnesses. No conclusion may be drawn from the silence of the apparatus as to the reading of a partial witness at any given point. These witnesses are quoted only when they contain a directly comparable reading. Full texts of all the partial witnesses — be they quotations, paraphrases, conflations of various recensions, or whatever — have been made available by the present editor either in this volume or elsewhere.

II. Translation

The translation is literal in the extreme. It is intended to convey the ruggedness of the original and does not aim to be a piece of 'good' English. It is intended simply as an aid to comprehension of the text, not as a literary piece in its own right. Where justification is needed for a particular rendering of a word or construction, reference may be made to the remarks (above) on the latinity of the work. Welsh personal names have been given in a Modern Welsh guise (save for cases where it is not clear what the modern form might be or where a corruption — at present insoluble — is involved). Irish orthography has been restored to Irish names. Old English personal names and place-names have been rendered in Old English orthography. Place-names given in Old Welsh have been retained (underlined) where they are no longer applicable or are unintelligible, but modernised where they remain in use.

CONCORDANCE

Harl.	Chartres	Vat.	Sawl.	Editions
1	1	1	1	1-2
2	2	1	1	2-6
3	3	3	2-3	7-9
4	-	3,5	3	9-10
5	8	5	4	11
6	-	5	5	12
7	-	5	6	13
8	-	5	6-8	13-14
9	-	5-6	9-10	15
10	-	6	11	16
11	-	6	11	16
12	-	6	11	16
13	9	7	11-12	17
14	9	7	12	17
15	9,7	7	13	17
16	7	7	s.n.	18
17	10-11	8-9	14-15	19-20
18	-	9	16	20
19	-	10	17-18	21-22
20	-	11	19	23
21	-	12	20	24
22	-	13	21	25
23	-	14	22	26
24	-	15	23	27
25	-	16	24	27
26	-	17	25	27-28

Harl.	Chartres	Vat.	Sawl.	Editions
27	-	18	26	29
28	12	18	27	30
29	13	18	28	31
30	14	19	28	31
31	15	20	29	31
32	16-17	21	30-31	32
33	18	22-23	31-35	32-35
34	19	24	36-38	36-38
35	-	24	39	39
36	-	24	40-41	40
37	-	24	41-44	40-42
38	-	24	44-45	42
39	-	25	46-47	43-45
40	-	26	48-52	45-48
41	-	26	53	48
42	-	26	54	49
43	-	26, 28	55	50
44	-	28	56-57	51
45	-	28	58	52
46	-	28	59	53
47	-	28	59	54
48	-	28	60	54
49	-	28	61	54
50	-	28	62	55
51	-	27	63	56
52	-	27	63-65	56
53	-	-	-	57

Harl.	Chartres	Vat.	Sawl.	Editions
54	-	-	-	58
55	-	-	-	59
56	-	-	-	60
57	-	-	-	61
58	-	-	66	61
59	-	-	-	62
60	-	-	-	62
61	-	-	66	63
62	-	-	-	64
63	-	-	-	65
64	-	-	-	65
65	-	-	-	66
66	-	-	-	66
67	-	3	67	66 ^A
68	-	-	68	67
69	-	-	69	67
70	-	-	70	67
71	-	-	71	68
72	-	-	72	68
73	-	-	73	69
74	-	-	74	70
75	-	-	75	70
76	-	-	76	70
77	-	-	77	71
78	-	-	78	72
79	-	-	79	73
80	-	-	80	73

Harl.	Chartres	Vat.	Sawl.	Editions
81	-	-	87	74
82	-	-	81-83	75
83	-	-	84	75
84	-	-	85	76
85	-	-	86	76

TRANSLATION

§ 1. From the beginning of the world to the Flood, two thousand two hundred and forty-two years; from the Flood to Abraham, nine hundred and forty-two years; from Abraham to Moses, six hundred and forty years; from Moses to David, five hundred years; from David to Nebuchadnezzar, there are five hundred and sixty-nine years.

§ 2. From Adam to the Babylonian emigration, there are four thousand eight hundred and seventy-nine years; from the Babylonian emigration to Christ, five hundred and sixty-six. From Adam to the passion of Christ, there are five thousand two hundred and twenty-eight years.

Moreover, from the passion of Christ seven hundred and ninety-six years have been completed. From his incarnation, however, there are eight hundred and twenty-nine years. So the first age of the world [extends] from Adam to Noah; the second from Noah to Abraham; the third from Abraham to David; the fourth age from David to Daniel; the fifth age from Daniel to John the Baptist; the sixth from John the Baptist to the Last Judgment in which Our Lord Jesus Christ will come to judge the living and the dead and the world by means of fire.

§ 3. The island of Britain, called after a certain Brutus, a roman consul, arises from the south-west to the north. [Situating] towards the west, it has the extent of eight hundred miles in length and of two hundred in width. In it are twenty-eight ciuitates, and innumerable promontories with countless forts made out of stones and brick. And in

TEXT<Narratio de Britonibus et de miraculis Britannie>¹

§ 1. A principio mundi usque ad diluuium anni duo milia ducenti [1]
 quadraginta duo; a diluuiio usque ad Abraham anni nongenti
 quadraginta duo; ab Abraham usque ad Moisen anni sexcenti
 quadraginta; a Moyse usque ad Dauid anni quingenti; a Dauid usque [2]
 Nabuchodonosor anni sunt quingenti sexaginta nouem.

§ 2. Ab Adam usque transmigracionem Babilonie anni sunt quattuor [3]
 milia <octingenti>¹ septuaginta nouem; a transmigracione Babilonie
 usque ad Christum quingenti sexaginta sex. Ab Adam uero usque ad
 passionem Christi anni sunt quinque milia ducenti uiginti octo.²

A passione autem Christi peracti sunt anni septingenti [4]
 nonaginta³ sex. Ab incarnatione autem eius anni sunt octingenti [5]
⁴<uiginti nouem>.⁴ Prima igitur aetas mundi ab Adam usque ad Noe;
 secunda a Noe usque ad Abraham; tertia ab Abraham usque ad Dauid;
 quarta etas a Dauid usque ad Danielelem; quinta etas a Daniele usque [6]
 ad Iohannem Baptistam; sexta a Iohanne Baptista usque ad iudicium
 in quo dominus noster Iesus Christus ueniet iudicare uiuos ac mortuos
 et seculum per ignem.

§ 3. Brittannia insula, a quodam Bruto consule romano dicta, hec [7]
 consurgit ab affrico¹ boreali². Ad occidentem uersus, octingentorum
 in longitudine milium, ducentorum in latitudine spatium habet. In
 ea sunt uiginti octo ciuitates, et innumerabilia promontoria³ cum
 innumeris castellis ex lapidibus et latere fabricatis. Et⁴ in ea

it live four peoples - Irish, Picts, Saxons, and Britons. It has three large subsidiary islands, of which one is inclined against the Armoricas and is called the Isle of Wight. The second is set in the middle of the sea between Ireland and Britain, and its name is called Eubonia, that is Man. The other is situated on the outermost frontier of the land of Britain, beyond the Picts, and it is called Orkney. In an ancient proverb it is spoken thus, when one talked of judges or kings: 'He judged Britain with [its] three islands'. In it are many rivers which flow towards all parts, that is to the east, to the west, to the south, to the north. However there are two rivers, more famous than other rivers, the Thames and the Severn, as if the two arms of Britain, along which ships used formerly to sail in order to bring riches for the sake of commerce.

§ 4. At one time the Britons, filling the island, held sway from sea to sea. If anyone should wish to know at what time after the Flood this island was inhabited, I have found this knowledge in two forms. In the annals of the Romans it was written thus. Aeneas with his son Ascanius came to Italy after the Trojan war and, having defeated Turnus, took in marriage Lauinia - the daughter of Latinus, the son of Faunus, the son of Picus, the son of Saturnus. And after the death of Latinus he possessed the kingdom of the Romans, or Latins. Aeneas, however, founded Alba, and afterwards took a wife, and she bore to him

habitant quattuor gentes - Scotti, Picti, Saxones, atque Brittones⁵. Tres magnas insulas habet, quarum una uergit contra [8] Armoricas⁶ et uocatur⁷ Inis Gueith⁸. Secunda sita est in umbilico⁹ maris inter Hiberniam¹⁰ et Brittanniam et uocatur nomen eius Eubonia, id est Manau. Alia sita est in extremo limite orbis Brittannie ultra Pictos, et uocatur Orc¹¹. Sic in prouerbio antiquo dicitur, quando de iudicibus uel regibus sermo fuit: 'Iudicauit Brittanniam cum tribus insulis'. Sunt in ea multa¹² flumina que confluunt ad omnes partes, id est ad orientem, ad occidentem, ad meridiem, ad septentrionem¹³. S<unt>¹⁴ tamen duo [9] flumina preclariora ceteris fluminibus, Tamesis¹⁵ ac Sabrina¹⁶, quasi duo brachia Brittannie, per que¹⁷ olim rates uehebantur ad portandas diuitias pro causa negotiationis.

Sources: Gildas, De excidio Britanniae, I. 3, is the major source of this chapter. Cf. also Orosius, Hist. adv. Paganos, I. 2. 77; Bede, Hist. Eccl., i. 1.

§ 4. Brittones olim, implentes eam, a mari usque ad mare iudicauerunt. Si quis scire uoluerit quo tempore post diluuium [10] habitata est hec insula, hoc experimentum bifarie inueni. In annalibus autem Romanorum sic scriptum¹ est. Aeneas post troianum bellum, cum Ascanio filio suo, ²uenit ad Italiam² et, superato Turno, accepit Lauiniam - filiam Latini, filii Fauni, filii Pici, filii Saturni - in coniugium. Et post mortem Latini, regnum obtinuit³ Romanorum uel Latinorum. Aeneas autem Albam condidit, et postea uxorem⁴ duxit et peperit⁵ ei filium nomine Siluium.

a son, Siluius by name. Siluius moreover took a wife; and she was pregnant; and Aeneas was informed that his daughter-in-law was pregnant. And he sent to his son Ascanius so that he should send his magus to look at the woman in order to establish what she had, whether male or female, in her womb. And the magus examined the woman, and returned. On account of this prophecy the magus was killed by Ascanius, because he told Ascanius that the woman had a boy in her womb: "And he will be a son of death because he will kill his father and his mother and he will be hated by all men". It turned out thus. At his birth the woman died; and the son was fostered; and his name was called Britto. After a great space of time, while he was playing with others, by a shot of an arrow - not on purpose, but by chance - he killed his father, in accordance with the prophecy of the magus. And he was expelled from Italy, and he was arminilis. And he came to the islands of the Tyrrhenian Sea: and he was expelled by the Greeks on account of the killing of Turnus (whom Aeneas had killed). And he travelled as far as the Gauls, and there he founded the city of the Turoni which is called Tours. And later he came to that island which took a name from his name, that is Britain; and he filled it with his descendants, and he lived there. From that day, moreover, was Britain inhabited down to the present day.

§ 5. Aeneas reigned for three years among the Latins. Ascanius reigned for thirty-seven years, after whom Siluius, the son of Aeneas, reigned for twelve years; Posthumius, whose brother was Britto, for thirty-nine years (from him the kings of the people of Alba were called Siluii).

Siluius autem duxit uxorem; et grauida fuit; et nuntiatum est Aeneae quod nurus sua grauida esset. Et misit ad Ascanium filium suum ut mitteret magum suum ad considerandam uxorem ut exploraret quid haberet in utero, si masculum uel feminam. Et magus considerauit uxorem et reuersus est. Propter hanc uaticinationem magus occisus est⁶ ab Ascanio, quia dixit Ascanio quod masculum haberet in utero mulier: "Et filius mortis erit quia occidet⁷ patrem suum et matrem suam et erit exosus omnibus hominibus." Sic euenit. In natiuitate illius mulier mortua est; et nutritus est filius; et uocatum est nomen eius Britto.⁸ Post multum interuallum [11] iuxta uaticinationem⁹ magi, dum ipse ludebat cum aliis, ictu sagitte occidit patrem suum, non de industria sed casu. Et expulsus est ab Italia, et[†]arminilis¹⁰ fuit. Et uenit ad insulas maris Tirreni¹¹: et expulsus est a Grecis causa occisionis¹² Turni (quem Aeneas occiderat). Et peruenit ad Gallos usque, et ibi condidit ciuitatem Turonorum que uocatur Turnis. Et postea¹³ ad istam peruenit¹³ insulam que a nomine suo accepit nomen, id est Brittanniam; et impleuit eam cum suo genere, et habitauit ibi. Ab illo autem die habitata est Brittannia usque in hodiernum diem.

§ 5. Aeneas autem regnauit tribus annis apud Latinos. Ascanius¹ regnauit annis triginta septem, post quem² Siluius Aeneae filius regnauit annis duodecim; Posthumius³ annis triginta nouem (a quo Albanorum reges Siluii appellati⁴ sunt) cuius frater erat Britto⁵.

Quando regnabat Britto⁶ in Brittannia, Heli sacerdos iudicabat

When Britto was reigning in Britain, the priest Eli was ruling in Israel. And then the Ark of the Covenant was being held by the gentiles. Postumius, the brother of Britto, was reigning among the Latins.

§ 6. After a space of many years (not fewer than eight hundred), the Picts came and seized the islands which are called the Orkneys. And afterwards, from the islands, they devastated many regions in the northern part of Britain and they seized them; and they remain there down to the present day. They took one third of Britain, and they hold it today.

§ 7. Lastly, however, the Irish (Scotti) came from the regions of Spain to Ireland. The first, Partholomus, came with a thousand people, both men and women. And they increased, up to four thousand people; and a pestilence came upon them, and in one week they all perished, and there remained of them not even one.

§ 8. A second, Nimeth, the son of a certain Agnomen, came to Ireland; he is said to have sailed the sea for a year and a half. And afterwards he gained a haven in Ireland, his ships having been dashed to pieces, and he remained in that place for many years. And

in Israel. Et tunc arca⁷ testamenti ab alienigenis possidebatur.
Postumius⁸ frater eius apud Latinos regnabat.

Sources: Eusebius-Jerome, Chronicle, sub annis 880 and 901.

§ 6. Post interuallum multorum annorum (non minus octingentorum), [12]
Picti uenerunt et occupauerunt insulas que uocantur Orcades¹. Et
postea ex insulis uastauerunt regiones multas et occupauerunt eas
in sinistrali plaga Brittannie; et manent ibi usque in hodiernum
diem. Terciam partem Brittannie tenuerunt, et tenent usque in
hodiernum diem.

§ 7. Nouissime autem Scotti uenerunt a partibus Hispanie ad [13]
Hiberniam¹. Primus autem uenit Partholomus cum mille hominibus de
uiris et mulieribus. Et creuerunt usque ad quattuor milia hominum;
et uenit mortalitas super eos, et in una septimana omnes perierunt,
et non remansit ex illis² etiam unus.

Source. Cf. the Irish Leabhar Gabhála Éirenn, a late derivative of
the source of our text.

§ 8. Secundus¹ ad Hiberniam uenit¹ Nimeth, filius quidam Agnominis;
qui fertur nauigasse super mare annum et dimidium. Et postea
tenuit portum in Hibernia², fractis nauibus eius³, et mansit ibidem
per multos annos. Et iterum nauigauit cum suis et ad Hispaniam

he took ship a second time with his people, and he returned to Spain. And thereafter came three sons of ¹a soldier¹ of Spain with thirty ships between them and with thirty married couples in each ship. And they stayed there for a period of one year. And afterwards they catch sight of a glass tower in the middle of the sea, and they used to catch sight of men on the tower; and they sought to speak to them, and they would never reply. And they hastened in one year to the assault of the tower with all their ships and all their women, with the exception of one vessel, in which there were thirty men and as many women, which is said to have been destroyed by a shipwreck. And the other ships sailed to capture the tower. And when they had all alighted on the shore which was around the tower, the sea overwhelmed them and they were drowned; and not one of them escaped. And from the company of that vessel which was left behind on account of the shipwreck the whole of Ireland was filled, to the present day. And thereafter they came, little by little, from the districts of Spain and took very many regions. Last of all came Damhoctor² and he lived there with all his descendants until today. In Britain Istoreth, son of Istorinus, took Dál Riata with his men. Builc, however, with his men took the island of Eubonia³ and others thereabout. The sons of Liathán, moreover, took land in the district of the men of Dyfed and in other regions (namely Gower and Kidwelly), until they were expelled by Cunedda and his sons from all British districts.

Notes.

- 1 ... 1. A misunderstanding of the source, which would have referred to 'Míl'.
 2. Another misunderstanding; this is doubtless dám (h)octair, Old Irish for 'a company of eight men'.
 3. The Isle of Man.
-

reuersus est. Et postea uenerunt tres filii militis Hispanie cum triginta ciulis apud illos et cum⁴ triginta coniugibus in unaquaque ciula. Et manserunt ibi per spatium unius anni. Et postea conspiciunt turrim uitream⁵ in medio mare⁶, et homines conspiciebant super turrim; et querebant loqui ad illos, et⁷ nunquam respondebant. Et ipsi⁸ uno anno⁸ ad obpugnationem⁹ turris properauerunt¹⁰ cum omnibus ciulis suis et cum omnibus mulieribus, excepta una ciula que confracta esset¹¹ naufragio, in qua erant uiri¹² triginta totidemque mulieres. Et alie naues nauigauerunt ad expugnandam turrim. Et dum omnes descenderant¹³ in littore quod erat circa turrim, operuit illos¹⁴ mare et demersi sunt; et non euasit unus ex illis. Et de familia illius ciule que relicta est propter fractionem, tota Hibernia¹⁵ impleta est usque in hodiernum diem. Et postea uenerunt paulatim a partibus Hispanie et tenuerunt regiones plurimas. Nouissime uenit Damhoctor et ibi habitauit cum omni genere suo usque [14] hodie. In Brittanniam Istoreth Istori<ni>¹⁶ filius tenuit Dalrieta¹⁷ cum suis. Buile autem cum suis tenuit Euboniam insulam et in ali<i>s¹⁸ circiter. Filii autem Liethan obtinuerunt¹⁹ in regionem²⁰ Demetorum et in²⁰ aliis regionibus (id est Guir²¹, Cetgueli), donec expulsi sunt a Cunedda²², et a filiis eius, ab omnibus brittannicis regionibus.

Source: As for § 7 (save for last three sentences).

§ 9. If anyone should wish to know when or at what time Ireland was habitable and uninhabited, the most learned men of the Irish have informed me thus. When the sons of Israel came through the Red Sea, the Egyptians came and followed them and were drowned, as is read in the Law. There was among the Egyptians a man of noble birth from Scythia with a great household. (And he was expelled from his kingdom, and he was there when the Egyptians were drowned.) And he did not go out to follow the people of God. Those of the Egyptians who had been left, however, formed a plan to expel him lest he should besiege their kingdom and seize it because their champions had been drowned in the Red Sea. And he was expelled. But for forty-two years he wandered through Africa. And they came to the altars of the Philistines and through the lake of palms; and they came between Rusicada and the mountains of Azaria; and they came over the river Malua; and they traversed Maritana to the Pillars of Hercules; and they sailed the Tyrrhenian Sea; and they came as far as Spain, and they lived there for many years. And they increased and were multiplied greatly, and their race was multiplied greatly. And afterwards they came to Ireland (after a thousand and two years after the Egyptians were drowned in the Red Sea) and to the districts of Dál Riata, in the time when Brutus was ruling among the Romans; from whose time consuls began to exist. Then tribunes, and dictators, and once again consuls, through four hundred and forty-seven years held the republic which formerly had been damned with the royal rank. The Britons came to Britain in the third age of the world; the Irish however took Ireland in the fourth. The Irish moreover, who are in the west, and the Picts, from the north, used to fight incessantly with one accord and with a single [united] onset against the Britons, because the Britons used to live without arms. And after a great

§ 9. Si quis autem scire uoluerit ¹quando uel quo tempore¹ fuit [15]
inhabitabilis et deserta Hibernia², sic michi³ peritissimi Scottorum
nuntiauerunt. Quando uenerunt ⁴per mare rubrum filii Israhel⁴,
Egiptii⁵ uenerunt et secuti sunt eos⁶ et demersi sunt, ut in lege
legitur. Erat uir nobilis de Scithia cum magna familia apud
Egiptios. (Et expulsus est a regno suo, et ibi erat quando Egiptii
mersi sunt.) Et non perrexit ad sequendum⁷ populum Dei. Illi
autem qui superfuerant inierunt consilium ut expellerent illum ne
regnum illorum obsideret⁸ et occuparet quia fortes illorum dimersi⁹
erant in ¹⁰rubrum mare¹⁰. Et expulsus est. At ille per quadraginta
11 annos et duos¹¹ ambulauit per Affricam¹². Et uenerunt ad aras
Filistinorum¹³ et per lacum palmarum; et uenerunt inter Rusicadam¹⁴
et montes Azarie; et uenerunt per flumen Maluam; et transierunt per
Maritana ad columnas¹⁵ Ercolis¹⁶; et nauigauerunt Terrenum¹⁷ mare;
et peruenerunt ad Hispaniam usque, et ibi habitauerunt per multos
annos. Et creuerunt et multiplicati sunt nimis, et gens illorum
multiplicata est nimis. Et postea uenerunt ad Hiberniam¹⁸ (post
mille et duos annos postquam mersi sunt Egiptii in rubrum mare) et ad
regiones Da<l>rieta¹⁹, in tempore quo regnabat Brutus apud Romanos a
quo consules esse ceperunt. Deinde tribuni plebis ac dictatores²⁰
et consules rursus rem publicam²¹ obtinuerunt²² per annos
quadringentos²³ quadraginta septem, que prius regia dignitate
dampnata²⁴ <fuerat>²⁵. Brittones uenerunt in tertia etate mundi ad
Brittanniam; Scotti autem in quarta obtinuerunt²⁶ Hiberniam²⁷.
Scotti autem, qui sunt in occidente, et Picti de aquilone pugnabant
unanimiter²⁸ et uno impetu contra Brittones indesinenter²⁹, quia
sine armis utebantur Brittones. Et post multum interuallum
temporis Romani monarchiam totius mundi obtinuerunt.³⁰

space of time the Romans gained the absolute rule of the whole world.

§ 10. From the first year when the Saxons came to Britain, to the fourth year of King Merfyn, four hundred and twenty-nine years are counted.

§ 11. From the birth of the Lord to the coming of Patrick to the Irish, there are four hundred and five years. From the death of Patrick to the death of Saint Brigid there are sixty years; from the birth of Columba to the death of Brigid there are four years.

§ 12. The beginning of the calculation. Twenty-three decennovenal cycles from the incarnation of the Lord to the arrival of Patrick in Ireland, and they make four hundred and thirty-eight in number. And

Sources: (1) As for §§ 7, 8.

(2) Eusebius-Jerome, Chronicle, sub an. Abr. 1507, for the section 'in tempore quo regnabat Brutus per annos CCCCLVII' (the number an error for the CCCCLXIII of the source).

(3) For the last two sentences, cf. Gildas I.14 and I.5 respectively.

§ 10. A primo anno quo Saxones uenerunt in Brittanniam usque ad annum quartum Mermini regis, supputantur anni quadringenti uiginti¹ nouem.

[16]

Source. For the origin of §§ 10-11, see D. N. Dumville, 'Some aspects of the chronology of the Historia Brittonum', Bulletin of the Board of Celtic Studies 25 (1972-74), pp. 439-445.

§ 11. A natiuitate Domini usque ad aduentum Patricii ad Scottos quadringenti quinque anni sunt. A morte Patricii usque ad¹ obitum sancte Brigide² sexaginta anni; a natiuitate Columbe usque mortem Brigide² quattuor anni sunt.

Source: See the reference given under §10 above.

§ 12. Initium¹ compoti. Uiginti tres cicli² decennouenal<e>s³ ab incarnatione Domini usque ad aduentum Patricii in Hiberniam⁴, et ipsi annos efficiunt numero quadringentos triginta octo. Et ab aduentu

from the coming of Patrick to the decennovenal cycle in which we are, there are twenty-one cycles: that is, there are four hundred and twenty-one (two years in the ogload) up to this year in which we are.

§ 13. I have procured another example concerning that Brutus from the old books of our ancestors. The three sons of Noah divided the world into three parts after the Flood. They extended their frontiers, Shem in Asia, Ham in Africa, Japheth in Europe.

§ 14. The first man came to Europe from the tribe of Japheth: Alanus with his three sons whose names are Hessitio, Armeno, Negue. Hissitio, however, had four sons: they are Francus, Romanus, Britto, Albanus. Armenon had five sons: Gothus, Ualagothus, Gebidus, Burgandus, Longobardus. Neugo had three sons: Uandalus, Saxo, Boguarus.

§ 15. From Hissitio were sprung four peoples — the Franks, the Latins, the men of Alba, and the Britons; from Armeno(n), five — the Goths, the Ualagothi, the Gepids, the Burgundians, the Lombards;

Patricii usque ad ciclum⁵ decennouenalem⁶ in quo sumus, uiginti duo cicli sunt: id est, quadringenti uiginti unus sunt (duo anni in ogdoade) usque in hunc annum in quo sumus.

Source: This section appears to be the sole interpolation in the Harleian recension; see the introduction, above.

§ 13. Aliud experimentum inueni de isto Bruto¹ ex ueteribus libris [17] ueterum nostrorum. Tres² filii Noe diuiserunt orbem in tres partes post diluuium. Sem in Asia, Cham³ in Affrica, Iafeth⁴ in⁵ Europa dilatauerunt terminos suos⁵.

Source: For the second sentence, and the inspiration of what follows, see Genesis x. 32.

§ 14. ¹Primus homo uenit ad¹ Europam de genere Iafeth²: Alanus cum tribus filiis suis quorum nomina sunt Hessitio³, Armeno⁴, Negue. Hissitio⁵ autem habuit filios quattuor; hi⁶ sunt Francus, Romanus, Britto⁷, Albanus. Armenon autem habuit quinque filios: Gothus, Ualagothus, Gebidus, Burgandus⁸, Longobardus⁹. Neugo¹⁰ autem habuit¹⁰ tres filios: Uandalus¹¹, Saxo, Boguarus.

Source. See Appendix VI, below.

§ 15. Ab Hissitione¹ autem orte sunt quattuor gentes — Franci, Latini², Albani, et³ Britti⁴; ab Armenone autem quinque⁵ — Gothi, Ualagothi⁶, Gebidi, Burgandi⁷, Longobardi⁸; a Neugio⁹ uero

from Neguius, four — the Boguarii, the Vandals, the Saxons, and the Thuringians. Those peoples were divided throughout the whole of Europe. Alanus, it is said, was the son of Fet(h)ebir, the son of Ougomun, the son of Thoi, the son of Boib, the son of Simeon, the son of Mair, the son of Aurthach, the son of Oth, the son of Abir, the son of Ra, the son of Ezra, the son of Izrau, the son of Baath, the son of Iobaath, the son of Javan, the son of Japheth, the son of Noah, the son of Lamech, the son of Methuselah, the son of Enoch, the son of Jared, the son of Mahalaleel, the son of Cainan, the son of Enos, the son of Seth, the son of Adam, the son of the living God. I have obtained this knowledge from the instruction of the ancients, who were the inhabitants of Britain first of all.¹

Note.

1. Or 'I have obtained from tradition this knowledge (or 'genealogy') of the ancients who were the inhabitants of Britain first of all'. This gives better sense, but I am not sure that traditio will bear this meaning.
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§ 16. The Britons from Brutus; Brutus, son of Hisitio(n); Hisition of Alaneus; Alaneus, son of Rea, daughter of Rea Siluia, daughter of Numa Pampilius, son of Ascanius; Ascanius, son of Aeneas, son of Anchises, son of Trous, son of Dardanus, son of Flisa, son of Javan, son of Japheth. Japheth had seven sons: the first, Gomer, whence the Gauls; the second, Magog, whence the Scythians and Goths; the third, Madai, whence the Medes; the fourth, Javan, whence the Greeks; the fifth, Tubal, whence the Hebrews and the Spaniards and the Italians; the sixth, Meshech, whence the Cappadocians; the seventh, Tiras, whence the Thracians. They are the sons of Japheth, son of Noah, the son of

quattuor — Boguarii, Uandali¹⁰, Saxones, et Taringi. Iste autem gentes subdiuise sunt per totam Europam. Alamus autem, ut aiunt, filius fuit Fetebir¹¹, filii Ougomun, filii Thoi¹², filii Boib, filii Simeon¹³, filii Mair, filii Aurthach, filii Oth, filii Abir, filii Ra¹⁴, filii Ezra, filii Izrau, filii Baath¹⁵, filii Iobaath, filii Iouan, filii Iafeth¹⁶, filii Noe, filii Lamech, filii Matusalem¹⁷, filii Enoch¹⁸, filii Iareth, filii Malaleel, filii Cainan, filii Enos, filii Seth, filii Adam, filii Dei uiui. Hanc peritiam inueni ex traditione ueterum qui incole in primo fuerunt Brittannie.

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- Sources: (1) On the ancestry of the European peoples, see Appendix VI below;
- (2) for the end of the biblical genealogy, from Japheth back to Adam, see Genesis cap. 5 and Luke iii. 36-38; for Javan, see Genesis x. 2;
- (3) for the remainder of the names, Genesis, cap. 10, is a point of comparison.
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§ 16. Brittones a Bruto; Brutus filius Hisitionis¹; Hisition² [18] Alanei; Alaneus filius Reae, filie Siluie³ Reae, filie Nume Pampilii⁴, filii Ascanii⁵; Ascanius filius Aeneae, filii Anchise, filii Troi, filii Dardani, filii Flise, filii Iuani, filii Iafeth⁶. Iafeth⁷ uero⁸ septem filios habuit⁸: primus Gemer⁹,¹⁰ a quo Galli; secundus Magog, a quo Scithas et Gothos; tercius Madianus¹⁰, a quo Medos; quartus Iuan, a quo Greci; quintus Tubal, a quo Ebrei¹¹ et Hispani et Itali; sextus Mosoch, a quo Cappadoces¹²; septimus¹³ Tiras¹⁴, a quo Traces. Hi¹⁵ sunt filii Iafeth¹⁶, filii Noe, filii Lamech. Et redeam nunc ad id de¹⁷ quo digressus sum.

Lamech. And I shall now return to that from which I digressed.

§ 17. While the Romans were taking the rule of the whole world, they sent ambassadors to the Britons in order to take hostages and tribute from them, just as they were receiving from all countries and islands. However, since the Britons were tyrants and puffed up with pride, they despised the Roman embassy. Julius Caesar then grew exceedingly angry, since he, first, had taken and seized sole rule. And he came to Britain with sixty ships, and he put into the mouth of the Thames, where his vessels suffered shipwreck while he was fighting Dolobellus who was proconsul to the British king (who was himself called Bellinus and was son of the Minocannus who seized all the islands of the Tyrrhenian Sea). And Julius returned without victory, his troops slaughtered and his ships wrecked. And he came again, after an interval of three years, with a great army and three hundred ships; and he reached the mouth of the river which is called the Thames. And there they entered battle, and many of their horses and soldiers fell because the aforementioned proconsul had put iron stakes and a warlike seed (that is, battle-seeds¹) into the fords of the river. It was a great crisis for the Roman soldiers and an invisible technique², and they went away on that occasion without peace. A battle was fought, for the third time, near the place which is called Trinouantum; and Julius took the overlordship of the British people forty-seven years before the birth of Christ, five thousand two hundred and fifteen years from the beginning of the world.

Notes.

1. On cet(h)ilou, 'battle-seeds', see Appendix IX below.

Source: For the seven sons of Japheth, see Genesis x. 2. See further Jerome, Quaestiones in Genesim, x. 2.

§ 17. Romani autem, dum acciperent dominium totius mundi, ad [19]
 Brittanos miserunt legatos ut obsides et censum acciperent ab illis,
 sicut accipiebant ab uniuersis regionibus et insulis. Britanni
 autem, cum essent tiranni¹ et tumidi, legationem Romanorum
 contempserunt. Tunc Iulius Cesar, cum accepisset² singulare
 imperium primus et obtinuisset³, iratus est ualde. Et uenit ad
 Brittaniam cum sexaginta ciulis, et tenuit in ostium Tamesis, in quo
 naufragium perpesse sunt naues illius dum ipse pugnabat apud
 Dolobellum qui erat proconsul regi brittannico (qui et ipse Bellinus
 uocabatur, et filius erat Minocanni qui occupauit omnes insulas
 Tirrini⁴ maris). Et Iulius⁵ reuersus est sine uictoria, cesis
 militibus et fractis nauibus. Et iterum post spatium trium annorum [20]
 uenit cum magno exercitu trecentisque ciulis; et peruenit usque ad
 hostium⁶ fluminis quod uocatur Tamesis. Et ibi inierunt bellum, et
 multi ceciderunt ⁷de equis⁷ militibusque suis quia supradictus
 proconsul posuerat sudes ferreos et semen bellicosum (id est cetilou⁸)
 in uada fluminis. Discrimen magnum fuit militibus Romanorum et ars
 inuisibilis, et discesserunt sine pace in illa uice. Gestum est
 bellum tercio⁹ iuxta locum qui dicitur Trinouantum¹⁰; et accepit
 Iulius imperium brittannice gentis quadraginta septem¹¹ annis ante
 natiuitatem Christi, ab initio autem mundi quinque milia¹² ducenti¹³
 quindecim

Sources: (1) Gildas, I. 4-5;

(2) Orosius, Hist. adv. Pag., I. 7. 5 (cf. Suetonius,

2. Or one can take ars to be arx, and translate 'fortress'. But 'technique', or 'stratagem', seems the more likely here.

§ 18. Julius was therefore the first to reach Britain, and he possessed the kingdom and the nation. And in his honour the Romans decided that the fifth month (Quintilis) should be called 'July'. And on the ides of March, Gaius Julius Caesar is killed in the curia, with Octavianus Augustus possessing the sole rule of the whole world. And he himself received tribute from Britain, as Vergil says: 'The woven Britons raise the purple curtains'.

§ 19. The second emperor, Claudius, came after him (and he ruled in Britain forty-eight years after the coming of Christ) and he made a great war and a slaughter, not without loss of his own troops. However, he was the victor in Britain. And afterwards he went out to the Orcadian isles and subjected them to himself and made them tributary. In his time Britain was free from the tribute to be given to the Romans, but it was rendered to the British emperors. He reigned for thirteen years and eight months. His commemorative monument is displayed at Mongantia (Monza) among the Lombards; while he was going to Rome, he died there.

After a hundred and sixty-seven years after the coming of Christ, Lucius, the British king, with all the sub-kings of the whole British nation, received baptism after an embassy had been sent by the Roman emperors and by the Roman Pope Eu(ch)aristus.

Caligula, § 44), and VI. 15. 18;

- (3) Eusebius-Jerome, Chronicle, sub an. Abr. 1968 (the correct annus mundi is 5152, not 5215 as here).

§ 18. Iulius igitur¹ primus in Brittanniam² peruenit, et regnum et gentem tenuit. Et in honorem illius³ Quintilem mensem 'Iulium' debere Romani decreuerunt⁴ uocari. Et idibus martis Gaius Iulius Cesar in curia occiditur, tenente Octauiano⁵ Augusto⁶ monarchiam totius mundi. Et censum a Brittannia ipse solus accepit, ut Uirgilius ait: 'Porporea⁷ intexti tollunt aulea Brittanni'.

Sources: (1) Eusebius-Jerome, Chronicle, sub an. Abr. 1973;

(2) Vergil, Georgics III. 25.

§ 19. Secundus post hunc Claudius imperator uenit (et in Brittannia [21] imperauit annis quadraginta octo post aduentum Christi) et stragem et bellum fecit magnum, non absque¹ detrimento militum. Tamen uictor fuit in Brittannia. Et postea cum ciuilibus² perrexit ad Orcades insulas³ et subiecit sibi et fecit eas tributarias. In tempore illius quieuit⁴ dari censum⁴ Romanis a Brittannia, sed brittannicis imperatoribus redditum⁵ est. Regnauit annis tredecim mensibus octo⁶. Cuius monumentum in Mo(n)gantia⁷ apud Longobardos ostenditur; dum ad Romam ibat, ibi defunctus est.

Post centum et sexaginta septem annos post aduentum Christi, [22] Lucius brittannicus rex, cum omnibus regulis totius brittannice gentis, baptismum suscepit, missa legatione ab imperatoribus⁸ Romanorum et a papa romano Euaristo.⁹

§ 20. The third was Seuerus who crossed the sea to the Britons where, in order that he might make the conquered provinces safer from barbarian invasion, he constructed a wall and a rampart from sea to sea across the breadth of Britain (that is, across a hundred and thirty-two miles). And it is called Gual¹ in the British tongue. He ordered it to be made between the Britons on the one hand and the Picts and the Irish on the other for this reason, that the Irish from the west and the Picts from the north used to fight with one accord against the Britons for they [the Picts and the Irish] had a state of peace between themselves. And not long afterwards, Seuerus dies within Britain.

Note.

1. ModW. Gwawl; the word is cognate with Irish fál.

§ 21. The fourth was Caritius, emperor and tyrant, who came to Britain with despotic power, because he was ruler as a consequence of the killing of Seuerus. And, with all the commanders of Roman race who were with him in Britain, he transfixed all the petty kings of the Britons, and by these deeds he avenged Seuerus thoroughly. And he seized the imperial rank of Britain.

Sources: For the account of Claudius, Eusebius-Jerome, Chronicle, sub ann. Abr. 2061 (cf. Bede, Hist. Eccl. v. 24 and i. 3), 2057, and 2059.

For the story of Lucius, cf. Bede, De temporum ratione cap. 66, and Hist. Eccl. i. 4 and v. 24; the ultimate source is the Liber Pontificalis.

§ 20. Tercius fuit Seuerus qui transfretauit ad Brittannos ubi, ut [23]
receptas prouintias ab incursione barbarica faceret tutiores, murum
et aggerem a mari usque ad mare per latitudinem Brittannie (id est
centum¹ triginta duo milia passuum) deduxit. Et uocatur
brittannico sermone Guaul. Propterea iussit fieri inter
Brittones et Pictos et Scottos, quia Scotti ab occidente et Picti ab
aquilone unianimiter² pugnabant contra Brittones³; nam et ipsi pacem
inter se habebant. Et non multo post, intra Brittanniam Seuerus
moritur.

Source: Eusebius-Jerome, Chronicle, sub ann. Abr. 2221, 2225 (cf. Orosius, VII. 17; Bede, Hist. Eccl., i. 5).

§ 21. Quartus fuit Caritius¹ imperator et tyrannus² qui et ipse in [24]
Brittanniam uenit tyrannide³ quia⁴ propterea tyrannus⁵ fuit pro
occisione Seueri. Et cum omnibus⁶ ducibus romanice⁷ gentis qui erant
cum eo in Brittanniam⁸, transuerberauit omnes regulos Brittannorum, et
uindicauit ualde Seuerum ab illis. Et purpuram Brittannie occupauit.

Source: Eusebius-Jerome, Chronicle, sub an. Abr. 2305 (cf. Orosius VII. 25; Bede, Hist. Eccl. i. 6).

§ 22. The fifth was Constantinus, son of Constantine the Great.

And he dies there, and his tomb is pointed out near the city which is called Cair Segeint [Carnarvon], as letters which are on the tombstone make clear. And he planted three seeds (that is, of gold, of silver, and of bronze) in the pavement of the aforementioned city, so that no one might ever live as a pauper in it. And it is called by another name, Minmanton.

§ 23. Maximus, the sixth emperor, reigned in Britain. From his time consuls began to exist, and thereafter they were never called 'caesars'. And Saint Martin was famous for miraculous deeds and signs in his time; and he spoke with him.

§ 24. Maximianus, the seventh emperor, reigned in Britain. He went from Britain with all the British troops. And he killed Gratianus, the king of the Romans, and he gained the supremacy over the whole of Europe. And he was unwilling to dismiss to Britain, to their wives and their sons and their possessions, the soldiers who went forth with him; but he gave them many districts from the lake which is on the summit of Mons Iouis as far as the city which is called Cantguic and as far as the western hill, that is Cruc Ochidient. They are the Armorican Britons, and they have never returned hither to this day.

§ 22. Quintus Constantinus, Constantini magni filius, fuit. Et [25]
ibi moritur, et sepulchrum illius monstratur iuxta urbem que uocatur
Cair Segeint, ut littere que sunt in lapide tumuli ostendunt. Et
ipse seminauit tria semina (id est auri, argenti, aerisque) in
pauimento supradicte ciuitatis, ut nullus pauper in ea habitaret
unquam. Et uocatur alio nomine Minmanton.¹

§ 23. Sextus Maximus imperator regnauit in Brittannia. A tempore [26]
illius consules esse ceperunt, et cesares nunquam appellati sunt
postea. Et sanctus Martinus in tempore illius claruit in
uirtutibus et signis; et cum eo locutus¹ est.

Source: cf. Prosper, Chronicon § 1175, and Sulpicius Severus, Vita
Martini § 20.

The first sentence results from a change of source:

Eusebius-Jerome to Prosper, who reckoned by consuls.

§ 24. Septimus ¹imperator regnauit in Brittannia¹ Maximianus. Ipse [27]
perrexit cum omnibus militibus Brittonum a Brittannia. Et occidit
Gratianum, regem Romanorum, et imperium tenuit totius Europe. Et
noluit dimittere milites, qui perrexerunt cum eo, ²ad Brittanniam²
ad uxores suas et ad filios suos et ad possessiones suas; sed dedit
illis multas regiones a stagno quod est super uerticem montis Iouis
usque ad ciuitatem que uocatur Cantguic et usque ad cumulum
occidentalem, id est Cruc Ochidient. Hii³ sunt Brittones Armorici,
et nunquam reuersi sunt huc usque in hodiernum diem. ⁴Propter hoc⁴

On account of this, Britain was seized by foreign races, and the citizens were driven forth, right up to the time when God might give them help. In the ancient tradition of our elders, there were seven emperors from the Romans in Britain; the Romans, however, tell of nine.

§ 25. The eighth was another Seuerus who sometimes used to stay in Britain, and at other times used to go to Rome; and he died there.

§ 26. The ninth was Constantius. He ruled in Britain for sixteen years; and in the sixteenth year of his reign he died in Britain. Up to that point the Romans had ruled among the Britons for four hundred and nine years. The Britons, however, threw off the rule of the Romans, and they did not give them tribute; nor did their kings accept that the Romans should rule over them; and the Romans did not dare to come to Britain to rule further, because the Britons had killed their commanders.

§ 27. The discourse ought to be resumed again on the subject of the tyrant Maximianus. Gratianus reigned with his brother Ualentianus

Brittannia occupata est ab extraneis gentibus, et ciues expulsi sunt usque dum Deus auxilium dederit illis. In ueteri traditione seniorum nostrorum, septem imperatores fuerunt a Romanis in Brittannia; Romani autem dicunt nouem.

Sources: (1) cf. Pillar of Elise, and Harley Genealogies § 4;
(2) cf. Gildas I. 13-14, and Prosper, Chronicon, § 1183.

§ 25. Octauus¹ fuit alius Seuerus qui aliquando in Brittannia manebat, aliquando ad Romam ibat; et ibi defunctus est.

§ 26. Nomus fuit Constantius. Ipse regnauit sexdecim annis¹ in Brittannia; et in sexto decimo anno imperii sui obiit in Brittannia. Hucusque regnauerunt Romani apud Brittones [28]
quadringentis et nouem annis. Brittones autem² deiecerunt regnum² Romanorum, neque censum dederunt illis neque reges illorum acceperunt ut regnarent super eos³; neque Romani ausi sunt ut uenirent Brittanniam ad regnandum amplius, quia duces illorum⁴ Brittones occiderant.

Sources: (1) On Constantius, see Eusebius-Jerome, Chronicle, sub an. Abr. 2322;
(2) on the length of Roman rule, see Bede, Hist. Eccl. i. 11, and v. 24 (s. a. 409).

§ 27. Iterum repetendus est sermo de Maximiano tiranno¹. [29]
Gratianus cum fratre Valentiano² regnauit sex annis; et Ambrosius,

for six years; and Ambrose, bishop of Milan, is famous in Catholic teaching. Valentinianus reigned with Theodosius for eight years. A synod of three hundred and eighteen Fathers is assembled at Constantinople, at which all heresies are condemned; then Jerome, a priest of Bethlehem, was famous throughout the whole world. While Gratianus was holding sway over the whole world, in Britain Maximus was made emperor by a mutiny of the troops; while Maximus was crossing over to the provinces of Gaul, Gratianus at Paris was overcome by the treachery of Meroblaudes, the Magister Militum, and he was taken in flight at Lyons and killed. Maximus makes his son Victor his co-ruler. Martin, bishop of Tours, was famous for great miracles. After a lengthy period of time Maximus, stripped of royal insignia by the consuls Valentinianus and Theodosius at the third milestone from Aquileia, is produced in court and sentenced to death; his son Victor was killed in the same year by the comes Arbogastes in Gaul, [five thousand six hundred and ninety years having been completed since the beginning of the world].

§ 28. Three times were the Roman commanders killed by the Britons. While the Britons were being troubled by the barbarian people (that is, the Irish and the Picts), they used urgently to seek the help of the Romans. And while ambassadors were being sent, they used to enter with great lamentation and with sand upon their heads, and they would carry large presents with them for the Roman consuls, on account of their admitted crime, the killing of the commanders. And the consuls would accept the welcome gifts from them. And they used to promise with an oath to accept the yoke of Roman law, however hard

Mediolanensis episcopus, clarus habetur in catholicorum dogmate. Valentianus³ cum Theodosio regnavit annis octo. Sinodus⁴ Constantinopolim⁵ colligitur a trecentis decem et octo patribus, in qua omnes hereses dampnantur⁶; Ieronimus tum presbiter Bethleem⁷ toto mundo claruit. Dum Gratianus imperium regebat in toto mundo, in Brittannia per seditionem militum Maximus imperator factus est; qui mox dum in Gallias⁸ transfretaret, Gratianus Parassis⁹ Meroblaudis¹⁰ magistri militum proditione superatus est,¹¹ et fugiens Lugdoni¹² captus atque occisus est¹¹. Maximus Victorem filium suum consortem facit. Martinus, Turonensis episcopus, in magnis uirtutibus claruit. Post multum interuallum temporis a Ualentiniano et Theodosio consulibus in tercio¹³ ab Auileua lapide spoliatus indumentis regis¹⁴ sistitur et capite dampnatur¹⁵; cuius filius Victor¹⁶ eodem anno¹⁶ ab Argeste comite interfectus est in Gallia, ¹⁷<peractis a mundi initio annis .v^m.DC.XC>.¹⁷

Sources: Isidore, Chronicon, §§ 352-353, 356-358; Prosper, Chronicon, §§ 1183, 1175, and 1191.

§ 28. Tribus uicibus occisi sunt duces Romanorum a Brittannis. [30]
 Brittones autem,¹ dum anxiebantur a barbarorum gentibus (id est Scottorum et Pictorum), flagitabant auxilium Romanorum. Et dum legati mittebantur, cum magno luctu et cum sablonibus super capita sua intrabant et portabant magna munera secum consulibus Romanorum pro admissio scelere occisionis ducum. Et suscipiebant consules² grata dona ab illis. Et promittebant cum iuramento accipere iugum romanici iuris, licet durum fuisset. Et Romani uenerunt cum maximo³ exercitu ad auxilium eorum, et posuerunt imperatores in Brittannia;

it might be. And the Romans came to their aid with a very great army, and they imposed emperors on Britain; and, when an emperor with military commanders had been installed, the armies used to return to Rome. And they used to behave thus alternately throughout the three hundred and forty eight years: the Britons, because of the onerousness of the authority on them, used to kill the Roman commanders, and afterwards they would seek help. The Romans, moreover, used to come to impose authority, to give help, and to take revenge; and, once Britain had been stripped of gold, silver, bronze, and every precious garment and sweet thing, they would return with great triumph.

§ 29. After the aforementioned battle¹ (that is, the one which was between the Britons and the Romans when their commanders were killed) and the killing of the tyrant Maximus and the ending of Roman rule in Britain, it happened that they were in fear for forty years.²

Gwrtheyrn reigned in Britain; and while he was ruling in Britain, he was oppressed by a dread of the Picts and the Irish and by Roman attack and indeed also by fear of Ambrosius.

Notes.

1. Referring back to § 26.
 2. Covering the period from A.D. 409 to A.D. 449; the dates are extrapolations from Bede (H.E., v.24, in particular). See further D. N. Dumville, Bulletin of the Board of Celtic Studies 25 (1972-74), pp. 439-445.
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et, composito imperatore cum ducibus, reuertebantur exercitus ad Roman usque. Et sic alternatim per trecent^os⁴ et quadraginta octo annos faciebant⁵: Brittones autem propter grauitatem imperii occidebant duces Romanorum, et auxilium postea petebant. Romani autem ad imperium auxiliumque et ad uindicandum ueniebant; et, spoliata Brittannia⁶ auro argentoque cum aere et omni preciosa ueste et melle, cum magno triumpho⁷ reuertebantur.

Source: Gildas, I.17 (cf. I.6,15, and 20); I.7.

§ 29. Factum est autem post supradictum bellum (id est, quod fuit [31] inter Brittones et Romanos quando duces illorum occisi sunt) et occisionem Maximi tiranni¹, transactoque Romanorum imperio in Brittannia, per quadraginta annos fuerunt sub metu. Guorthigirmus² regnauit in Brittannia; et dum ipse regnabat in Brittannia, urgebatur a metu Pictorum Scottorumque et a romano³ impetu necnon et a timore Ambrosii.

§ 30. Meanwhile there came from Germany three ships, driven forth in exile, in which were Hors and Hengist who were also brothers, the sons of Wihtgils, son of Witta, son of Wecta, son of Woden, son of Frealaf, son of Frithuwulf, son of Finn, son of Folcwald, son of Geta who was, as they said, the son of god. He was not the God of gods (amen), the God of hosts, but he was one of their idols that they used to worship.

§ 31. Gwrtheyrn received them in a friendly way, and he handed over to them the island which in their language is called Thanet, and in British speech Ruoihm. While Gratianus the second and Equantius were ruling, the Saxons were received by Gwrtheyrn in the three-hundred-and-forty-seventh year after the passion of Christ.

§ 32. In his time Saint Germanus came to preach in Britain; and he shone among them on account of many miracles; and many were saved through him, and very many perished. I have resolved to write about some miracles which God performed through him. [Here is] the first of his miracles. There was a certain wicked and intensely tyrannical

§ 30. Interea uenerunt tres ciule a Germania expulse in exilio, in quibus erant¹ Hors et Hengist qui et ipsi fratres erant, filii Guictg<il>s², filii Guitta³, filii Guectha⁴, filii Uoden, filii Frealaf, filii Fredulf⁵, filii Fim⁶, filii Fo<lc>pald⁷, filii Geta qui fuit, ut aiunt, filius dei. Non ipse est Deus deorum (amen), Deus exercituum, sed unus est ab idolis eorum quod ipsi colebant.

Sources: Bede, Hist. Eccl. i. 15; for the Old English royal genealogies, see Appendix IV below.

Note that both Bede and our text divide the Kentish genealogy at the same point (Hengist: and both mention Hors) into two widely separated parts. This dovetails with our § 54. For the section which they share (Hengist to Woden), they agree against the Old English genealogies in following a descending order.

§ 31. Guorthigirmus¹ suscepit eos benigne, et tradidit eis insulam que in lingua eorum uocatur Tanet², brittannico sermone Ruoihm³. Regnante⁴ Gratiano secundo Equantio, Saxones a Guorthigirno⁵ suscepti sunt anno trecentesimo quadragesimo septimo post passionem Christi.

§ 32. In tempore illius uenit sanctus Germanus ad predicandum in [32] Brittannia; et claruit apud illos in multis uirtutibus; et multi per eum salui facti sunt, et plurimi perierunt. Aliquanta miracula, que per illum¹ fecit Deus, scribenda decreui. Primum miraculum de miraculis eius. Erat quidam rex iniquus atque

king whose name was Benlli. The holy man wished to visit him, and to hasten to the wicked king in order to preach to him. But when that man of God had come to the gate of the fortress with his companions, the porter came and greeted them. And they sent him to the king. And the king gave a rude reply for them, and with an oath said, "If they are, or if they stay, even to the end of a year, they shall never come inside my fortress". While they were waiting for the gate-keeper to inform them of the tyrant's word, the day drew towards evening and night was approaching. And they knew not where they might go.

§ 33. In the meantime one of the king's servants came from inside the fortress and humbled himself before the man of God. And he announced to them all the tyrant's words, and he invited them to his hut. And they went off with him; and he received them in friendly fashion. And out of all the species of animals he had nothing save a cow with a calf; and he killed the calf, and cooked it and placed it before them. And Saint Germanus warned that none of its bones should be broken: and it turned out thus; and on the next day the calf was found in front of its mother, alive and well and unharmed. Again they arose in the morning in order to obtain the tyrant's greeting. But when they were praying and waiting near the gate of the fort, behold a single man was running and his sweat was dripping from the crown of his head to the soles of his feet. He humbled himself before them. And Saint Germanus said, "Do you believe in the Holy Trinity?" And he replied to those words, "I believe". And he baptised him. And he was kissed.

tirannus² ualde, cui nomen erat Benli. Illum uir sanctus uoluit uisitare, et properare ad iniquum regem ut predicaret illi. At cum ipse homo Dei uenisset³ ad hostium⁴ urbis cum comitibus suis, uenit portarius et salutauit eos. Et miserunt eum ad regem. Et rex durum responsum⁵ dedit illis, et cum iuramento dixit, "Si fuerint uel si⁶ manserint usque ad caput anni, non uenient unquam in medio urbis mee". Dum ipsi expectarent ianuatorem⁷ ut nuntiaret illis sermonem tyranni⁸, dies declinabat ad uesperum et nox appropinquabat. Et nescierunt quo irent.

Source: cf. Heiric, De miraculis sancti Germani Autissiodorensis, I.80-82.

§ 33. Interea uenit unus de seruis regis e medio urbis et inclinauit se ante uirum Dei. Et nunciauit illis omnia uerba tyranni¹, et inuitauit illos ad casam suam. Et exierunt cum eo; et benigne suscepit eos. Et ille nichil habebat de omnibus generibus iumentorum, excepta una uacca cum uitulo; et occidit uitulum et coxit et posuit ante illos. Et precepit sanctus Germanus ut non confringeretur os de ossibus eius: et sic factum est; et in crastino² uitulus inuentus est² ante matrem suam, sanus et uiuus incolumisque. Iterum de mane surrexerunt ut impetrarent salutationem tyranni³. At ipsi cum orarent et expectarent iuxta portam arcis, et ecce uir unus currebat et sudor illius a uertice ad plantas pedum distillabat. Inclinauit⁴ se ante illos. Et dixit sanctus Germanus, "Credis in Sancta Trinitate?" Et respondit illis⁵, "Credo". Et⁶ baptizauit eum⁶. Et⁷ osculatus est⁷. Et dixit illi, "Uade in pace. In ista hora morieris, et angeli Dei in aere

[33]

And he said to him, "Go in peace. In this hour you will die, and God's angels are waiting for you in the air so that you will walk with them to the God in whom you have believed." And he went into the fortress a happy man; and the overseer arrested and bound him and, led before the tyrant, he was put to death, for it was the custom with the vile tyrant that if anyone had not arrived for service in the fortress before sunrise he would be killed. And they remained the whole day by the gate of the fort, and they did not get to greet the tyrant. As usual, the aforesaid servant was at hand; and Saint Germanus said to him, "Beware lest a single one of your men remains in the fortress tonight". And he went back into the fortress, and brought out his sons who were nine in number; and they returned with him to the aforementioned shelter. And Saint Germanus warned them to remain fasting and, once the doors were shut, he said, "Keep awake! And if anything should happen in the fort, do not look, but pray unceasingly and call upon your God!" And after a small part of the night, fire fell from heaven and burnt up the fortress and all the men who were with the tyrant. And down to the present day, they have never appeared [again]; even today, the fort has not been [re]built. On the next day that man, who was their host, believed; and he was baptised with all his sons, and the whole district with them. His name was Cadell. And Saint Germanus blessed him, and added and said, "A king shall not be lacking from your stock (he is Cadell Ddyrnllug¹) and you yourself shall be king from today". And it happened thus. And it was fulfilled what was told through the prophet, who said, 'Raising the destitute from the dust, and lifting the pauper from the dung, so that he may sit with princes and occupy a throne of glory'. In accordance with the words of Saint Germanus, a king was created from a servant; and all his sons became kings, and the whole country

expectant te ut gradieris⁸ cum illis ad Deum cui credidisti."

Et ipse letus intrauit in arcem; et prefectus tenuit illum et alligauit et, ante tyrannum ductus, interfectus est, quia mos erat apud nequissimum tyrannum nisi quis ante solis ortum peruenisset ad seruitutem in arce interficiebatur. Et manserunt tota die iuxta portam ciuitatis, et non inpetrauerunt⁹ ut salutarent tyrannum.

Solito ex more supradictus affuit seruus; et dixit illi sanctus Germanus, "Caue ne unus homo maneat de hominibus tuis in ista nocte in arce". Et ipse¹⁰ reuersus est¹⁰ in arcem, et deduxit filios suos quorum numerus erat nouem; et ipsi ad supradictum hospicium cum ipso reuersi sunt. Et precepit sanctus Germanus manere eos ieiunos et, clausis ianuis, dixit, "Uigilantes estote! Et si quid¹¹ euenierit in arce, nolite aspicere, sed orate indesinenter et ad Deum uestrum clamate!" Et post modicum interuallum noctis ignis de celo cecidit et combussit arcem et omnes homines qui cum tyranno erant.

Et nusquam apparuerunt usque in hodiernum diem; et arx non edificata est usque hodie. In¹² crastino die ille uir qui hospitalis fuit¹³ [35] illis credidit; et baptizatus est cum omnibus filiis suis, et omnis regio cum eis. Cui nomen erat Catel¹⁴. Et benedixit ei, et addidit et dixit, "Non deficiet rex de semine tuo (ipse est Catell Durnluc) et tu solus rex eris ab hodierna die". Et sic euenit. Et impletum est quod dictum est per prophetam, dicentem: 'Suscitans de puluere egenum, et de stercore erigens pauperem, ut sedeat cum principibus et solium glorie teneat'. Iuxta uerba sancti Germani rex de seruo factus est; et omnes filii eius reges facti sunt, et a semine illorum omnis regio Pouisorum regitur usque in hodiernum diem.

of the men of Powys is ruled by their line, even to the present day.

Note.

1. 'Blackfist' or 'Brightfist'.
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§ 34. It happened that, when the Saxons had established themselves in the above mentioned island of Thanet, the aforesaid king promised that food and clothing would be given to them without fail. And it pleased them, and they promised to subdue his enemies vigorously. But when those barbarians had multiplied in number, the Britons were unable to feed them. When they asked for the food and clothing, as had been promised them, the Britons said, "We cannot give you food and clothing because your numbers have multiplied. But go away from us, for we do not need your help." And they formed a plan in consultation with their chief men to destroy the peace. Hengist however, since he was a shrewd, clever, cunning man and had gained experience of the ineffective king and his people who lived without weapons, having formed a plan, said to the British king, "We are few. If you wish, we shall send to our homeland and summon soldiers from our country so that the number fighting for you and your people may be the greater." And he gave orders that they do so. And they sent word, and the messengers crossed the valley of Thetis.¹ And they returned with sixteen ships; and chosen warriors came in them. And in one of the ships came a girl of very attractive and most beautiful appearance, the daughter of Hengist. After the ships had arrived, Hengist prepared a feast for Gwrtheyrn, his soldiers, and his interpreter who is called Ceredig. And he ordered the girl to ply them with wine and liquor; and they were inebriated and very drunk. While they were drinking, Satan entered the heart of Gwrtheyrn so that he might fall in love with the girl. And,

Sources: cf. Heiric, De miraculis sancti Germani Autissiodorensis,

I. 80-82; Psalm 112 (113), 7-8.

§ 34. Factum est autem, postquam metati sunt Saxones in [36]
supradicta insula Tenet¹, promisit rex supradictus dari illis
uictum et uestimentum² absque defectione. Et placuit illis, et
ipsi promiserunt expugnare inimicos eius fortiter. At illi barbari
cum multiplicati essent numero, non potuerunt Brittones cibare illos.
Cum postularent cibum et uestimentum, sicut promissum erat illis,
dixerunt Brittones, "Non possumus dare uobis cibum et uestimentum,
quia numerus uester multiplicatus est. Sed recedite a nobis, quia
auxilio uestro non indigemus." Et ipsi consilium fecerunt cum
maioribus suis ut pacem disrumperent. Hengistus³ autem, cum esset [37]
uir doctus atque astutus et callidus, cum explorasset⁴ super regem
inhertem⁵ et super gentem illius que sine armis utebatur, inito
consilio dixit ad regem brittanicum, "Pauci sumus. Si uis,
mittemus ad patriam nostram et⁶ inuitemus milites de militibus
nostre regionis⁷ ut amplior sit numerus ad certandum pro te et pro
gente tua." Et ille imperauit ut facerent. Et miserunt, et legati
transfretauerunt trans tythicam uallem. Et reuersi sunt cum⁸ ciulis
sedecim⁹; et milites electi uenerunt in illis. Et in una ciula ex
eis¹⁰ uenit puella pulchra facie atque decorosa ualde, filia
Hengisti¹¹. Postquam autem uenissent ciule, fecit Hengistus¹²
conuiuium Guorthigirno¹³ et militibus suis et interpreti suo qui
uocatur¹⁴ Ceretic. Et puellam iussit ministrare illis uinum et
siceram¹⁵; et inebriati sunt et saturati sunt nimis. Illis autem
bibentibus, ¹⁶intrauit Satanas in corde Gurthigirni¹⁶ ut amaret

through his interpreter, he asked her father for her and said, "Everything you ask of me you shall have, though it be half of my kingdom". And when Hengist took counsel with his elders (who came with him from the island of Oghgul²) as to what they should seek from the king in return for the girl, they all had one suggestion, that they should ask for the district which is called in their language Cantwaraland, but in ours Caint.³ And he gave it to them, while Gwyrangon was ruling in Kent: and he did not know that his kingdom was being handed over to the pagans, and he himself given secretly into their power. And in this way was the girl given to him in marriage; and he slept with her and loved her greatly. Hengist said to Gwrtheyrn, "I am your father, and I shall be your counsellor. And never pass over my advice, for you will not fear to be overcome by any man or any race because my people are strong. I shall summon my son with his nephew — for they are warlike men — so that they may fight against the Irish; and give them the districts which are in the north, near the wall which is called Gual⁴." And he ordered him to summon them; and Hengist summoned Octha and Ebissa with forty ships. And when they sailed around the Picts, they devastated the Orkneys. And they came and seized very many districts beyond the Frisian Sea⁵, all the way to the boundary of the Picts. And Hengist always summoned ships to him, a few at a time, so that they left the islands to which they had come without an inhabitant. And until his people had grown both in strength and in number, they came to the aforementioned ciuitas of the men of Kent.

Notes.

1. i. e., the sea.

2. Angulus, or Angeln, which is not, however, an island.

puellam. Et postulauit eam a patre suo per interpretem suum, et dixit, "Omne quod postulas a me impetrabis, licet dimidium regni mei". Et Hengistus¹⁷ inito consilio cum suis senioribus (qui uenerunt secum de insula Oghgul¹⁸) quid peterent regi pro puella, unum consilium cum illis¹⁹ omnibus fuit ut peterent regionem que in lingua eorum uocatur Canturguoralen²⁰, in nostra autem Cent²¹. Et dedit illis, Guoyrancgono²² regnante in Cantia: et inscius erat quia regnum ipsius²³ tradebatur paganis, et ipse solus in potestatem illorum clam dari. Et sic data est puella illi in coniugium; et dormiuit cum ea et amauit eam ualde. Et dixit Hengistus²⁴ ad Guorthigirnum²⁵, "Ego sum pater [38] tuus²⁶, et consiliator tui ero²⁷. Et noli preterire consilium meum unquam, quia non timebis te superari ab ullo homine neque ab ulla gente, quia gens mea ualida est. Inuitabo filium meum cum fratueli²⁸ suo — bellatores enim uiri sunt — ut dimicent contra Scottos; et da illis regiones que sunt in aquilone, iuxta murum qui uocatur Guaul." Et iussit ut inuitaret eos; et inuitauit²⁹ Ooctha et Ebissa³⁰ quadraginta³¹ ciuilibus. At ipsi, cum nauigarent circa Pictos, uastauerunt Orcades³² insulas et uenerunt et occupauerunt regiones plurimas ultra mare frenessicum usque ad confinium Pictorum. Et Hengistus³³ semper ciuias³⁴ ad se paulatim³⁴ inuitauit, ita ut insulas³⁵ ad quas³⁵ uenerant absque habitatore relinquerent. Et dum gens illius creuisset et³⁶ in uirtute et in multitudine, uenerunt ad supradictam ciuitatem Cantorum.

Sources: (1) Gildas, I. 19;

(2) cf. Bede, Hist. Eccl., i. 15.

3. Kent.

4. Cf. § 20, above.

5. Perhaps the Firth of Forth.

§ 35. Adding to all his evil deeds, Gwrtheyrn took his own daughter for his wife; and she bore him a son. And when Saint Germanus understood this, he came with the whole British clergy to accuse him. And while a great synod of clerics and laymen was being gathered together in one assembly, that very king instructed his daughter beforehand that she should go out to the assembly and lay their son in Germanus's lap and say that he was the father of the child. And the woman did just as she had been instructed. But Germanus took him in a kindly way, and began to speak, "I shall be a father to you, and I shall not let you go unless a razor be given to me with scissors and a comb and you be allowed to give them to your earthly father". And the boy obeyed, and he went up to his grandfather, his earthly father, Gwrtheyrn. And the boy said to him, "You are my father: shave my head, even the hair of my head!" And the latter was silent and said nothing, and was unwilling to reply to the boy, but rather arose — and he was greatly angry — so that he might flee from the sight of Saint Germanus. And he was cursed and damned by Saint Germanus and the whole assembly of Britons.

§ 36. And afterwards the king summoned his wizards to himself, so that he might ask them what he should do. But they said, "Hasten to the outermost limits of your kingdom, and you will find a fortified citadel where you will protect yourself, because the race which you have

§ 35. Nam super omnia mala adiciens, Guorthigirnum¹ accepit filiam sui² [39] uxorem sibi; et peperit³ ei filium. Et hoc cum conceptum⁴ esset a sancto Germano, eum corripere uenit cum omni clero Brittonum. Et dum conuenta esset magna synodus⁵ clericorum ac laicorum in uno concilio, ipse rex premonuit filiam suam ut exiret ad conuentum et ut daret filium suum in sinum Germani et ut diceret quod ipse erat pater filii. Et mulier fecit sicut erat edocta. Germanus autem eum benigne accepit, et dicere cepit: "Pater tibi ero, nec te permittam⁶ nisi michi nouacula cum forcipe pectineque detur et ad patrem tuum carnalem tibi dare licetur". Et obaudiuit puer, et usque ad auum suum, patrem carnalem, Guorthigirnum⁷ perrexit. Et puer illi dixit, "Pater meus es: caput meum tonde, et comam capitis mei!" Et ille siluit et tacuit et puero respondere noluit, sed surrexit — et iratus est ualde — ut a facie sancti⁸ Germani fugeret. Et maledictus est et dampnatus⁹ a sancto Germano et omni Brittonum concilio¹⁰.

§ 36. Et postea rex¹ ad se inuitauit¹ magos suos, ut quid faceret ab [40] eis interrogaret. At illi dixere, "In extremas fines regni tui uade, et arcem munitam inuenies ut te defendes², quia gens quam suscepisti in regno tuo inuidet tibi et te per dolum occidet et uniuersas

received in your kingdom envies you and will kill you by guile and will seize after your death all the districts which you love along with your entire people". And then he came with his wizards to take possession of the stronghold, and they travelled about through many districts and many provinces. And when they did not find it, they arrived at last at the district which is called Gwynedd; and while he was travelling in the mountains of Snowdonia, at length in one part of the mountains he found a spot in which it was appropriate to build a fortress. And the wizards said to him:

§ 37. "Make a stronghold in that place, because it will be safest from the barbarian races for ever." And he gathered together craftsmen — that is, he assembled masons and timber and stones; and after all the material had been brought together, it was stolen in a single night. And three times he ordered it to be brought together; and he procured it to no purpose. And he summoned the wizards, and he questioned them as to what the cause of this evil might be and why this should happen. But they replied, "Unless you shall find a child without a father and unless he shall be killed — and let the fortress be besprinkled with his blood — , it will never be built at all." And as a result of the advice of his wizards, he sent commissioners throughout Brittannia¹ to see if they might discover a child without a father. And in the course of going round all the provinces and very many districts, they came to campus Elleti² which is in the district that is called Glywysing. And boys were playing a ball-game; and, behold, two were quarrelling with each other, and one said to the other, "O fatherless man, you shall not have good fortune!" But they questioned the boys assiduously about that boy; and when they asked his mother if the boy had a father, she

regiones quas <amas>³ occupabit cum ⁴tua uniuersa gente⁴ post mortem tuam. Et postea ipse cum magis suis arcem adipisci uenit, et per multas regiones multasque⁵ prouincias circundederunt⁶. Et illis non inuenientibus, ad regionem que uocatur Guined⁷ nouissime peruenerunt; et illo lustrante in montibus Hereri, tandem in uno montium loco⁸ in quo aptum erat arcem condere adeptus est. Et magi ad illum dixere:

§ 37. "Arcem in isto loco fac, quia tutissima a barbaris gentibus in eternum erit". Et ipse artifices congregauit — id est, lapidicinos et ligna et lapides congregauit; et cum esset congregata omnis materia, in una nocte ablata est materia. Et tribus uicibus iussit congregari¹; et nusquam comparauit². Et magos arcessiuit, et illos percunctatus est que esset hec causa malicie et quid hoc eueniret. At illi responderunt, "Nisi infantem sine patre inuenies³ et occidetur ille — et arx a sanguine suo aspergatur — , nunquam edificabitur in eternum". Et ipse legatos, ex consilio magorum, [41] per uniuersam Brittanniam misit, utrum infantem sine patre inuenirent. Et lustrando omnes prouincias regionesque plurimas, uenerunt ad campum Elleti qui est in regione que uocatur Gleguissing. Et pile ludum faciebant pueri; et ecce duo inter se litigabant⁴; et dixit alter alteri, "O homo sine patre, bonum non habebis!" At illi de puero ad pueros diligenter percunctabantur; et cunctantes matrem si patrem haberet, illa negauit et dixit, "Nescio quomodo in utero meo conceptus est; sed unum scio, quia uirum non cognoui unquam". Et iurauit illis patrem non habere. Et illi eum secum duxere⁵ usque ad

denied it and said, "I know not how he was conceived in my womb; but one thing I do know, that I have never had carnal knowledge of a man." And she swore to them that he did not have a father. And they took him with them to King Gwrtheyrn, and they brought him to the king. And on the morrow an assembly was held so that the boy might be put to death. And the boy said to the king, "Who informed you?" And the king replied, "My wizards told me." And the boy said, "Let them be brought to me!" And the wizards were summoned, and the boy said to them, "Who explained to you that that fortress should be sprinkled with my blood and that, unless it should be besprinkled with my blood, it would never be built? But, that you may know this, who informed about me in my presence?"³ Once again the boy spoke, "Soon, o king, I shall explain it and, in truth, I shall make restitution of everything to you. But I am asking your wizards what is in the pavement of that place. I should like them to show you what is kept beneath the pavement." But they said, "We know not." And he said, "I know. There is a pool at the centre of the pavement. Come and dig, and you will find it thus." They came and they dug; and it fell in. And the boy said to the wizards, "Tell me what is in the pool!" And they were silent, and they could not explain it to him. And he said to them, "I shall explain to you. There are two vessels. And you will find it so." They came and they saw that it was so. And the boy said to the wizards, "What is kept in the closed vessels?" But they were silent, and could not explain to him. But he asserted, "At their centre is a tent. Separate them, and you will find it thus." And the king ordered them to be separated, and in this way was found a folded tent, just as he had said. And again he questioned the king's wizards, "What is in the middle of the tent? Tell me at once!" And they could not know. But he explained: "There are two dragons in it,

Guorthigirnum⁶ regem, et eum insinuauerunt regi. Et in crastino [42]
 conuentio facta est ut puer interficeretur. Et puer ad regem dixit,
 7"Quis tibi monstraui?" Et respondit rex, "Magi mei mihi dixere".
 Et puer dixit, "Ad me uocentur!" Et inuitati sunt magi, et puer
 illis dixit⁷, "Quis reuelauit uobis ut ista arx a sanguine meo
 aspergeretur et, nisi aspergeretur a sanguine meo, in eternum non
 edificabitur? †Sed, hoc ut cognoscatis, quis michi⁸ de me palam
 fecit^{9†}." Iterum puer dixit, "Modo tibi, o rex, eulucubrabo¹⁰ et, in
 ueritate, tibi omnia satagam. Sed magos tuos percunctor quid in
 pauimento¹¹ istius loci¹¹ est. Placet¹² michi¹³ ut ostendant tibi
 quid sub pauimento habetur." At illi dixere, "Nescimus". Et ille
 dixit, "Comperior. Stagnum in medio pauimenti¹⁴ est¹⁵. Uenite et
 fodite, et sic inuenietis." Uenerunt et foderunt et ruit. Et puer
 ad magos dixit, "Proferte mihi quid est in stagno!" Et siluerunt, et
 non potuerunt reuelare illi. Et ille dixit illis, "Ego uobis
 reuelabo. Duo uasa sunt. Et sic inuenietis." Uenerunt et
 uiderunt¹⁶ sic. Et puer ad magos dixit, "Quid in uasis conclusis
 habetur?" At ipsi¹⁷ siluerunt, et non potuerunt reuelare illi. At
 ille asseruit, "In medio eorum tentorium est. Separate¹⁸ ea, et sic
 inuenietis." Et rex separari iussit, et sic inuentum est tentorium
 complicatum sicut dixerat. Et iterum interrogauit magos eius, "Quid
 in medio tentorii est? Etiam nunc narrate!" Et non potuerunt scire.
 At ille reuelauit: "Duo uermes in eo sunt, unus albus et alter rufus.
 Tentorium expandite!" Et extenderunt, et duo uermes dormientes
 inuenti sunt. Et dixit puer, "Expectate, et considerate quid facient
 uermes!" Et ceperunt uermes ut alter alterum expelleret; alius
 autem scapulas suas ponebat ut eum usque ad dimidium tentorii
 expelleret. Et sic faciebant tribus uicibus. Tamen tandem infirmior
 uidebatur uermis rufus¹⁹, et postea fortior albo fuit et extra finem

one white and the other red. Spread out the tent!" And they spread it out, and two sleeping dragons were found. And the boy said, "Wait, and reflect on what the dragons will do!" And the dragons began, the one to drive out the other; however, the second put his shoulders forward in order to thrust the other half way across the tent. And they did this three times. At length, however, the red dragon seemed to be the weaker; and afterwards he was stronger than the white one and drove him outside the limit of the tent. Then the one pursued the other across the pool. And the tent vanished. And the boy referred it to the wizards: "What means this extraordinary miracle which has happened in the tent?" And they said, "We know not." And the boy answered, "Behold, this secret has been explained to me! And I shall make it known to you."

Notes.

1. This is probably to be taken to mean 'Wales'.
 2. Or, in Welsh, Maes Ildid.
 3. This sentence is thoroughly obscure.
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§ 38. "The tent is a figure of your kingdom. There are two dragons. The red dragon is your dragon, and the pool is a figure of this world, but the white dragon is of that race which has seized very many peoples and districts in Britain and will hold it almost from sea to sea. And afterwards our race will rise up and will vigorously eject across the sea the race of the English. However, go you from this stronghold, because you cannot build! And visit many provinces so that you may find a safe fortress! And I shall stay here." And the king said to the young man, "By what name are you called?" He answered, "I am called Ambrosius" (that is, he seemed [to be] Emrys Wledig). And the

tentorii expulit. Tunc alter alterum ²⁰secutus trans stagnum²⁰ est.

Et tentorium euauit. Et puer ad magos refert: "Quid significat mirabile hoc signum quod factum est in tentorio?" Et illi

proferunt²¹, "Nescimus". Et puer respondit, "En reuelatum est michi²² hoc misterium!²³ Et ego uobis propalabo.

§ 38. "Regni tui figura tentorium est. Duo uermes ¹(duo dracones)¹ sunt. Uermis rufus draco tuus² est, et stagnum figura huius mundi est, at ille albus draco illius gentis que occupauit gentes et regiones plurimas in Brittannia et pene a mari usque ad mare tenebunt. Et postea gens nostra surget, et gentem Anglorum trans mare uiriliter deiciet. Tu tamen de ista arce uade, quia edificare non potes! Et multas prouincias circumi³, ut arcem tutam⁴ inuenias! Et ego hic manebo." Et rex ad adolescentem dixit, "Quo nomine uocaris?" Ille respondit, "Ambrosius uocor" (id est, Embreis⁵ Guletic ipse uidebatur). Et rex dixit, "De qua progenie ortus⁶ es?" "Unus est

king said, "From what lineage have you sprung?" "My father is one of the consuls of the roman race." And he gave the stronghold to him with all the kingdoms of the western district of Brittannia.¹ And he came through with his wizards to the northern region; and he was at the district which is called Gunnessi,² and he built there a castle which is called Caer Wrtheyrn from his name.

Notes.

1. It is uncertain whether 'Wales' or 'Britain' is meant here.
 2. This has been identified as Gwynys in the Llŷn peninsula: see M. Richards, Transactions of the Caernarvonshire Historical Society, 24 (1963), pp. 21-27.
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§ 39. Meanwhile, Gwrthefyr, son of Gwrtheyrn, was fighting impudently against Hengist and Hors(us) and their people; and he drove them forth, as far as the aforementioned island which is called Thanet, and three times he confined, blockaded, struck, crushed, and terrified them there. And they sent envoys over the sea to Germany to summon ships along with a huge number of warlike men. And then they fought against the kings of our people; sometimes they were victorious and extended their frontiers, at other times they were defeated and driven out. And Gwrthefyr eagerly fought four battles against them: the first battle on the river Derguentid;¹ the second battle at the ford which is called Episford² in their language but Rit her Gabail in ours, and Hors fell there with the son of Gwrtheyrn whose name was Cateyrn. He initiated the third battle in the plain near Lapis Tituli which is on the shore of the Gaulish Sea;³ and the barbarians were defeated, and he was the victor, and they — put to flight as far as their ships — were drowned as, like women, they [tried to] get into them. He,

pater meus de consulibus romanice gentis." Et arcem dedit⁷ illi cum omnibus regnis occidentalis plage Brittannie. Et ipse cum magis suis ad sinistralem plagam peruenit; et usque ad regionem que uocatur Guunnessi affuit, et urbem ibi⁸ que uocatur suo nomine Cair <Guorthigirn>⁹ edificauit¹⁰.

§ 39. Interea Guorthemir¹, filius Guorthigirn², cum Hengisto³ et [43] Horso et cum gente illorum petulanter pugnabat; et eos⁴ usque ad supradictam insulam que uocatur Tanet⁵ expulit, et eos ibi tribus uicibus conclusit, obsedit, percussit, comminuit⁶, terruit. Et ipsi legatos ultra mare usque in⁷ Germaniam transmittabant uocando ciulas cum ingenti numero bellatorum uirorum⁸. Et postea pugnabant⁹ contra reges nostre gentis; aliquando uincebant et dilatabant terminos suos, aliquando uincebantur et expellebantur. Et [44] Guorthemir¹⁰ ¹¹contra illos quattuor bella¹¹ auide gessit: primum bellum super flumen Derguentid; secundum bellum super uadum quod dicitur in lingua eorum Episford, in nostra autem lingua Rit her gabail, et ibi cecidit Hors cum filio Guorthigirni cuius nomen erat Categirn¹². Tercium bellum in campo¹³ iuxta Lapidem Tituli qui est super ripam gallici maris commisit; et barbari uicti sunt, et ille uictor fuit, et ipsi — in fugam uersi¹⁴ usque ad ciulas¹⁵ suas — mersi sunt in eas muliebriter intrantes. Ille autem post

however, died after a short space of time; and before his death he said to his household that they should place his tomb on the sea-shore in the port (from which the barbarians had left) "where I commit it to you. Though they may hold and may have inhabited a port in another part of Britain, yet they will never remain in that land." They, however, despised his command and did not bury him in the spot where he had ordered them [to bury him]. But the barbarians returned in great number, since Gwrtheyrn was their friend because of his wife; and no one had the strength boldly to drive them away, because they occupied Britain not by virtue of their own strength but through the will of God. Who may strive, and who will be able to stand, against the will of God? But the Lord arranged it in the manner he desired; and he rules and governs all the nations.

Notes.

1. The River Darent (Kent) has been suggested.
 2. Ebbsfleet is a suggested identification.
 3. Although this might seem to mean the English Channel, the phrase does not tend to be used in that sense by Cambro-Latin writers.
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§ 40. It happened that after the death of Gwrthefyr, son of King Gwrtheyrn, and after the return of Hengist with his swarms, they encouraged treacherous counsel so that they might set a trap for Gwrtheyrn with his army.¹ But they sent envoys to obtain peace so that a perpetual friendship might be established between them. But that Gwrtheyrn and his elders deliberated, and they examined what they might do. The unanimous agreement was to make peace. And their envoys returned. And afterwards they arranged a meeting so that from each side Britons and Saxons should come together without weapons in

modicum interuallum mortuus est; et ante mortem suam ad familiam suam dixit ut sepulchrum illius in portu ponerent (a quo exierant) super ripam maris, "in quo uobis commendo"¹⁶. Quamuis in alia parte¹⁷ portum Brittannie teneant¹⁷ et habitauerint, tamen in ista terra in eternum non manebunt." Illi autem mandatum eius contempserunt, et eum in loco in quo imperauerat illis non sepelierunt. At barbari [45] reuersi sunt¹⁸ magno opere¹⁸, cum Guorthigirrus¹⁹ amicus eius²⁰ erat propter uxorem suam, et nullus illos abigere²¹ audaciter ualuit, quia non de uirtute sua Britanniam occupauerunt sed de nutu Dei. Contra uoluntatem Dei quis resistere poterit et nitatu<r>²²? Sed quomodo uoluit Dominus, fecit; et ipse omnes gentes regit et gubernat.

Sources: (1) Cf. Bede, Hist. Eccl., i. 15;

(2) cf. Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, sub annis 449, 455, 457, 465, 473.

§ 40. Factum est autem post mortem Guorthemir, regis Guorthigirni filii, et post reuersionem Hengisti¹ cum suis turbis, consilium fallax hortati sunt ut dolum Guorthigirno² cum exercitu suo facerent. At illi legatos ut impetrarent pacem miserunt ut perpetua amicitia inter illos fieret. At ille Guorthigirrus cum suis maioribus natu consilium³ fecerunt, et scrutati sunt quid facerent. Deinde unum consilium³ cum omnibus fuit⁴ ut pacem facerent. Et legati eorum reuersi sunt. Et postea conuentum adduxerunt ut ex utraque parte Brittones et Saxones in unum sine armis conuenirent ut firma

order that there should be a firm friendship. And Hengist ordered his whole household that each one should put his dagger under his foot in the centre of his shoe. "And when I shall have called out to you and said 'take out the knives!', draw out your daggers from your shoes and rush into them! And oppose them manfully! And do not kill their king but, for the sake of my daughter whom I gave to him in marriage, seize him because it is better for us that he should be ransomed from our hands!" And they went to the meeting, and they assembled together; and the Saxons, while speaking in a friendly way, were meantime thinking in a foxy way; and they sat sociably, man to man. Hengist cried out just as he had said, and all the three hundred elders of King Gwrtheyrn were killed. And he himself was seized and bound, and for the redemption of his life he conceded to them many districts, namely of the East Saxons, the South Saxons [and the Middle Saxons].

Saint Germanus used to admonish Gwrtheyrn that he should turn back to his Lord and separate himself from the illicit union. And he fled in wretched fashion to the district which from his name received the name Gwrtheyrnion so that he might lie hidden there with his wives. And Saint Germanus pursued him with the entire clergy of the Britons, and he remained there for forty days and forty nights, and used to pray on a stone, and would stand day and night. And again Gwrtheyrn ignominiously withdrew, to Arx Guorthigirni² which is in the district of the men of Dyfed by the river Teifi. And in his habitual fashion Saint Germanus pursued him and remained there fasting with all the clergy for three days and as many nights for this reason: and on the fourth night, about the hour of midnight, the whole fortress was destroyed by fire sent suddenly from the sky with a burning heavenly flame. And Gwrtheyrn died, along with his wives and all those who were with him. This is the end of Gwrtheyrn as I have found it in the book of the blessed Germanus.

amicitia esset. Et Hengistus omni familie sue iussit ut unusquisque [46]
 artauum suum sub pede in medio ficonis sui poneret. "Et quando
 clamauero ⁵ad uos⁵ et dixerō '<enimit>⁶ saxas⁷!', cultellos⁸ uestros
 ex ficonibus uestris educite et in illos irruite! Et fortiter
 contra illos resistite! Et regem illorum nolite occidere, sed eum
 pro causa filie mee quam dedi illi in coniugium tenete, quia melius
 est nobis ut ex manibus nostris redimatur!" Et conuentum adduxerunt,
 et in unum conuenerunt; et Saxones, amicialiter locuti, in mente
 interim uulpicino more agebant; et uir iuxta uirum socialiter
 sederunt⁹. Hengistus¹⁰ sicut dixerat uociferatus est, et omnes
 seniores trecenti Guorthigirni regis iugulati sunt. Et ipse solus
 captus et catenatus¹¹ est, et regiones plurimas pro redemptione anime
 sue¹² illis tribuit, id est Estsaxum¹³, Sutsaxum¹⁴, ¹⁵<et Midelsaxum>¹⁵.

Sanctus uero Germanus Guorthigirno predicabat ut ad Dominum suum [47]
 conuerteret et ¹⁶ab illicita¹⁶ coniunctione se¹⁷ separaret¹⁸. Et ille
 usque ad regionem que ¹⁹a nomine suo accepit nomen¹⁹ Guorthigirniam²⁰
 miserabiliter effugit ut ibi cum uxoribus suis lateret. Et sanctus
 Germanus post illum secutus est cum omni clero Brittonum, et ibi
 quadraginta diebus et quadraginta noctibus mansit et super petram
 orabat et die noctuque stabat. Et iterum Guorthigirnus²¹ usque ad
 Arcem Guorthigirni²², que est in regione Demetorum iuxta flumen Teibi,
 ignominiose²³ abscessit²⁴. Et solito more sanctus Germanus eum
 secutus est, et ibi ieiunus cum omni clero tribus diebus totidemque
 noctibus causaliter mansit: et in quarta nocte arx tota, medie circa
 noctis horam, per ignem missum de celo ex inproviso cecidit ardente
 igne celesti. Et Guorthigirnus²⁵, cum omnibus qui cum eo erant et
 cum uxoribus suis, defecit. Hic est finis Guorthigirni²⁶ ut in libro
 beati Germani repperi.

Alii autem aliter dixerunt. Postquam exorti fuerint illi omnes

Others, however, say otherwise. After all those men of his race — both the powerful and the powerless, both slave and free man, monks and laymen, small and great — had risen up on account of his sin, and while he was wandering from place to place, at length his heart broke and he died ingloriously.

Others have said: the earth was opened and it swallowed him on the night when the fortress was burnt around him, for no remains were found of those who were burnt with him in the fortress.

Notes.

1. It is uncertain whose army is intended: 'his' (Gwrtheyrn's) or 'their' (the Saxons') army.
2. Craig Gwrtheyrn.

§ 41. He had three sons whose names are: Gwrthefyr, who fought against the barbarians as we told above; the second, Cateyrn; the third, Pasgen who ruled in two districts, Buellt and Gwrtheyrnion, after the death of his father, by a grant to him on the part of Ambrosius who was first among all the kings of the British nation. A fourth was Faustus, who was borne to him by his daughter; and Saint Germanus baptised him and fostered and taught him. And he founded a great religious house on the bank of the river which is called Renis, and it endures today. And he had one daughter, who was the mother of Saint Faustus.

§ 42. This is his genealogy which runs backwards to the beginning: Ffernfael (it is he who reigns now in the two districts of Buellt and Gwrtheyrnion), the son of Tewdwr; Tewdwr (he is the king of the district of Buellt) the son of Pasgen, son of Gwyddaint, son of Morudd,

homines gentis sue pro piaculo suo — inter potentes et inpotentes²⁷, inter seruum et liberum, inter monachos²⁸ et laicos, inter paruum et magnum — et ipse dum de loco ad locum uagus erat, tandem cor eius crepuit et defunctus est non cum laude.

Alii dixerunt: terra aperta est et deglutiuit eum in nocte in qua combusta²⁹ est³⁰ arx circa eum, quia non inuente sunt ulle reliquie illorum qui combusti sunt cum eo in arce.

§ 41. Tres filios habuit quorum nomina sunt: Guorthemir, qui pugnabat contra barbaros ut supra diximus; secundus Categirn¹; tercius Pascent qui regnauit in duabus² regionibus, Buelit et Guorthegirniaun³, post mortem patris sui, largiente Ambrosio illi qui fuit rex inter omnes reges brittannice gentis. Quartus fuit Faustus, qui a filia sua genitus est illi; et sanctus Germanus baptizauit illum⁴ et nutriuit et docuit. Et condidit locum magnum super ripam fluminis quod uocatur Renis et manet usque hodie. Et unam filiam habuit, que fuit mater Fausti sancti.

§ 42. Hec est genealogia illius que ad initium retro recurrit: [49]
 Fernmail (ipse est qui regit modo in regionibus duabus Buelit et Guorthigirniaun¹), filius Teudubir²; Teudubir³ (ipse est rex buelitie regionis) filius Pascent, filii G(u)idcant⁴, filii Moriud⁵, filii

son of Eldad, son of Edoc¹, son of Paul, son of Mepurit², son of Briacat³, son of Pasgen, son of Gwrtheyrn Gwrtheneu⁴, son of Gwidol, son of Gwidolin, son of Gloyw.

Bonus, Paul, Mawron, and Gwidolin were four brothers, the sons of Gloyw, who built the great city on the bank of the river Severn, which is called in the British tongue Caer Loyw, but in English Gloucester. Enough has been said about Gwrtheyrn and his lineage.

Notes.

1. An unidentified name.
 2. A corruption of map Iudnerth, 'son of Idnerth'.
 3. A corruption of map Riakat, 'son of Rhiagath'.
 4. Gwrtheyrn 'the thin'.
-

§ 43. After his death, Saint Germanus returned to his own country. And Saint Patrick was at that time a prisoner among the Irish, and his lord was called Milchú, and Patrick was his swineherd. And in the seventeenth year of his life he returned from captivity. And by the will of God he was afterwards instructed in sacred letters. And he reached Rome and stayed there for a long time in order to read and to examine the secrets of God; and he runs through the books of the holy scriptures. When Patrick had been there for seven years, Palladius was sent by Scelestinus¹, bishop and pope of Rome, as bishop for the first time to convert the Irish to Christ; but God hindered him by certain storms, because no man can receive anything on earth unless it be given to him from heaven above. And that Palladius departed from Ireland and arrived in Britain; and he died there in the land of the Picts.

Eldat⁶, filii Edoc, filii Paul, filii Mepurit⁷, filii Briacat⁸, filii Pascent, fili<i>⁹ Guorthigirn¹⁰ Guorth<en>eu¹¹, fili<i>¹² <Guitaul>¹³, filii Guitolin, filii Gloiu.

Bonus, Paul, Mauron, Gu<i>tolin¹⁴ quattuor fratres fuerunt, filii Gloiu qui edificauit urbem magnam super ripam fluminis Sabrine, que uocatur brittannico sermone Cair Gloiu, saxonice autem Gloecest¹⁵. Satis dictum est de Guorthigirno et de genere suo.

Source: cf. Oxford, Jesus College, MS. 20 (Pedigree no. 14).

§ 43. Sanctus Germanus reuersus est post mortem illius ad patriam suam. Et sanctus Patricius erat in illo tempore¹ captiuus apud Scottos, et dominus illius nominabatur Milchu, et porcarius cum illo erat. Et in septimo decimo anno² etatis sue reuersus est de captiuitate. Et nutu Dei eruditus est postea in sacris litteris. Et ad Romam usque peruenit, et per longum spatium mansit ibidem ad legendum et ad scrutanda misteria³ Dei, et sanctarum scripturarum libros percurrit⁴. Nam cum ibi esset per annos septem, missus est Palladius⁵ episcopus primitus a Scelestino⁶ episcopo et papa Rome ad Scottos in Christum conuertendos; sed prohibuit illum Deus per quasdam tempestates, quia nemo potest accipere quicquam de terra nisi de celo datum fuerit⁷ illi desuper. Et profectus est ille Palladius⁸ de Hibernia⁹ et peruenit ad Brittanniam; et ibi defunctus est in terra Pictorum.

Note.

1. i. e., Pope Celestine.

§ 44. When the death of Bishop Palladius had been heard of, Patrick is sent, in the reign of Theodosius and Ualentianus, as the second envoy by the Roman Pope Scelestianus¹ and by the angel of God whose name was Uictor, with the holy Bishop Germanus prompting and giving advice, to convert the Irish to the faith of Christ. Germanus sent the elder, Segerus, with him to a certain extraordinary man, the most distinguished bishop, King Amathea², who was dwelling in the neighbourhood. There, the holy man knowing everything that was about to happen to him, the holy bishop received episcopal orders at the hands of King Matheus², and he took the name 'Patricius', for he was formerly called Maun. Auxilius and Iserinus and others in lesser orders were ordained with him on the same occasion.

Notes.

1. i. e., Pope Celestine.

2. Corruptions of the same name, 'Amatorex' (a bishop).

Sources: for 'sed prohibuit ... desuper', cf. Muirchú (ed. Stokes, p. 272. 20-21), and Vita Secunda (ed. Bieler, p. 75. 18-20) which then continues with an account of the death of Palladius in Pictland (to Bieler, p. 76. 2); for this latter detail, cf. Vita Quarta (ed. Bieler, p. 77. 14-15).

§ 44. Audita morte Palladii episcopi alius legatus Patricius, [51]
Theodosio et Ualentiano regnantibus, a Scelestiano¹ papa romano et angelo Dei cui nomen erat Uictor, momente et² suadente³ ⁴sancto Germano⁴ episcopo⁵, ad Scottos in fidem⁶ Christi⁷ conuertendos mittitur. Misit Germanus seniore⁸ cum illo Segerum ad quendam hominem mirabilem, summum episcopum Amatheam regem, in propinquo habitantem. Ibi, sanctus sciens omnia que uentura essent illi, episcopalem gradum⁹ a Matheo rege⁹ episcopus¹⁰ sanctus accepit et nomen quod est Patricius sumpsit quia prius Maun uocabatur. Auxilius et Iserinus et ceteri inferiori gradu¹¹ simul ordinati sunt¹² cum eo.

Sources: For this section, cf. Vita Tripartita S. Patricii (ed. Stokes, i. 30-33); also Muirchú (ed. Stokes, ii. 272. 30; 272. 11-12; 273. 2-6; 273. 6-8). 'Maun' is unique to this text, but Magon(i)us (from which it could derive) appears in some of the Patrician Lives. For the association with the reign of Theodosius, cf. fragment 21 of the Opus Tripartitum (ed. Bieler, Four Latin Lives, p. 241), and also the Vita Tripartita (ed. Stokes, i. 32-33).

§ 45. When blessings had been received and everything had been completed in the name of the Holy Trinity, he then boarded a waiting ship and reached Britain and preached there for a few days. And having avoided all digressions from his journey, he set sail at the greatest speed and with a favourable wind on the Irish Sea. A ship loaded with foreign marvels and spiritual treasures reached Ireland; and he baptised them.¹

Note.

1. i. e., the Irish.

§ 46. From the beginning of the world to the baptism of the Irish there are five thousand three hundred and thirty years. In the fifth year of King Loegaire he arrived to preach the faith of Christ.

§ 47. And so Saint Patrick preached the gospel of Christ to foreign nations for forty years. [He performed] the apostolic miracles: he made the blind to see; he healed lepers; he made the deaf to hear; he put demons to flight from possessed bodies; he revived the dead, even nine in number. He ransomed many prisoners of both sexes by his own gifts. He wrote three hundred and sixty-five abecedaries, or more; he also founded the same number of churches, three hundred and sixty-five; he ordained three hundred and sixty-five bishops, or more, in whom the spirit of God existed. He ordained up to three

§ 45. Tunc, acceptis benedictionibus perfectisque omnibus in nomine [52]
 Sancte Trinitatis, paratam ascendit nauim et peruenit ad Brittanniam
 et predicauit ibi non multis diebus. Et amissis omnibus ambulandi
 anfractibus¹, summa uelocitate flatuque prospero mare hibernicum²
 cum nauī descendit³. Honerata⁴ uero nauis cum transmarinis
 mirabilibus et spiritalibus thesauris perrexit ad Hiberniam⁵; et
 baptizauit eos.

Sources: Muirchú (ed. Stokes, ii. 273. 8-9, 12-14, 14, 16-17; 275. 10-11).

§ 46. A mundi principio usque ad baptismum Hiberniensium¹ quinque [53]
 milia trecenti triginta anni sunt. In quinto anno Loygare regis
 exorsus est predicare fidem Christi.

Source: For the regnal year, cf. Tírechán (ed. Stokes, ii. 302. 27-28).

§ 47. Sanctus itaque Patricius euangelium Christi externis [54]
 nationibus per annos quadraginta predicabat. Uirtutes apostolicas¹:
 cecos illuminabat; leprosos mundabat; surdos audire faciebat;
 demones obsessis² corporibus fugabat³; mortuos numero⁴ usque⁵ ad
 nouem suscitauit⁶. Captiuos multos utriusque sexus suis propriis
 donis redemit. Scripsit abegetoria trecenta sexaginta quinque aut
 eo amplius; ecclesias quoque eodem numero fundauit, trecentas
 sexaginta quinque; ordinauit episcopos trecentos sexaginta quinque,
 aut eo⁷ amplius, in quibus spiritus Dei erat. Presbiteros autem

thousand priests, however; and in one district of the men of Connacht he converted to the faith of Christ and baptised twelve thousand people. [And he baptised on one day the seven kings who were the sons of Amalgaid.] For forty days and forty nights he fasted on the summit of Cruachán Aigle, that is Croagh Patrick.

§ 48. On that hill, which projects over the sea, he mercifully argued three suits on behalf of those of the Irish who received the faith. His first suit is, as the Irish tell it, that each one might receive penance even at the ultimate point of his life; the second, that they will never be destroyed by barbarians; the third, that none of the Irish should have survived up to the coming of judgment, for in honour of Patrick they will be destroyed seven years before [the day of] judgment.

usque ad tria milia ordinavit; et duodecim milia hominum in una regione Conachta⁸ ad fidem Christi convertit et baptizavit.⁹ <Et septem reges qui erant filii Amolgith in uno die baptizavit.>⁹ Quadraginta diebus et quadraginta noctibus in cacumine collis Eile ieiunavit, id est Cruachan Eile.

Sources: For 'demonēs ... fugabat', cf. Vita Quarta (ed. Bieler, p. 106. 4-5); for 'Quadraginta diebus ... Cruachan Eile', cf. the account in Tírechán (ed. Stokes, p. 322f.). Tírechán tells a story of the six sons of 'Amolngid' (Stokes, p. 309f.); for the twelve sons of Amalgaid, of whom seven were baptised, see Vita Tripartita (ed. Stokes, i. 126-127, 134-135), and Vita Tertia § 49 (ed. Bieler, p. 154: the Π group reads 'seven sons', the Γ group gives 'four sons').

§ 48. In quo colle mare¹ imminente², tres petitiones pro his qui fidem ex Hiberniensibus³ receperunt clementer postulavit. Prima petitio eius est, ut dicunt Scotti, id est ut susciperet unusquisque penitentiam licet in extremo uite sue statu; secunda, ut ne a barbaris consumerentur in eternum; tertia, ut non superuixerit aliquis Hiberniensium⁴ in aduentu iudicii, quia delebuntur pro honore Patricii septem annis ante iudicium.

Source: These three suits are given by Tírechán (ed. Stokes, p. 331. 10-20), but in a different context. (Muirchú has totally different petitiones.)

§ 49. On that hill he blessed the peoples of Ireland, and he arose so that he might pray for them and see the fruit of his labour. And innumerable birds, of many a colour, came to him so that he would bless them; that means that all the saints of the Irish, of both sexes, will reach him, their father and master, on the day of judgment so that they may follow him to judgment. Afterwards, in good old age, he departed to where he now rejoices for ever and ever, Amen.

§ 50. Moses and Patrick are compared in four ways: namely, in conversing with an angel in a fiery bush; in a second way — he fasted on a mountain for forty days and forty nights; in a third way — they were both one hundred and twenty years old; in a fourth way — no one knows his tomb, but he was secretly buried without anyone being aware of it.

[He lived] fifteen years in captivity; in his twenty-fifth year he was procured by the holy Bishop Amatheus; he preached in Ireland for eighty-five years. The subject demanded that one speak more fully about Saint Patrick, but I have preferred instead to keep it short for the sake of economy of speech.

§ 49. In illo autem tumulto benedixit populis Hibernie¹, et ideo ascendit ut oraret pro eis et uideret fructum laboris sui. Et uenerunt ad eum aues multi coloris innumerabiles ut benediceret illis, quod significat omnes sanctos utriusque sexus² Hiberniensium³ peruenire ad eum in die iudicii, ad patrem et ad magistrum suum, ut sequantur illum ad iudicium. Postea in senectute bona migravit ubi nunc letatur in secula seculorum, Amen.

Source: For this section, cf. *Tírechán* (ed. Stokes, ii. 322. 29 - 323. 8), but it is not a close parallel.

§ 50. Quattuor modis equantur Moyses et Patricius¹: ²id est², [55] angelo colloquente in rubo igneo; secundo modo, in monte quadraginta diebus et quadraginta noctibus ieiunauit³; tercio modo, similes fuerunt etate centum uiginti annis; quarto modo, sepulchrum illius⁴ nemo scit, sed in occulto⁵ humatus est nemine sciente.

Quindecim annis in captiuitate; in uicisimo⁶ quinto anno ab Amatheo sancto episcopo subrogatur; octoginta⁷ et quinque annorum in Hibernia⁸ predicauit. Res autem exigebat amplius loqui de sancto Patricio, sed tamen pro compendio sermonis uolui breuiare.

Source: These four points of comparison with Moses are given by *Tírechán* (ed. Stokes, ii. 332. 1-7). Cf. also *Vita Quarta* (ed. Bieler, p. 47f.) for an extended comparison, and the note by C⁵ in MS. CCCC139 (Appendix IX, below) for a different view of the chronology.

§ 51. At that time the Saxons were becoming strong in numbers and growing in power in Britain. When Hengist died, his son Ohta crossed from the northern part of Britain to the kingdom of the men of Kent. And from him the kings of the men of Kent were sprung.

§ 52. Then in those days Arthur fought against them with the kings of the Britons, but he was commander in the battles. The first battle was at the mouth of the river which is called Glein; the second, third, fourth, and fifth on another river which is called Dubglas and is in the region of Linnuis;¹ the sixth battle on the river that is called Bassas. The seventh battle was in the forest of Celyddon, **that** is the battle of Coed Celyddon.² The eighth battle was at Castellum Guinnion, where Arthur carried the portrait of Saint Mary, ever virgin, on his shoulders; and the pagans were routed on that day, and **there** was a great slaughter of them through the power of our Lord Jesus Christ and the strength of the holy Virgin Mary, his mother. The ninth battle was fought in Urbs Legionis.³ The tenth battle was fought on the shore of the river which is called Tribruit. The eleventh battle was fought on the mountain which is called Agned. The twelfth battle was on mons Badonis,⁴ where in one day nine hundred and sixty men were killed by one attack of Arthur, and no one laid them low save he himself. And he appeared as victor in all the battles.⁵ And while they were being overthrown in all the battles, they were seeking help from Germany; and they were being reinforced many times over without interruption. And they brought kings from Germany to rule over them in Britain, up to the time when Ida ruled who was the son of Eoppa; he was the first king in Bernicia (that is, in Berneich).

Notes.

1. Lindsey.

§ 51. In illo tempore Saxones inualescebant in multitudine et
crescebant in Brittannia. Mortuo autem Hengisto¹, Oetha filius eius
transiuit de sinistrali parte Brittannie ad regnum Cantiorum². Et
de ipso orti sunt reges Cantiorum.

§ 52. Tunc Arthur¹ pugnabat contra illos² in illis diebus cum regibus
Brittonum², sed ipse dux erat bellorum. Primum bellum fuit in ostium
fluminis quod dicitur³ Glein; secundum et tercium et quartum et
quintum, super aliud flumen quod dicitur Dubglas et est in regione
Linnuis; sextum bellum super flumen quod uocatur Bassas. Septimum
fuit bellum in silua Celidonis, id est cat Coit Celidon. Octauum
fuit bellum in Castello Guinnion, in quo Arthur⁴ portauit imaginem
sancte Marie perpetue⁵ uirginis super humeros suos; et pagani⁶ uersi
sunt in fugam⁶ in illo die, et cedes magna fuit super illos per
uirtutem Domini nostri Iesu Christi et per uirtutem sancte Marie⁷
uirginis genitricis eius. Nonum bellum gestum est in Urbe Legionis.
Decimum gessit bellum in litore⁸ fluminis quod uocatur Tribruit⁹.
Undecimum factum est bellum in monte qui¹⁰ dicitur Agned. Duodecimum
fuit bellum in monte Badonis, in quo corruerunt in uno die nongenti
sexaginta uiri de uno impetu Arthur¹¹, et nemo prostrauit eos nisi
ipse solus. Et in omnibus bellis uictor extitit. Et ipsi, dum in
omnibus bellis prosternebantur, auxilium a Germania petebant; et
augebantur multipliciter sine intermissione. Et reges a Germania
deducebant ut regnarent super illos in Brittannia, usque ad tempus quo
Ida regnauit qui fuit¹² Eobba filius; ipse fuit primus rex in
Beornica¹³ (id est im Berneich)¹³.

2. 'Celyddon Wood': a forest area of southern Scotland, often referred to in Welsh literature.
3. Presumably Chester, though Caerleon could perhaps be intended.
4. The mons badonicus of Gildas, De excidio.
5. For comprehensive discussion of all these battle sites, see K. H. Jackson, 'Once again Arthur's battles', Modern Philology, 43 (1945/6), pp. 44-57.

§ 53. Woden begat Beldæg; he begat Beornec; he begat Wegbrand; he begat Alusa; he begat Ingweo; he begat Aðilbriht; he begat Oesa; he begat Eoppa; he begat Ida.

Ida however had twelve sons, whose names are: Adda, Aðilric, Deodric, Edric, Deodhere, Osmer, from one queen; Bearn, Ocg, Ealric, [.....].¹

Aðilric begat Aðilfrið; he is Aðilferð the Twister. And he had seven sons whose names are: Eanfrið, Oswald, Oswio, [.....],² Oswudu, Oslaf, Offa.

Oswio begat Alchfrið and Aelfwini and Ecgfrið. It is he who fought a battle against his nephew, Bridei by name, who was king of the Picts; and he fell there with the whole strength of his army. And the Picts with their king were the victors; and from the time of that battle the race of the Ambrones³ never brought it about that they might exact tribute from the Picts; it is called the battle of Linn Garan.⁴

Oswio moreover had two wives, of whom one was called Rhiainfellt, the daughter of Rhwyth, the son of Rhun; and the other was called Eanfled, the daughter of Edwin, son of Aelli.

Notes.

1. The lacuna hides the names of the remaining sons, born to a concubine.

§ 53. Uuoden¹ genuit Beldeg; genuit Beornec; genuit G<u>echbrond²; [57]
 genuit Aluson; genuit Ingue<o>³; genuit Aed<l>brith⁴; genuit Ossa;
 genuit Eobba; genuit⁵ Ida.

Ida autem duodecim filios habuit, quorum nomina sunt: Adda,
<Edl>dric⁶, Deodric⁷, Edric, Deothere, Osmer, ⁸e<x> un<a> regin<a>⁸;
⁹Bearn, Och⁹, Ealric, <.....>¹⁰.

<Edl>ric¹¹ genuit Ae<d>lfret¹²; ipse est Aedlferd¹³ Flesaur.
 Nam et ipse habuit filios septem quorum nomina sunt: Anfrid¹⁴,
 Osguald¹⁵, Osbiu¹⁶, Osguid, Osgudu, Oslapf¹⁷, Offa.

Osguid¹⁸ genuit Alcfrid¹⁹ et Aelfguini²⁰ et Echfird²¹.
 Echgfrid²² ipse est qui fecit bellum contra fratruelem²³ suum qui
 erat rex Pictorum, nomine Birdei; et ibi corruit cum omni rubore²⁴
 exercitus sui. Et Picti cum²⁵ rege suo uictores extiterunt; et
 nunquam addiderunt <genus>²⁶ Ambromum ut a Pictis²⁷ uectigal
 exigent a tempore istius belli; uocatur Gueith²⁸ Linn²⁹ Garan³⁰.

Osguid autem habuit duas uxores quarum una uocabatur
 Rie<in>melth³¹, filia Royth³², filii Ru<n>³³; et altera uocabatur
 Eanfled³⁴, filia Eadguin, filii Alli.

Bearn (not only a name but also OE for 'child', 'offspring') does not occur in the extant version of the source.

2. The name Oslac has been displaced from the text.
3. Or 'robbers'. Evidently a name for the English; I doubt that it has a more specific connotation than this.
4. 'The Lake of the Crane': probably the Pictish name for the site of the battle of Dunnichen Moss (or 'Nechtansmere'), near Forfar, fought in 685.

§ 54.

The genealogy of the kings of Kent

Hengist begat Ohta; he begat Oisc; he begat Eormenric; he begat ^ſÆðilberht; he begat Eadbald; he begat Ercunberht; he begat Ecgberht.

§ 55.

The descent of the kings of the East Angles

Woden begat Caser; he begat Tytman; he begat Trygil; he begat Hroðmund; he begat Hryp(pa); he begat Wilhelm; [he begat] Wehha — he, first, reigned in Britain over the race of the East Angles.

Wehha begat Wuffa; he begat Tytil; he begat Eoni; he begat ^ſÆðilric; he begat Aldwulf; ¹

- Sources: (1) OE genealogies (cf. Appendix IV below; Bernicia I);
 (2) Series Regum Northanhymbrensiū;
 (3) Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, sub an. 617 E;
 (4) cf. Bede, Hist. Eccl., iv. 26.

§ 54.

[58]

De genealogia regum Cantie¹

Hengist² genuit Oetha; genuit Ossa; genuit Eorm<en>ric³;
 genuit <Aedl>bert⁴; genuit Eadbald⁵; genuit Ercunbert⁶; genuit
 Ecgberth⁷.

Sources: Old English genealogies (cf. Appendix IV: Kent); cf. Bede,
Hist. Eccl., ii. 5. The rest of the genealogy is in § 30,
 above.

§ 55.

[59]

De ortu regum East anglorum¹

Uuoden² genuit Casser; genuit Tit<m>on³; genuit Trigil;
 genuit Rodmunt⁴; genuit Rippan; genuit Guilhel<m>⁵; <genuit>⁶
 Guechan — ipse primus regnauit in Brittannia super gentem
 Estranglorum⁷.

Guecha genuit Guffan⁸; genuit Tydil⁹; genuit E<o>ni¹⁰;
 genuit Ed<l>ric¹¹; genuit Aldulfh¹²; <.....>¹³.

Note.

1. One name may possibly be wanting here.

§ 56.

The genealogy of the Mercians

Woden begat Weðolgeat; he begat Weaga; he begat Wihtlæg; he begat Wermund; he begat Offa; he begat Angen[...]¹; he begat Eamer; [...]²; he begat Pybba. This Pybba had twelve sons of whom two, namely Penda and Euwa, are better known to me than the others.

Æðilred son of Penda; Penda son of Pybba.

Æðilbald son of Alwih, son of Euwa, son of Pybba.

Ecgfrið son of Offa, son of ðingferð, son of Eanwulf, son of Oswulf, son of Euwa, son of Pypba.

Notes.

1. Angengeot.
2. Four names are wanting here.

§ 57.

The kings of the men of Deira

Woden begat Beldæg; [he begat] Brond; he begat Siggar; [...]¹; he begat Sæbald; he begat Zegulf(h); he begat Soemil — he first separated Deira from Bernicia.

Soemil begat Swerting; he begat Wilgils; he begat Wuscfrea; he begat Yffi; he begat Ælli; [he begat] Edwin.

Osfirð and Eadfirð were the two sons of Edwin, and they fell with him in the battle of Meicen.² And royal power was never renewed from his ancestral line because not one of his family escaped from that

Sources: Old English genealogies (cf. Appendix IV: East Anglia);
cf. Bede, Hist. Eccl., ii. 15.

§ 56.

[60]

De genealogia Merciorum¹

Uoden² genuit Guedolgeat; genuit Gueagon; genuit Guithleg³;
genuit Guermund⁴; genuit Offa; genuit Ongen<....>⁵; genuit Eamer;
<.....>⁶ genuit Pubba. Ipse Puppa⁷ habuit duodecim filios quorum
duo⁸ mihi notiores⁸ sunt quam alii, id est Penda et Eua.

<A>dlrit⁹ filius Pantha¹⁰; Penda filius Pubba.

¹¹<A>dlbalt¹² filius Alguing¹³ filius Eua¹⁴, filius Pubba.¹¹

Ecgfrid¹⁵ filius Offa, filius Duminfert¹⁶, filius Ean<u>ulf¹⁷,
filius Ossulf¹⁸, filius Eua¹⁹, filius Pupba²⁰.

Source: Old English genealogies (cf. Appendix IV: Mercia I, II,
and III).

§ 57.

[61]

De regibus Deurorum¹

Uoden² genuit Beld<e>g³; <genuit>⁴ Brond; genuit Siggat⁵;
<.....>⁶ genuit Sebald; genuit Zegulf⁷; genuit Soemil — ipse
primus separauit Deur o Birneich⁸.

Soemil genuit Sguerthing⁹; genuit G<ui>lg<il>s¹⁰; genuit
Us<e>frea¹¹; genuit Iffi¹²; genuit <A>lli¹³; <genuit>⁴ Aedguin¹⁴.

Osfrid¹⁵ et Eadfrid¹⁶ duo filii Edguin¹⁷ erant, et cum ipso
corruerunt in bello Meicen¹⁸. Et de origine illius¹⁹ nunquam
iteratum est regnum, quia non euasit unus de genere²⁰ illius de isto

battle; but they were all killed along with him by the army of Cadwallon, king of the district of Gwynedd.

Oswio begat Ecgfrið (he is Ecgfrið of the White Brow); he begat Oslac; he begat Alhun; ³ he begat Adlsing; ⁴ he begat Echun; ⁵ he begat Oslaf. ⁶

Ida begat Eadric; he begat Ecgwulf; he begat Liodwald; he begat Eata (he is Eata of the Big Knees); he begat Eadberht, and Bishop Ecgberht (who was the first from their nation).

Notes.

1. Two names omitted.
2. The battle of Hatfield Chase.
3. It is uncertain which English name is intended here.
4. It is not certain whether this represents Aðils or Að(i)lsing.
5. This may represent Echha (= Eahha) or Ecghun.
6. The whole of this pedigree is otherwise unknown.

§ 58.

The number of years for which they reigned

Ida, the son of Eoppa, held the districts in the northern part of Britain (that is, north of the sea of Humber) and reigned for twelve years; and he joined Din Guayroi¹ to Bernicia.

Note

1. Apparently Bamburgh: cf. § 61, below.

§ 59. Then at that time Eudeyrn struggled bravely against the race of the English. Then Talhaearn 'Father of the Muse' was renowned in poetry; and Aneirin and Taliesin and Blwchfardd and Cian (who is

bello; sed interfecti²¹ sunt²² omnes cum illo ab exercitu
Catguollauni²³ regis Guendote regionis.

Osguid genuit Ecgfird²⁴ (ipse est Ecgfird²⁵ Ailguin²⁶); genuit
Oslac²⁷; genuit Alhun; genuit Adlsing²⁸; genuit Echun; genuit²⁹
Oslaph³⁰.

Ida genuit Eadric³¹; genuit Ecgulf; genuit Liodguald³²;
genuit Eatan³³ (ipse est Eata³⁴ Glinmaur); genuit Eadbirth³⁵, et
Ecgbirth³⁶ episcopum (qui fuit primus de natione eorum).

Sources: (1) Old English genealogies (cf. Appendix IV: Deira;
Bernicia III-IV);
(2) cf. Bede, Hist. Eccl., ii. 20.

§ 58.

De numero annorum quibus regnauerunt.¹

Ida, filius Eobba, tenuit regiones in sinistrali parte
Brittannie (id est, Umbri maris) et regnavit annis duodecim; et
<i>unxit² Din <Guayroi>³ guurth⁴ Berneich⁵.

Source: Northumbrian Regnal List (cf. Appendix IV, s.v.).

§ 59. Tunc <O>utigirn¹ in illo tempore fortiter demicabat² contra [62]
gentem Anglorum. Tunc Talhaern Tat Aguen³ in poemate claruit; et
Neirin et Taliessin⁴ et Bluchbard⁵ et Cian (qui uocatur Gue<ni>th⁶

called 'Wheat of Song') were illustrious all at the same time in British poetry.

§ 60. The great King Maelgwn reigned among the Britons (that is, in the district of Gwynedd), because his ancestor (namely Cunedda) with his sons whose number was eight had formerly come from the northern part (namely from the district which is called Manaw of Gododdin) one hundred and forty-six years before Maelgwn reigned. And they expelled the Irish from those districts with immense slaughter, and the Irish never returned to inhabit them again.

§ 61. Adda, son of Ida, reigned for eight years. Æðilric, the son of Adda, reigned for four years. ðeodric, son of Ida, reigned for seven years. Frioðowald reigned for six years in whose time the kingdom of the men of Kent received baptism, sent by Gregory. Husa reigned for seven years.

Against them fought four kings — Urien, Rhydderch Hen,¹ Gwallog, and Morgan. Against that Urien, ðeodric with his sons fought bravely.² At that time now the enemy, now the citizens,³ were defeated. And he [Urien] shut them up for three days and three nights in the island of Medcaut;⁴ and while he was on the expedition he was murdered at Morgan's design on account of envy, because in him before all kings there was the greatest courage in the renewal of battle.

Æðilferð the Twister reigned for twelve years in Bernicia and for another twelve in Deira; between the two kingdoms he reigned for twenty-four years. And he gave Din Guoaroy to his wife who is called Bebb, and from the name of his wife it took its name, that is Bamburgh.

Guaut) simul uno tempore in poemate brittannico claruerunt.

§ 60. Mailcunus magnus rex apud Brittones regnabat (¹id est¹ in regione Guenedote²), quia attauus illius (id est Cunedag), cum filiis suis quorum numerus octo³ erat, uenerat prius de parte sinistrali (id est de regione que uocatur Manau Guotodin) centum quadraginta sex annis antequam Mailcun regnaret. Et Scottos cum ingentissima clade expulerunt ab istis regionibus, et nusquam reuersi sunt iterum ad habitandum.

§ 61. Adda, filius Ida, regnauit annis octo. Aedric¹, filius [63] Adda, regnauit quattuor annis. Deo<d>ric², filius Ida, regnauit septem annis. <Friodoguald>³ regnauit sex annis, in cuius tempore regnum Cantiorum⁴ mittente Gregorio baptismum suscepit. Husa⁵ regnauit annis septem.

Contra illos, quattuor reges⁶ — Urbgen et Riderch⁷ Hen et Gualla<u>c⁸ et Morcant⁹ — dimicauerunt. Deodric, contra illum Urbgen, ¹⁰cum filiis¹⁰ dimicabant¹¹ fortiter. In illo autem tempore aliquando hostes nunc ciues uincebantur. Et ipse conclusit eos tribus diebus et tribus noctibus in insula Medcaut¹²; et dum erat in expeditione iugulatus est, Morcanto¹³ destinante pro inuidia, quia in ipso pre omnibus regibus uirtus maxima erat instauratione¹⁴ belli.

<E>dlfered¹⁵ Flesaur¹⁶ regnauit¹⁷ duodecim annis in Berneich¹⁸, et alios duodecim in Deur; uiginti quattuor annis inter duo regna regnauit. Et dedit uxori sue ¹⁹Din Guaroy¹⁹ que uocatur <Bebba>²⁰,

Edwin, the son of Ælli, reigned for seventeen years. And he seized Elmet and drove out Ceredig, the king of that district. Eanfled, his daughter, received baptism on the twelfth day after Pentecost and all her people, men and women, with her. At the following Easter, Edwin accepted baptism, and twelve thousand people were baptised with him. If anyone should have wished to know who baptised them, Rhun son of Urien baptised them, and for forty days did not cease to baptise the whole race of the Ambrones;⁵ and through his preaching many believed in Christ.

Notes.

1. Literally 'the Old', but the significance of this epithet is uncertain.
 2. I have preferred H's reading (dimicabant) here, but the dimicabat of R would allow either the above interpretation or 'Deodric fought against Urien and his sons'.
 3. A reminiscence of Gildas, De excidio Britanniae, I. 26.
 4. Apparently Lindisfarne.
 5. See above, § 53, note 3 to translation.
-

§ 62. Oswald, son of Æðilfrið, reigned for nine years. He is Oswald of the Bright Blade. He killed Cadwallon, king of the district of Gwynedd, in the battle of Cantscaul¹ with a great slaughter of the latter's army.

Oswio, son of Æðilfrið, reigned for twenty-eight years and six months. While he was reigning a pestilence came among men; Cadwaladr was ruling among the Britons after his father and he died in it. And he [Oswio] killed Penda on Campus Gai;² and at that time occurred the

et de nomine sue²¹ uxoris suscepit²² nomen, id est Bebbanburh²³.

E<d>guin²⁴, filius Alli, regnauit annis decem et septem. Et ipse occupauit Elmet²⁵ et expulit Certic, regem illius regionis.

Eanfled filia illius duodecimo die post Pentecosten²⁶ baptismum accepit cum uniuersis hominibus suis de uiris et mulieribus cum ea. Eadguin²⁷ uero in sequenti Pasca²⁸ baptismum suscepit, et duodecim milia hominum baptizati sunt cum eo. Si quis scire uoluerit quis eos baptizauit, Run²⁹ map³⁰ Urbgen babtizauit³¹ eos, et per quadraginta dies non cessauit baptizare omne genus Ambromum; et³² per predicationem illius multi crediderunt Christo³³.

Sources: (1) Northumbrian Regnal List (cf. Appendix IV, s.v.);

(2) Gildas, De excidio, I. 26;

(3) Bede, Hist. Eccl., iii. 6;

(4) ibid., ii. 9, ii. 14.

§ 62. Osuuald¹, filius² Eðlfred³, regnauit nouem⁴ annis. Ipse est [64] Osuuald⁵ Lamguin⁶. Ipse occidit Catgu<o>laun⁷ regem Guenedote⁸ regionis, in bello Ca<n>tscaul⁹ cum magna clade exercitus sui.

Osguid¹⁰, filius <E>dlfrid¹¹, regnauit uiginti octo annis¹² et sex mensibus¹². Dum ipse regnabat, uenit mortalitas hominum, Catgualart¹³ regnante apud Brittones post patrem suum et in ea periit. Et ipse occidit Pantha in Campo Gai; et nunc facta est strages Gai¹⁴ Campi et reges Brittonum interfecti sunt, qui exierant cum rege Pantha

slaughter of the field of Gai, and the kings of the Britons were killed who had gone out with King Penda on the expedition to the fortress which is called Iudeu,³ [even to Manaw].

Notes.

1. i. e., Hexham The battle of Rowley Water (Denisesburna).
 2. i. e., 'the field of Gai' (Modern Welsh Maes Gae); the battle by the River Winwaed.
 3. To be equated with Bede's urbs Giudi (Hist. Eccl., i. 12), situated on the Firth of Forth. In spite of numerous attempts and conjectures, no plausible identification has been made.
-

§ 63. Then Oswio rendered to Penda all the riches that he had in the fortress, and Penda distributed them to the kings of the Britons — that is the restitution of Iudeu. Only Catgabail,¹ king of the district of Gwynedd, escaped with his army, arising by night; on that account he was called Catgabail Catguommed.

Ecƿfrið, son of Oswiu, reigned for nine years. In his time the holy Bishop Cuðberht retired to the island of Medcaut.² It is he [Ecƿfrið] who fought the battle against the Picts and fell there.

Notes.

1. The king's real name was Cadafael (= 'Battle-Prince'); the pun which converts his name into 'Battle-Seizer' and adds the opprobrious epithet 'Battle-Refuser' is explained by K. Jackson, Journal of Celtic Studies, 1 (1949/50), p. 69.
 2. Apparently Lindisfarne; but it was Farne to which Cuthbert retired. This sentence presents many problems of detail.
-

in expeditione usque ad urbem que uocatur Iudeu¹⁵, <usque in Manau>¹⁶.

Sources: (1) Northumbrian Regnal List (cf. Appendix IV, s. v.);
 (2) Annales Cambrie, sub ann. 187 A, 212-214 A, 238 A;
 (3) Bede, Hist. Eccl., iii. 1, iii. 24.

§ 63. Tunc reddidit Osguid omnes diuitias que erant cum eo in urbe¹ [65]
 Pende, et Penda distribuit ea regibus Brittonum — id est Atbret²
 Iudeu³. Solus autem Catgabail⁴, rex Guenedote⁵ regionis, cum
 exercitu suo euasit, de nocte consurgens; quapropter uocatus est
 Catgabail Catguommed⁶.

Ecgfrid⁷, filius Osbiu⁸, regnauit nouem annis. In tempore
 illius sanctus Cudbert⁹ episcopus¹⁰ <a>biit in insula<m>¹⁰ Medcaut.
 Ipse est qui fecit bellum contra Pictos et corruit ibi.

Sources: Bede, Hist. Eccl., iii. 24; Annales Cambrie, sub ann.
 212-214 A; Northumbrian Regnal List (cf. Appendix IV,
s. v.); Bede, Hist. Eccl. iv. 24(26), 26(28)-27(29).

§ 64. Penda, son of Pybba, reigned for ten years. He first redeemed the kingdom of the Mercians from the kingdom of the Northerners. And he killed by guile Anna, king of the East Angles, and Saint Oswald, king of the Northerners.¹ He fought the battle of Cocboy² in which fell both his brother the king of the Mercians, Eowa son of Pybba, and Oswald, king of the Northerners; and he himself was victor by diabolical art. He had not been baptised and he never believed in God.

Notes.

1. The Northumbrians; Nordi, though here a Latin word, must be of English origin.
 2. Oswestry (Maserfelth).
-

§ 65. From the beginning of the world to Constantinus and Rufus¹ there are found to be five thousand six hundred and fifty-eight years. Likewise, from the two twins Rufus and Rubelius² to the consul Stillitio³ there are three hundred and seventy-three years; and from Stillitio to Ualentinianus, son of Placida, and the reign of Gwrtheyrn there are twenty-eight years.⁴ And there are twelve years from the reign of Gwrtheyrn to the dissension of Gwidolin and Ambrosius which is Guoloppom, that is the battle of Guoloph.⁵ Gwrtheyrn gained the overlordship in Britain when Theodosius and Ualentinianus were consuls;⁶ and in the fourth year of his reign the Saxons came to Britain, when Felix and Taurus were consuls in the four-hundred-and-first year from the incarnation⁷ of our Lord Jesus Christ.

Notes.

1. Consuls in A. D. 457. On this chapter, see D. N. Dumville, 'Some

§ 64. Penda, filius Pybba¹, regnavit decem annis. Ipse primus reparavit² regnum Merciorum³ a regno Nordorum. Et Onnan, regem Easter Anglorum⁴, et sanctum Osuualdum⁵, regem Nordorum, occidit per dolum. Ipse fecit bellum Cocboy in quo cecidit Eoua filius Pippa⁶, frater eius rex Merciorum⁷, et Osuuald⁸, rex Nordorum; et ipse victor fuit per diabolicam⁹ artem. Non erat baptizatus et nunquam Deo credidit.

Sources: On the career of Penda of Mercia, see Bede, Hist. Eccl., passim; Mercian Regnal List (cf. Appendix IV, s.v.); Annales Cambrie, sub an. 200A.

§ 65. A¹ mundi principio usque ad Constantinum et Rufum² quinque [66] milium³ sexcenti quinquaginta octo anni reperiuntur⁴. Item a duobus geminis Rufo⁵ et Rubelio usque in Stillitionem⁶ consulem⁷ trecenti septuaginta tres anni sunt; item a Stillitione⁸ usque ad Valentinianum, filium Placide, et regnum Guorthigirni⁹ uiginti octo anni. Et a regno Guorthigirni¹⁰ usque ad discordiam Guitolini et Ambrosii anni sunt duodecim, quod est[†]Guoloppom^{11†} — id est Cat Guoloph. Guorthigirnus¹² autem tenuit imperium in Brittannia, Theodosio et Valentiniano consulibus, et in quarto anno regni sui Saxones ad Brittanniam uenerunt — Felice et Tauro consulibus — quadringentesimo primo¹³ anno ab incarnatione Domini nostri Iesu Christi.

aspects of the chronology of the Historia Brittonum', Bulletin of the Board of Celtic Studies, 25 (1972-74), pp. 439-445.

2. Consuls in A.D. 28.
3. Stilico, consul in A.D. 400.
4. There is a slight error here; Valentinian was consul (with Theodosius) in A.D. 425; the author was thinking of the aduentus Saxonum (see below).
5. Unidentified.
6. In A.D. 425.
7. An error for 'passion'; A.D. 428.

§ 66. From the year when the Saxons came to Britain, and were received by Gwrtheyrn, to Aetius and Ualeri[us there are four years; and from Aetius and Ualerius to Ualeri]anus there are eighty-nine years.¹

Note.

1. For the emendations suggested in § 66, see D. N. Dumville, Bulletin of the Board of Celtic Studies, 25 (1972-74), pp. 439-445.

§ 67. These are the names of all the ciuitates that there are in the whole of Britain, whose number is twenty-eight:-

1. (?) Craig Gwrtheyrn (?)¹
2. Winchester
3. (?) Colchester or Lincoln²
4. Carlisle
5. ?
6. ?

Source: Victorius Aquitanus, Cursus Paschalis, sub ann. 1, 373,
398, 401, 430.

§ 66. Ab anno quo Saxones uenerunt in Brittanniam et Guorthigirno¹
suscepti sunt usque ad <A>ecium² et ³Ualeri<um anni sunt quattuor;
et ab Aecio et Ualerio usque ad Ualeri>anum³ anni sunt <octo>ginta⁴
nouem.

Source: Victorius Aquitanus, Cursus Paschalis, sub ann. 405, 494.

§ 67. Hec sunt nomina omnium ciuitatum que sunt in tota
Brittannia¹, quarum numerus est² uiginti octo:-

[66^A]

- (1) Cair³ Guorthigirn⁴
- (2) Cair Guinntguic
- (3) Cair Mincip
- (4) Cair Ligualid
- (5) Cair Meguaid
- (6) Cair Colun

7. York
8. ?
9. Caer Garadog³
10. (?) Cambridge (?)
11. ?
12. London
13. Canterbury
14. ?
15. ?
16. (?) Doncaster (?)
17. Chester
18. Wroxeter
19. Caernarvon
20. Caerleon upon Usk
21. Caerwent
22. Dumbarton
23. ?
24. Din Draithou (Cornwall)⁴
25. (?) Penselwood (?)
26. Caer Wrnach⁵
27. ?
28. Lichfield

Notes.

1. This (cf. § 40) is by no means the only site identified with Gwrtheyrn.
2. The Old English translation of Bede's 'Ecclesiastical History'

- (7) Cair Ebrauc
- (8) Cair Gusteint⁵
- (9) Cair Caratauc
- (10) Cair Gra<n>th⁶
- (11) Cair Maunguid
- (12) Cair Lunde<in>⁷

- (13) Cair Ceint⁸
- (14) Cair Guiragon
- (15) Cair Peris
- (16) Cair Daum
- (17) Cair Legion
- (18) Cair Guricon
- (19) Cair Segeint
- (20) Cair Legion⁹ guar U<is>c¹⁰
- (21) Cair Guent
- (22) Cair Brithon
- (23) Cair Lerion
- (24) Cair Draithou¹¹

- (25) Cair Pen <Sauei>¹² Coyt
- (26) Cair Urnach¹³
- (27) Cair Celemion
- (28) Cair Luitcoyt¹⁴

renders his 'in oppido municipio' (= York: iii. 1) as a name: in Municep þære byrig (see Plummer, II, p. 21). Cair Muncip could perhaps be York, or a Romano-British municipium misunderstood or used as a proper noun.

3. There are several places of this name.

4. Cf. Vita Prima Sancti Carantoci, § 4.

5. Wrnach Gawr is a well-known figure in Welsh legend (cf. Kulhwch ac Olwen).

§ 68. The first marvel is Loch Lomond. In it are sixty islands and men dwell there; and it is surrounded by sixty cliffs and there is an eagle's nest in every single cliff; and sixty rivers flow into it, and there goes from it to the sea only one river, which is called Leven.

§ 69. The second marvel is the mouth of the river Trahannon, because in one mountainous wave it covers the shores at a rush, and [then] recedes as other seas.

§ 70. The third marvel is the hot pool which is in the district of Huich,¹ and it is surrounded by a wall made of brick and stone. And people go all the time to bathe in it, and for each one the bath becomes thus just as it may have pleased him, according to his wish: if he has desired a cold bath, it will be cold; if hot, it will be hot.

Note.

1. Apparently the Hwicce; the area is therefore Worcestershire.

§ 68. Primum miraculum est stagnum Lumonoy¹. In eo sunt insule [67]
sexaginta et ibi habitant homines; et sexaginta rupibus ambitur et
nidus aquile in unaquaque rupe est; et flumina fluunt sexaginta in
eo, et non uadit ex eo ad mare nisi unum² flumen, quod uocatur
Lem³.

§ 69. Secundum miraculum ostium Transhannoni fluminis, quia in una
unda, instar montis, ad sissam tegit litora¹, et recedit ut cetera
maria.

§ 70. Tertium miraculum stagnum calidum quod est in regione Huich,
et muro ambitur ex latere et lapide facto. Et in eo uadunt homines
per omne tempus ad lauandum, et unicuique sicut placuerit illi
lauacrum sic fiat sibi secundum uoluntatem suam: si uoluerit
lauacrum frigidum¹, erit; si calidum, calidum erit.

§ 71. The fourth marvel is the springs of sea-water — they are found in the same district — from which springs salt is prepared; thence various foods are salted. And the springs are not near the sea, but rise from the land.

§ 72. Another marvel is Dou Rig Habren, that is the Two Kings of the Severn. When the sea streams in a torrent into the mouth of the Severn, two masses of foam are formed separately and they fight a battle between themselves after the fashion of rams; and each advances on the other and they collide with one another, and again one withdraws from the other; and again they advance in a single onrush. They have been doing this from the beginning of the world down to the present day.

§ 73. There is another marvel, namely Aber Llyn Lliwan.¹ The mouth of that river issues into the Severn, and when the Severn overflows in a flood and the sea overflows in like manner at the mouth of the aforementioned river, the sea too is received as if by an abyss at the lake of the estuary and the sea does not rush upstream. And there is a beach next to the river; and as long as the Severn is overflowing in flood, that beach is not covered. And when the sea and the Severn recede, then Llyn Lliwan belches forth all of the sea that it swallowed and that beach is covered; and it belches and bursts forth in one single wave like a mountain. And if the army of the whole district in which it is should be [there] and direct its face against the wave, the wave also pulls the army with it by force, their clothes saturated by the sea-water, and in like fashion the horses are dragged

§ 71. Quartum miraculum est fontes — in eadem inueniuntur — de [68]
salo, a quibus fontibus sal coquitur; inde diuersa cibaria saliantur¹.
Et non prope sunt mari, sed de terra emergunt.

§ 72. Aliud miraculum est ¹D<ou> Rig Habren¹, id est duo reges
Sabrine. Quando inundatur mare ad sissam² in ostium³ Sabrine, duo
cumuli spumarum congregantur separatim et bellum faciunt inter se in
modum arietum; et procedit unusquisque ad alterum et collidunt se
ad inuicem, et iterum secedit alterum⁴ ab altero; et iterum
procedunt in unaquaque sissa. Hoc faciunt ab initio mundi usque in
hodiernum diem.

§ 73. Aliud miraculum est, id est Oper Linn¹ Liuan. Ostium [69]
fluminis illius fluit in Sabrina, et quando Sabrina inundatur ad
sissam et mare² similiter inundatur² in ostio supradicti fluminis,
et in stagno ostii recipitur in modum uoraginis mare et non uadit
sursum. Et est litus iuxta flumen; et quamdiu Sabrina inundatur
ad sissam³, istud litus non tegitur. Et quando recedit mare et
Sabrina, tunc stagnum⁴ Liuan eructat omne quod deuorauit de mari et
⁵istud litus⁵ tegitur; et instar⁶ montis in una unda⁷ eructat et
rumpit. Et si fuerit exercitus⁸ totius regionis⁸ in qua est et
direxerit⁹ faciem contra undam, et exercitum trahit unda per uim,
humore repletis uestibus, et equi¹⁰ similiter trahuntur. Si autem
exercitus terga uersus fuerit contra eam¹¹, non nocet ei unda; et
quando recesserit mare, totum tunc litus quod unda tegit retro

along. If however the back of the army has been turned against it, the wave does not injure it; and when the sea has receded, then the whole beach that the water is concealing is uncovered and the sea draws back from it.

Note.

1. Llyn Lliwan, on the Severn, is known also from the tale Kulhwch ac Olwen.
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§ 74. In the district of Cynllibiwig¹ there is another marvel. There is a spring there, Finnaun Guurhelic² by name. A stream flows neither from it nor into it. People go to fish at the spring: some go into the spring to the eastern part and draw fish from that part, others to the south, others to the north and to the west, and they take fish from each part. And a different species of fish is drawn from each of the parts — it is a great marvel that there are fish in the spring, when no river flows either in or out of it — and in it are found four species of fish. And it is of no great extent or depth: its depth [is] as far as the knees; it is twenty feet in length and width; it has high banks on every side.

Notes.

1. Rhwng Gwy a Hafren; cf. M. Richards, Journal of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland, 95 (1965), p. 207.
 2. Unidentified.
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§ 75. By the river which is called the Wye, fruits are found on an ash-tree on the slope of a mountain-pass which is near the river-mouth.

denudatur et mare recedit ab ipso.

§ 74. Est aliud mirabile in regione Cinlipiuc. Est ibi fons [70]
 nomine Finnaun¹ Guurhelic. Non fluit riuus ex² eo neque in³ eo.
 Uadunt homines piscari⁴ ad fontem; alii uadunt in fonte⁵ ad partem
 orientis et deducunt pisces ex ea parte⁶, alii ad dextram⁷, alii ad
 sinistram ad occidentemque, et trahuntur pisces ab unaquaque parte.
 Et aliud genus piscium trahitur ex omnibus partibus — magnum
 mirabile, pisces⁸ in fonte, dum non⁹ flumen fluit⁹ in eo neque ex
 eo — et in eo inueniuntur quattuor genera piscium. Et non est
 de magnitudine neque de profunditate: profunditas illius usque genua;
 uiginti pedes sunt in longitudine et latitudine; ripas altas habet
 ex omni parte.

§ 75. Iuxta¹ flumen quod uocatur Guoy² poma inueniuntur super
 fraxinum in procliuius saltus qui est prope ostio fluminis.

§ 76. In the district which is called Gwent there is another marvel. There is there a pit from which a wind blows all the time without a break; and in summertime, when wind does not blow, it blows without ceasing from that pit so that no man can stand, and certainly not in front of the depth of the pit. And its name is called Uith Guint¹ in British speech, but in Latin flatio uenti. A wind blowing from the land is a great marvel.

Note.

1. It is not clear exactly what the first element of this name is.

It could represent ModW gwyth, 'channel' or 'stream', or gwyth, 'anger'. The second element (Mod.W. gwynt) means 'wind'.

Compare the Latin flatio uenti, 'a blowing of wind'.

§ 77. In Gower there is another marvel, the altar — held up by the will of God — which is in the place that is called Llwynarth. It seems to me better to tell the story of that altar than to keep quiet. It happened while Saint Illtud was praying in the cave which is by the sea that washes the land of the aforementioned place. Now the mouth of the cave faces the sea. And behold, a ship was sailing towards him from the open sea, and [there were] two men sailing it. And there was the body of a holy man with them in the boat and an altar above his face which was supported by the will of God. And the man of God went towards them and towards the body of the holy man. And the altar remained inseparably above the face of the holy body. And they said to Saint Illtud, "That man of God entrusted it to us that we should bring him to you and bury him in your keeping; and you shall not reveal his name to any man, so that people will not swear by

§ 76. Est aliud mirabile in regione que uocatur Guent. Est ibi fouea a qua uentus inflat¹ per omne tempus sine intermissione; et quando non flat uentus in tempore estatis, de illa fouea² incessanter flat ut nemo possit sustinere neque ante fouee profunditatem. Et³ uocatur nomen eius Uith Guint brittannico sermone, latine autem flatio uenti. Magnum mirabile est, uentus⁴ de terra flare.

§ 77. Est aliud mirabile in Guyr¹, altare quod est in loco qui [71] dicitur Loyngarth² quod nutu Dei fulcitur. Historia³ istius⁴ altaris melius mihi uidetur narrare quam reticere. Factum est autem dum sanctus Iltutus orabat in spelunca que⁵ est iuxta mare quod alluit terram supradicti loci. Os autem spelunce ad mare est. Et ecce nauis nauigabat ad se de mari et duo uiri nauigantes eam. Et corpus sancti hominis erat cum illis in nauis, et altare supra faciem⁶ eius quod nutu Dei fulciebatur. Et processit homo Dei obuiam illis et corp⁷ sancti hominis. Et altare inseparabiliter⁸ supra faciem⁶ sancti corporis stabat. Et dixerunt ad sanctum Iltutum⁹, "Ille homo Dei commendauit nobis ut deduceremus illum ad te et sepeliemus eum tecum; et nomen eius non reueles ullo homini ut non iurent per se homines". Et sepelierunt eum; et post sepulturam illi duo uiri reuersi sunt ad nauim et nauigauerunt.

him." And they buried him; and after the burial those two men returned to the ship and sailed away.

But Saint Illtud founded a church around the body of the holy man and the altar. And to the present day the altar remains held up by the will of God. A certain petty king came to test it, carrying a whip in his hand. He bent it around the altar, and held the whip with his hands at both ends and pulled it towards him; and in that way he proved the truth of that matter. And he did not live out a complete month after that. Another looked under the altar and lost his eyesight; and he ended his life before [the end of] a whole month.

§ 78. There is another marvel in the aforementioned district, Gwent. There is there a spring next to the wall of the well of Meurig,¹ and a plank in the middle of the spring. And people wash their hands and faces, and have the plank beneath their feet when they are washing. And I have investigated and seen it. When the sea overflows at spring tide, the Severn is stretched out over the whole coast, and it covers it, and it is spread as far as the spring; and the spring is filled by the flood of the Severn. And it carries the plank with it as far as the open sea, and it is tossed about in the sea for a period of three days; and on the fourth day it is found in the abovementioned spring. It happened that one of the peasants buried it in the ground to put it to the test, and on the fourth day it was found in the spring; and that peasant who had concealed and buried it died before the end of the month.

Note.

1. Cf. J. W. James, National Library of Wales Journal, 18 (1973/4), p. 20.
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At ille sanctus Iltutus¹⁰ ecclesiam fundauit circa corpus sancti hominis et circa altare. Et manet usque in hodiernum diem altare nutu Dei fulcatum. Uenit quidam regulus ut probaret, portans uirgam in manu sua. Curuauit eam circa altare¹¹, et tenuit ambabus manibus uirgam ex utraque parte, et traxit ad se; et sic ueritatem illius rei probauit. Et ille postea per mensem integrum non uixit. Alter uero sub altare aspexit et aciem oculorum eius amisit; et ante mensem integrum uitam finiuit.

Source: Cf. Vita Sancti Iltuti, § 22.

§ 78. Est aliud mirabile in ¹supradicta regione¹ Guent. Est ibi [72] fons iuxta uallum putei Mouric², et lignum in medio fontis. Et lauant homines manus³ suas⁴ cum faciebus suis, et lignum sub pedibus suis⁵ habent quando lauant. Nam et ego probaui et uidi. Quando mare inundatur ad mallinam, extenditur Sabrina super omnem maritimam, et tegit, et usque ad fontem producit; et impletur fons de sissa Sabrine. Et trahit lignum secum usque ad mare magnum, et per spatium trium dierum in mare inuertitur; et in quarto die⁶ in supradicto fonte inuenitur. Factum est autem ut unus de rusticis sepeliret eum in terra ad probandum, et in quarto die inuentus⁷ est in fonte; et ille rusticus qui eum abscondidit et sepeliuit defunctus est ante finem⁸ mensis⁹.

§ 79. In the district which is called Buellt there is another marvel. There is a pile of stones there, and one stone with the footprint of a dog on it placed on top of the heap. When he hunted the boar Trwyd,¹ Cafall² (who was the dog of the warrior Arthur) imprinted the mark of his foot on it; and Arthur afterwards assembled a heap of stones under the stone on which was the footprint of his dog, and it is called Carnn Caball.³ And people come and carry away the stone in their hands for a period of a day and a night, and on the following day it is found on top of its heap.

Notes.

1. Twrch Trwyd; in Kulhwch ac Olwen he is called Twrch Trwyth.
 2. The name means 'horse'.
 3. Unidentified.
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§ 80. In the district which is called Archenfield there is another marvel. There is a tomb there, next to a spring which is called Licat Amr.¹ And the name of the man who was buried in the tomb was called thus, Amr; he was son of the warrior Arthur, and the latter killed him in that place and buried him. And people come to measure the tomb — [it is] now six feet, now nine, now twelve, now fifteen in length. At whatever size you will measure it on one occasion, you will not again find it of the same size. And I myself have tested it.

Note.

1. i. e., 'the spring of Amr' (Mod. W. Llygad Amr). Unidentified.
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§ 81. In the district which is called Ceredigion there is another

§ 79. Est aliud mirabile in regione que dicitur Buelte. Est ibi [73]
 cumulus¹ lapidum, et unus lapis superpositus super congestum cum
 uestigio canis in eo. Quando uenatus est porcum <Troyt>², impressit
 Caball³ — qui erat canis Arthuri⁴ militis — uestigium in lapide;
 et Arthur⁵ postea congregauit congestum lapidum sub lapide in quo
 erat uestigium canis sui, et uocatur Carn⁶ Caball⁷. Et ueniunt
 homines et tollunt lapidem in manibus suis per spatium diei et noctis;
 et in crastino die inuenitur super congestum suum.

§ 80. Est aliud miraculum in regione que uocatur Ercing¹. Habetur
 ibi sepulchrum² iuxta fontem qui cognominatur Licat³ A<m>r⁴. Et
 uiri nomen qui sepultus est in tumulo sic uocabatur A<m>r⁴; filius
 Arthuri⁵ militis erat, et ipse occidit eum ibidem et sepeliuit. Et
 ueniunt homines ad mensurandum tumulum — in longitudine aliquando
 sex pedes, aliquando nouem, aliquando duodecim, aliquando quindecim.
 In qua mensura metieris eum in ista uice, iterum non inuenies eum in
 una mensura. Et ego solus probaui.

§ 81. Est aliud mirabile in regione que uocatur Cereticiaun. Est [74]

marvel. There is a mountain there which is named Crug Mawr, and there is a tomb on its summit. And any and every man who shall have come to the tomb and stretched himself out next to it, however short he may have been, tomb and man are found to be of the same length. And if he was a short and little man, so too the length of the tomb; it is found to be close to the height of the man. And if he were long and tall, even if he had been four cubits in height, the tomb is found in this way to be close to the height of each man. And every pilgrim and weary man shall have made three bows next to it; there will not be [any weariness] upon him even to the day of his death, and he will not again be oppressed by any weariness, though he might have retired alone to the outermost limits of the earth.

§ 82. The first marvel is a beach without a sea. There is a second marvel there, a mountain which is rotated three times in a year. There is a third marvel. There is a ford there: when the sea overflows, it too overflows; and when the sea decreases, it too diminishes.

§ 83. The fourth marvel is a stone which rolls by night over the valley of Ci(t)hein(n). And once it was thrown into the whirlpool Cereuus which is in the midst of the sea which is called Menai; and on the next day it was undoubtedly found on the side of the aforementioned valley.

§ 84. There is a swamp there¹ which is called Lough Leane. It is surrounded by four circles:² the marsh is surrounded by a first circle of tin; the marsh is surrounded by a second circle of lead; the marsh

ibi mons qui¹ cognominatur Cruc Maur², et est sepulchrum³ in cacumine illius. Et omnis homo quicumque uenerit ad sepulchrum⁴ et extenderit se iuxta illud, quamuis brevis fuerit⁵, in una longitudine inuenitur sepulchrum⁶ et homo. Et si fuerit homo brevis et paruus⁷, similiter et longitudinem sepulchri⁸; iuxta staturam hominis inuenitur⁹. Et si¹⁰ fuerit longus atque procerus, etiam si fuisset in longitudine quattuor cubitorum, iuxta staturam uniuscuiusque hominis sic tumulus reperitur¹¹. Et¹² omnis perigrinus¹³ tediosusque homo tres¹⁴ flectiones flectauerit iuxta illud: non erit super se usque ad diem mortis sue, et non grauabitur iterum, ullo tedio, quam¹⁵ abisset solus¹⁶ in extremis finibus cosmi¹⁷.

§ 82. Primum miraculum est litus sine mari. Secundum miraculum est [75] ibi, mons qui gyratur¹ tribus uicibus in anno. Tertium miraculum est. Uadum est ibi: quando inundatur mare, et ipse inundatur; et quando decrescit mare, et ipse minuitur.

§ 83. Quartum miraculum est lapis qui ambulat in nocturnis temporibus super uallem Cithein¹. Et proiectus est olim in uoragine Cereuus qui est in medio pelagi² quod uocatur Mene; et in crastino super³ ripam supradicte uallis inuentus est sine dubio.

§ 84. Est ibi stagnum quod uocatur Luch¹ Lein. Quattuor circulis [76] ambitur: primo circulo gronna stanni² ambitur; secundo circulo gronna plumbi ambitur; tertio circulo gronna ferri; quarto circulo

by a third circle of iron; the marsh is surrounded by a fourth circle of bronze. And in that swamp are found many pearls, which kings put on their ears.

Notes.

1. In Ireland.
 2. It must be confessed that the meaning of this whole sentence is totally obscure, for it hardly seems possible that gronna can mean 'marsh' or be subject of each clause.
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§ 85. There is another lake which makes woods harden into stones.

Now people fashion the wood and, after they have shaped it, they throw it into the lake. And it stays in it to the end of the year, and at the end of the year stone is found. And it is called Lough Neagh.

gronna aeris ambitur. Et in eo stagno multe margarite inueniuntur,
que ponunt reges in auribus suis.

§ 85. Est aliud stagnum qui¹ facit ligna durescere in lapides.
Homines autem² fingunt ligna et, postquam formauerint, proiciunt in
stagno. Et manet in eo usque ad caput³ anni, et in capite anni
lapis repperitur. Et uocatur Luch Echach⁴.

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lect., Estranglorum,
MS. H)

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THE TEXTUAL HISTORY

OF THE WELSH-LATIN

HISTORIA BRITTONUM

by

DAVID NORMAN DUMVILLE

VOLUME TWO

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T H E
' C H A R T R E S ' R E C E N S I O N
O F T H E
H I S T O R I A B R I T T O N U M

SIGLUM

C Chartres, Bibl. mun., MS. 98, foll. 2^v-3^v,
5^v,
167^r-168^r,

destroyed 26.6.1944

THE MANUSCRIPT

Chartres, Bibliothèque municipale, MS. 98

This volume was destroyed, together with the greater part of the Chartres library, by war-action on 26 June 1944. The extent of any description that can be given of this volume must therefore be severely circumscribed. The codex was discovered to contain a copy of the Historia Brittonum only in the late nineteenth century, but the amount of excitement, comment, and controversy which this particular version has generated has been very considerable, if largely unfruitful. An unfortunate result of the enthusiasm inspired by this text has been the lack of any careful description of the manuscript; the details of its construction can now be only partially recovered.

The 1890 Catalogue of the Chartres manuscripts¹ gives the dimensions of MS. 98 (formerly 77) as 27.5 x 24 cm. We know that the main body of the codex comprised fos. 6-166, of which all but the last three pages (containing an Augustinian homily) was occupied by a copy of Hrabanus Maurus, Expositio siue Commentarium in Mattheum. This manuscript was studied by Rand,² who declared it to be an example of the Tours 'Post-mid-century' style of book-production: it is therefore a work of the second half of the ninth century. It was ruled for 42 long lines per page in a written space of 23.2 x 18.4 cm. It was

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1. Catalogue général des manuscrits des bibliothèques publiques de France, Départements, Tome XI, Chartres (Paris, 1890), p. 51.
 2. Edward Kennard Rand, Studies in the Script of Tours, I. A Survey of the Manuscripts of Tours, Volume 1, Text (Cambridge, Mass., 1929), p. 161.

written by a team of at least five scribes. The text was glossed with tironian notae in the years around 900.¹ If the origin of the body of the volume was Tours, its provenance was rather the Chapter Library of the Cathedral of Notre Dame, Chartres.² We know nothing further of its history.

The flyleaves, fos. 1-5 and 167-168, present many more difficulties. No date was suggested by the 1890 catalogue, which simply reported a date of 'IX-X^e siècle' for the whole volume (slightly late, as Rand has shown, for the core of the codex). The date offered by Theodor Mommsen (when he published the first notice of this version of the Historia Brittonum in 1893,³ and again in his 1894 edition of the Historia Brittonum for the Monumenta Germaniae Historica) was ca 900 (sæc. IX-X). Duchesne, presenting in 1894 the first separate printing of the Chartres text, stated that 'l'écriture y est du X^e siècle'.⁴ Unfortunately, this first printing of our version was undertaken with controversialist intentions, namely an attack on the recently published book by Heinrich Zimmer, Nennius Vindicatus. The Chartres text has continued to be at the centre of controversy, but the manuscript itself was almost totally ignored by the most vociferous combatants with the result that its destruction in 1944 has left the modern would-be enquirer in a state of some ignorance.

Two distinguished palaeographers have, however, published

1. Paul Legendre (ed.), Études tironiennes (Paris, 1907), p. 59.

2. Catalogue of 1890, p. 51.

3. Neues Archiv der Gesellschaft für ältere deutsche Geschichtskunde, 19 (1893/4), pp. 283-293.

4. Revue celtique, 15 (1894), p. 175.

remarks about the flyleaves of the present manuscript; these comments deserve more attention than they have received. Neither supports the date of ca 900 for which the authority of Mommsen and his edition have gained general acceptance.¹ E. W. B. Nicholson, examining the volume in 1898,² found 'to my surprise that the manuscript [sc. the flyleaves] was much later than any one had placed it, that in fact it was later than 1040 and quite possibly later than 1070, though doubtless earlier than 1100. It is in continental Caroline minuscules, and I know of no manuscript written in that hand so early as 1040 in which the tops of tall letters are forked, as they frequently are in the Chartres manuscript: the point is one to which I have given special attention.'³

Charles Samaran, studying the volume in 1932 at the request of Ferdinand Lot, concluded 'En somme, j'hésiterais beaucoup à assigner à ces feuillets une date antérieure à la deuxième moitié du X^e siècle'. He was inclined to think in terms of the second half of the ninth century for the exemplar of the extant copy.⁴

In view of the wide divergence of opinion and the inherent difficulty of the subject, I applied for help to the most expert of modern students of caroline manuscripts, Professor Bernhard Bischoff, who, with his customary generosity, agreed to examine in detail copies of the Aberystwyth photostats (see below) of the folios in question.

1. For example, its most recent repetition by a scholar of standing was by Kathleen Hughes in England before the Conquest. Studies in primary sources presented to Dorothy Whitelock (Cambridge, 1971), p. 55.
2. 'Filius Urbagen', Zeitschrift für celtische Philologie, 3 (1899-1901), pp. 104-111.
3. Ibid., p. 104.
4. Ferdinand Lot, Nennius et L'Historia Brittonum (Paris, 1934), I. 31.

Concerning the date he wrote to me as follows (communication of 28.12.1972): 'Die Schrift fällt freilich so aus dem Rahmen normaler Kalligraphie heraus, dass sie nur recht relativ datiert werden kann. Das Ende des X. Jahrhunderts möchte ich sogar ausschliessen. Innerhalb des XI. Jahrhunderts ist wohl die erste Hälfte am wahrscheinlichsten.'

The script is indeed thoroughly abnormal. It is plain that not only was the scribe among the least practised members of his profession but he was also largely ignorant of the Latin language (the textual notes below supply many examples of this, in the corruption and false division of ordinary Latin words). The result is a thoroughly extraordinary manuscript: we can hardly wonder that it was broken up and its leaves used as flyleaves for a much older (but in every respect far superior) book. The script is neither of uniform size nor distributed in a regular number of lines on each page.

What, then, can we say about its place of origin? None of the earlier scholars who have commented on these leaves have ventured to say more than that it was written on the Continent. Professor Bischoff suggests to me, however, that the most likely place of origin is Brittany. He writes:

'am bretonischen Ursprung als dem wahrscheinlichsten möchte ich festhalten; jedenfalls passt dazu die Kürzung $\overset{o}{p}$ = post (nicht auf die Bretagne beschränkt, aber dort häufig) und das recht weitgeschwungene \mathfrak{g} (5^v), ferner der volle Bogen für -us: \mathfrak{u}° . Insularen (in diesem Falle wohl keltischen) Einfluss beweisen ja auch \mathfrak{c} (con-), \div , \cdot und die Kürzung für autem: \mathfrak{h}° oder $\mathfrak{h}^{\bar{r}}$ (3^v, 167^v, 168^r), die freilich gewöhnlich keinen Punkt oder Strich darüber zeigt. In einer keltischen Hs. ist wohl auch 'filii ... fī ... fī ...' (das ich sonst noch nirgend gesehen habe) weniger überraschend. Eigenartig ist die Grundrisszeichnung

einer Kirche mit fünf Absiden (168^r), die also auf eine bedeutende Anlage (oder den Plan einer solchen) hinweist.'

It would seem then that the dating of the flyleaves of Chartres MS. 98 is settling down midway between the dates proposed respectively by Samaran (sæc. x²) and Nicholson (sæc. xi^{med} or xi²). At any event the oft-repeated date of ca 900 is totally unacceptable and quite out of the question. For the area of origin we can hardly do better than Professor Bischoff's suggestion of Brittany, which clears up more satisfactorily than just the supposition of an Insular exemplar many palaeographical features which would otherwise be difficult to explain.

In conclusion, it remains to say something about the other contents of these flyleaves. Here, further difficulties arise. It has been necessary to establish even the numbers of the folios on which the Historia Brittonum occurred, in the face of conflicting accounts. Fos. 2^v, 3^r, 3^v, 5^v, 167^r, 167^v, 168^r in fact contain our text. Fos 2^r, 168^r (lower part) and 168^v bear church-plans; the 1890 catalogue described that on 2^r as a 'plan dessiné d'un choeur d'église (Saint-Père?)', and the other two as 'plans d'église très sommairement dessinés'. Fos 4^v-5^r, according to the catalogue, bore 'Extraits d'Isidore, etc. « Isidorus. Numquam mentis requiem habet qui curis terrenis se subdit ... — ... Vita humana in tribus gradibus dividitur », etc.' Of fos 1^{r/v} and 4^r we know nothing.

THE SURVIVING WITNESSES TO THE MANUSCRIPT AND ITS TEXT

As the codex was wholly destroyed in 1944 and no complete photographic record is known to exist, it has been necessary to piece together the surviving evidence for the manuscript and the copy of our text which it contained.

There are four printed texts of the Chartres version of the Historia Brittonum. The first is that of L. Duchesne, published in 1894.¹ Almost simultaneously Theodor Mommsen, who first drew attention to this copy in an 1893 article,² published his M.G.H. edition; this was the first critical edition to use Chartres MS. 98 but, as Mommsen based his text chiefly on Harl., its distinctive readings were relegated to his almost impenetrably dense apparatus. The third printing was that of Edmond Faral in 1929,³ who published a parallel-text edition of the Historia Brittonum from Chartres 98 and BL Harley 3859; his edition has remained the best and most accurate text of the Historia available to scholars, but it has been overlooked by celticists in favour of Mommsen's larger-scale and less reliable publication. The last printing was that of Ferdinand Lot in 1934, which suffered — like the rest of Lot's edition — by being hurriedly printed and inadequately proof-read.⁴

I have used all of these printings of Chartres 98. Comparison of them, one against another, has thrown many divergences

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1. 'Nennius retractatus', Revue celtique, 15 (1894), pp. 174-197.
 2. 'Die Historia Brittonum und König Lucius von Britannien', Neues Archiv der Gesellschaft für ältere deutsche Geschichtskunde, 19 (1893/4), pp. 283-293.
 3. La légende arthurienne (Paris, 1929), i. 1-62.
 4. Ed. cit., i. 227-231.

into relief; all have then been checked against my own transcript made from the photographs (see below). There are a good many minor inaccuracies in the earlier transcripts, but these processes of collation have allowed them to be eliminated. The tendencies of earlier editors sporadically to classicise the orthography of the text have also been eliminated.

The great good fortune which has preserved a photographic record of as much of the text of the Historia as was contained in Chartres 98 has allowed an independent check to be made against the previously printed texts of this version. Three photographic reproductions survive:

- (a) photographs kept as Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS. lat. misc. d. 29 (S.C. 32562);
- (b) photostats kept as Aberystwyth, National Library of Wales, MS. 1968 C;
- (c) two plates in Ferdinand Lot's edition, reproducing fos 2^v (not 1^v, as captioned) and 167^r.

As far as they go, Lot's plates present by a long way the best reproduction of the Chartres manuscript. The Oxford photographs and the Aberystwyth photostats are both of comparatively poor quality, and are accordingly in places very difficult to read.

None of these reproductions extends beyond the seven pages containing the Historia Brittonum. For any further details one is thrown back on the catalogue-description and on what can be gleaned from the writings of those modern scholars who, between 1890 and 1944, used the codex for various purposes.

THE CONDITION OF THE TEXT AND THE NATURE OF THE EXEMPLAR

As was noted above in discussing the date and origin of the manuscript, this is no ordinary example of book-production. The script and layout are highly unusual; nor can the text be described in more flattering terms.

Textual features requiring notice fall into two categories. The first comprises errors, the second aspects of orthography which depart radically from classical standards. Errors were largely of three types in this manuscript. Simple omissions of words or parts of words may be found, for example, in §§ 3, 5, 11 (et and pace are wholly omitted; a<nte and uocabat<ur> have lost some letters), 16 (eum), 18 (et ianuis; and si is twice omitted). Often, words are falsely divided (e.g., Gue ith § 3): additional complications occur when a point is placed between two parts of a falsely divided word — e.g., gene.logia Brito.mum (§ 5), Gotho.rum (§ 5), Casabella.unus (§ 6); or when part of a falsely divided word is run together with another, sometimes including further corruption (ab infrancoliore.ali, § 3; Britone solisti, § 4). Finally, other corruptions producing words unintelligible as Latin are to be found here and there (e.g., exberta § 1 rubric; us § 2; olli § 5; stripe § 5; aunt § 6; habetit § 9; escent § 10; occium and ocidium [<ostium, where an -st- ligature has obviously been the point of difficulty; cf. the reverse error olisti for olim, which shows that the scribe was so aware of the problem that he hypercorrects] § 11; fliminum § 11; decilnabat § 16; oumquam § 18; barbar § 19; pulchar § 19). Corruptions can sometimes produce remarkable results: in § 11, the cesis militibus fractisque nauibus of the original has been transformed into cessis multibus fractisque manibus !

Sometimes, corruptions plainly result from Insular features in an exemplar (e.g., Claudias for Claudius, § 6; Geuta for Geata, § 14; post for per, § 18), but these are not numerous. More often, suspension-marks have been omitted (e.g., Britannia for Britanniam § 3; annis, subdiuises, reuersis for anni/subdiuise/reuersi sunt, in §§ 1, 9, 18 respectively; quado § 12; Grano § 14; arce for arcem § 18; hones § 18, though this could perhaps result from a blundering expansion of hōes), or, alternatively, imagined in the exemplar (e.g., fabricati sunt for fabricatis, § 3; clamante for clamate, § 18; sinceram for siceram, § 19). The wrong compendium is sometimes employed: e.g., Ꝛ for id est § 3, profectus for prefectus § 18. Glosses have been incorporated into the text before, instead of after, the word above which they must have stood in the exemplar: in tis .ccc. annis § 6, uel artis ciuitatis § 18.

As far as orthography is concerned, our manuscript conforms in general to the practice of the post-Carolingian period but also incorporates examples of several of the features of Insular spelling commonly found in Insular manuscripts.

- (i) e for ea: genelogia (§§ 1 rubric, 5);
- (ii) i/e variation: clandistina (§ 5), Bretannia (§ 6), ipse (for ipsi, §§ 18, 19);
- (iii) o/u variation: insolas (§ 3), Pictus (acc. pl., § 3), Romanus (acc. pl., § 12), tirrannos (nom. sing. masc., § 16), incolomisque (§ 18);
- (iv) i for ii: fili (twice, § 9);
- (v) irrational doubling or reduction of consonants: Tammensis (§ 6), ocisus (§ 6), Britanie (§ 6), tyrranni (§ 10), cessis (§ 11), Ambrosii (§ 13), cassam (§ 17), uaca (§ 17), tiramum (§ 18), ocurrebant (§ 18), promissit and promisserat (§ 19),

innimicos (§ 19), mitamus (§ 19);

(vi) variation between final -t/-d: set (§§ 5, 14), aput (§ 8)
manead (§ 18);

(vii) -gu- to indicate 'hardness' of g: urguebatur (§ 13);

(viii) possible confusion of b/y occurs only in proper nouns and is probably inherited: Labina (§ 5), Casabellaunus (§ 6),
Frelab (§ 14);

(ix) etymologising forms of words: ianuatorem (§ 16, but cf. Harl.
ad loc.), interfaciebatur (§ 18).

Finally, there is a feature noted also in Harley 3859 (q.v.), a variation between a and e: insule for insula, § 3; Tirenus for tiranus, § 6; perpessa for perpesse, § 11; aera for aere, § 18; I am uncertain whether or not this can be explained by copying from an exemplar in Insular script.

To what extent these orthographic features derive from the exemplar or are rather expressions of the regular practice of the scribe(s) of these leaves, it is difficult to estimate. Insofar as whoever wrote these folios appears to have been almost totally ignorant of the Latin language, it must follow that these scribal features derive largely or wholly from the practice of the exemplar. If, on the other hand, we decide that the exemplar was itself of a very poor quality, the scribe(s) of the Chartres 98 flyleaves could have been responsible for this irregular orthography.

How far, then, do palaeographical features help to give us a picture of the practices of the scriptorium (if we may call it such) in which the Chartres 98 flyleaves were produced? And how far do they document the practices of the exemplar? Many Insular features have been recognised in these leaves: Bischoff (above) notes the compendia o (con-), ÷ (est), and h (autem), all of which occur with some

frequency (particularly the **first**) and are the common coin of Insular scribes. The Insular $\cdot\dot{\cdot}$ (id est) is found once (3^r); on other occasions we find id ÷ (2^v) and the extraordinary (and to my knowledge unique) compendium \mathcal{K} (2^v, 3^r), which looks like a 'capital' version of the autem-symbol. Other Insular symbols are \overline{an} (= ante, 167^r), \overline{ap} (= apud, 3^v, 5^v), p^o (post), q and q_1 (quam), q_2 (5^v) alongside the continental qd' (168^r) for quod, and \overline{sn} (= sine, 5^v). The Insular symbols \mathfrak{C} , $\mathfrak{C}\mathfrak{C}$, and $\mathfrak{C}\mathfrak{C}$ for contra develop differing forms in Breton manuscripts: W. M. Lindsay noted $\mathfrak{C}\mathfrak{C}$ in Orleans 193(221) and $\mathfrak{C}\mathfrak{C}$ in Vat. Reg. lat. 296;¹ it is this last form that is used twice in our manuscript (once in error for id est!). For quam we find (as noted above) both q (167^v) and q_1 (168^r), showing confusion with the Insular quia-symbol (for which word our manuscript has only the Continental $q<$); the two become confused at a fairly early date.² Where con- is abbreviated, the Insular symbol is invariable; autem, however, is found both in the Insular form (with variations) and as $\overline{au\tau}$ (3^v) and $\overline{au\tau}$ (167^v). For est we find both ÷ and $\cdot\overline{e}$; for sunt, both $\overline{s\tau}$ (3^v) — the usual form in Insular manuscripts — and \overline{s} , \overline{s} , and \overline{s} . (the Continental abbreviation, of which the form between dots is used in Breton manuscripts for sed also). Another Insular feature is the hooked form of the suspension-mark \hookleftarrow for m (as noted by Samaran).

We find therefore a thoroughgoing mixture of Insular and Continental features, together with at least one compendium ($\mathfrak{C}\mathfrak{C}$) which seems to have been recorded only for Breton scriptoria. Two possible explanations might be thought possible for this phenomenon.

1. Zentralblatt für Bibliothekswesen, 29 (1912), p. 266.

2. W. M. Lindsay, Early Irish Minuscule Script (Oxford, 1910), p. 66; Zentralblatt für Bibliothekswesen, 29 (1912), pp. 268-269.

Either the scribe drew on an exemplar in Insular script, and attempted to bring the text into line with his own scribal practices; or else the extant copy accurately reflects the scribal habits of the place and time of its writing. It seems to me that the latter is the only satisfactory explanation, though we need not yet rule out the possibility of an exemplar in Insular script. For ante, apud, con-, post, quam, and sine only the Insular compendia are employed; for autem, est, quod, and sunt, both Insular and Continental are found; for quia, per, sicut, and -tur only Continental abbreviations are used; and for many other words which have Insular compendia (eius, enim, ergo, igitur, inter, -runt, sed, &c. &c.) no symbols are found at all; only the ampersand (never 7) is used for et. This thorough mixture itself seems an indicator of a situation in which the Insular and Continental elements have been combined. The compendia provide more certain evidence than does that of orthography in which irregularities tend to be more easily preserved (compare the case of the Vat. MS. R in the next section): the symbols in common use in this manuscript have a number of different forms, which suggests familiarity: for sunt we have \int \int and \int , as well as \int ; for pro there are ρ , ρ , and ρ ; for autem occur au and au , as well as h , h , and h . These variations do not suggest the copying of an exemplar; they argue rather for the ability of an individual scribe to make a free (indeed perhaps too free) use of compendia of differing origins, and to manipulate them at will. Furthermore, the confusion which allows $\text{C}-\text{C}$ (contra) to be written for id est hardly suggests slavish or incompetent copying of an original. All this, taken together with the extraordinary calligraphy and the highly corrupt nature of the text, argues for a lack of basic scriptorial discipline.

If most of these palaeographical features belong to the scribe(s), what can we say about the exemplar? It is a fair guess that it ended, incomplete, where the present copy breaks off in mid-page and mid-sentence, perhaps through the loss of leaves (but the possibility must be borne in mind that this scribe of our manuscript simply tired of copying the text and abandoned it). Whether the current extraordinary distribution of the text about the surviving leaves, with a gap containing other matter between 3^v and 5^v, is significant, it is hard to say in the absence of a collation of the leaves; it is perhaps not beyond a palaeographer's ingenuity to suggest how the leaves could be reorganised to bring together all the matter from the Historia Brittonum, but there is no authority for the radical theoretical reorganisation that this would require. If the order is original it would suggest either extreme chaos in the exemplar or two separate stages in the writing of the Chartres leaves.

It is possible that the exemplar was partly illegible, but minor omissions and errors in the text are more simply accounted for by scribal incompetence and lack of 'official' correction. More serious textual questions are raised by the consideration of major 'omissions' (by comparison with the Harleian recension). These will rather be considered below.

Was the exemplar, therefore, written in Insular script? The partially Insular spelling may suggest this, but it is difficult to be certain that this could not have been native to an eleventh-century Breton scribe. Certainly an earlier copy of this text employed open a and ρ for per; however, the exemplar certainly employed an st ligature (t) and, most significantly, s̄ for sunt (hence the errors annis for anni sunt, etc.). It would seem most likely, therefore, that the immediate exemplar was an earlier Breton

manuscript — which of course contained many Insular features — , and that its exemplar (or a still earlier copy) was in Insular script.

THE CHARTRES RECENSION AND THE TEXTUAL HISTORY OF THE
HISTORIA BRITTONUM

The Chartres text was classified by Mommsen with the manuscripts of the Vatican recension.¹ It remains to test this assertion in the light of knowledge obtained about the textual history of the Historia Brittonum during the course of the present investigation. Many extravagant claims have been made for the Chartres recension by commentators of a disposition less sober than Mommsen's; in so far as these relate to the 'origin' of the Historia and to concepts like 'the Historia Brittonum before Nennius' which are no longer of serious relevance to the study of this work, they are merely swept aside from this discussion. The text of the Chartres manuscript must be allowed to speak for itself and to take its proper place in the textual history as a result purely of textual evidence.

By comparison with the other major recensions — Harl., Vat., and Gild. — it becomes clear at once that Chartres (as far as it goes) is a drastically abbreviated and somewhat reorganised version of the Historia. In this respect it conforms well with its apparent title of excerpta. The question of the significance of the formula ex<c>er<p>ta f<i>l>i Urbagen must also be raised: much ink has been spilt — and to little profit — in attempting to explain this

1. 1894 edition, pp. 119-120.

attribution. But before accepting any claims of a 'son of Urien' to authorship, we should do well to remember how the Vatican recension comes to be attributed in its principal manuscript to Marcus of Soissons (section IV below), the Nennian recension to 'Ninnius' (section V below), and the Gildasian to Gildas. It seems to me that the proper inference to be drawn from the Chartres rubric is that whoever prepared this abbreviation had before him a text which contained Harl. § 61 or its equivalent and — for whatever reason — decided that the attribution to a 'son of Urien' (presumably Rhun) was appropriate. We can attempt to go only one step further than this: the form Urbagen, unattested elsewhere (although Urbeghen is found in Nenn.) could only be due to a Welshman; a form displaying a composition vowel (possible until the accent-shift in OW in the eleventh century, but nonetheless unusual), it differs from the expected Urbgen of the manuscripts of Harl.. Either it occurred already in the text which formed the basis of the Chartres excerpta or it was the form employed by the redactor who produced the original text of the Chartres recension. No certain preference may be accorded to either possibility.

In so far as our text breaks off in § 19 (cf. Harl. § 34; Vat. § 24; Sawl. § 37), it is not possible to say if the 'northern history' section was retained; certainly it must have been in the exemplar from which this recension was made. From § 12 to the end of the text (§ 19), Chartres remains fairly faithful to the contents of the other major recensions. It is in the preceding chapters, however, that major omissions have been effected.

Before proceeding to these, a standard of comparison must be established. Detailed collation of Chartres with the other recensions indicates that it is, by and large, a version of Harl..

Although this broad statement needs to be qualified in many points of detail, it remains the nearest point of comparison; this is particularly helpful in as much as Harl. represents the original text of the Historia.

How, then, has Harl. been modified to form the (admittedly incomplete) version found in Chartres 98? Harl. §§ 18-27 have been omitted from their original position (between Chartres §§ 11 and 12), to be summarised, altered, and then augmented in Chartres § 6. Harl. § 16 (the chapter Britones a Bruto, provided here with a tail — the biblical genealogy of Japheth — from Harl. § 15) is placed as § 7 (before the synchronistic Harl. § 5/ Chartres § 8), rather than in its 'Harleian' position after the genealogy of Alanus (Harl. § 15/ Chartres § 9, ad fin.), and immediately preceding the account of Julius Caesar. §§ 1-4 represent, in a much reduced form, the same sections of Harl.: the ages of the world and the introductory description of Britain.

Mommsen's association of Chartres with Vat. is recalled to mind by § 5 (Vat. § 4), De Romanis uero et Grecis trahunt ethimologiam, otherwise found only in those three manuscripts of Gild. which have incorporated excerpts from Vat. The use of this by Chartres is an interesting and substantial point of connexion between Chartres and Vat. but, without other evidence, their employment of this section could be described as independent use of a pre-existing and relevant source. In so far as it can be established, on the internal evidence of the Vatican text, that the formation of that recension from the original text (Harl.) was completed in a minimum of two stages (see section IV below), any trace of a relationship of Chartres (essentially a derivative of Harl.) with Vat. must be of considerable interest. Collation of Chartres against Harl. and Vat. provides some

evidence which tends to suggest a textual relationship:

- (i) § 9: orbem terre, Chartres, Vat.; orbem Harl.;
- (ii) § 9: fili<i> Ethath fili<i> Ethieth, Chartres, is closer to Vat. § 7 than to Harl. § 15;
- (iii) § 11: consul Chartres, Vat.; proconsul Harl.;
- (iv) § 12: eorum Chartres, Vat.; illorum Harl. (but this is not a significant reading, and Chartres § 12 otherwise agrees wholly with Harl.);
- (v) § 16: illo Chartres, Vat.; illius Harl.;
- (vi) " multis uirtutibus Chartres, Vat., in multis uirtutibus Harl.;
- (vii) " portam Chartres, Vat.; hostium Harl.;
- (viii) " responsum Chartres, Vat.; sermonem Harl.;
- (ix) § 18: ciuitatis uel artis Chartres; ciuitatis Vat. MSS AP; arcis Harl.; urbis Vat. MSS JR;
- (x) " ocurreb<at> Chartres, Vat.; currebat Harl.;
- (xi) " uertice capitis Chartres, Vat.; uertice Harl.;
- (xii) " usque ad Chartres, Vat.; ad Harl.;
- (xiii) " Sanctam Trinitatem Chartres, Vat.; Sancta Trinitate Harl.;
- (xiv) " ille Chartres, Vat.; illis Harl. MS. H; illi Harl. MSS. CRV;
- (xv) " ne ullus Chartres; cf. ut nullus Vat.; ne unus Harl.;
- (xvi) " eduxit Chartres, Vat.; deduxit Harl.;
- (xvii) " in aeternum Chartres; cf. usque in sempiternum Vat.; om. Harl.;
- (xviii) " uerbum Chartres, Vat.; uerba Harl.;
- (xix) " Pausorum Chartres, and Vat. MS. J; used as gloss in Vat. MS. R to Pouoisorum; Pouisorum Harl.

Only a few of these are by themselves significant readings; however, taken as a group and together with the evidence of § 5 (Vat. § 4), they seem to me to constitute a case for a relationship of some degree between the Chartres and Vatican recensions.

By comparison with Harl., these readings in Chartres represent alterations to the original work. In so far as this is so, they may be compared with the minor additions which can be shown to represent the first stage (or part thereof) of the processes of alteration which resulted eventually in the production of Vat. The final, and drastic, rewriting which produced the extant Vatican recension was essentially an attempt (as was the milder Gildasian recension) to improve the latinity; some efforts in this direction may also be seen in the Chartres recension where attempts have been made to remove obviously 'Celtic' features of the latinity: for example, inis Gueith (Harl. § 3) has become insula Gueith (§ 3), an alteration likely to have been made only in a Celtic-speaking country, where inis would be readily understood; the reading (of Harl. § 32) usque ad caput anni has become ad finem anni in Chartres § 16. Examples could be multiplied.

I have already noted that there are two pieces of evidence indicating that the editorial work on the Historia which produced the original text of the Chartres recension could have been effected in Wales, namely the form Urbagen and the redactor's comprehension of the word inis. In § 6, which is peculiar to the Chartres text, occurs the following extraordinary sentence:

Et fregit bellum ante Cassabellaunum duobus uicibus
super Gaium Cesarem; et in tercio bello occisus est
a Cesare misso ab imperatore.

'And twice battle broke before "Cassabellaunus" upon Gaius Caesar; and in the third battle he was killed by Caesar who had been sent by the emperor.' If the account in Caesar's De bello gallico, V. 2, be

followed, we are to take this as meaning that Caesar defeated Cassivellaunus in two battles, and killed him in a third (though Caesar says nothing of his death). This is hardly a mode of expression native to Latin; an exact parallel is, however, found in Old Irish in the idiom maidid for re n- ('it breaks/bursts upon before'), where for + acc. (= 'upon') expresses the defeated party, re n- + dat. (= 'before') the victor.¹ It is therefore plain that the sense of our passage must be, quite contrary to what we would deduce from Caesar's account, that Cassivellaunus twice defeated Caesar before being himself (defeated and) killed in the third battle. There appears to be no known Brittonic cognate for this expression, though one could perhaps have existed in Old Welsh and have since disappeared without trace.

In default of further evidence, it would appear that this must be a Latin rendering of an Irish idiom, a rendering which we hardly dare attribute to anyone other than an Irishman. In this connexion one is bound to look again at a section of the text which has already received a good deal of attention from scholars. Immediately following the summary history of the Romans in Britain (which begins with the note on Cassivellaunus) is the item (also part of § 6 of my text of this recension) referring to Abbot Slebine of Iona and his discovery at Ripon of the date of the aduentus Saxonum in Britanniam.

The English connexions of this note, taken together with this recension's apparent similarities to Vat., have suggested that the Chartres recension either originated in England or, more likely, enjoyed

1. Maidid is generally used in an impersonal construction which is what we find here; a personal construction occurs with brissid (also meaning 'breaks').

an English period of transmission. This possibility no longer seems justified by the evidence. We should rather look to the idea of a lightly revised (in terms of latinity) and augmented, and heavily abridged, version of Harl. being produced in Wales, probably in two separate stages, and attributed to 'filius Urbagen'. It would then have been transmitted to Ireland where § 6 would have been composed to replace and modify Harl. §§ 17-27 with the aid of a copy of Orosius (see below). By an old and well-used transmission-route, the work would then have travelled to Brittany where it would eventually have been copied into the exemplar of Chartres 98.

The date of these revisions is almost impossible to ascertain, save within the broadest limits. The revision which Vat. and Chartres share in common can in principle be dated to any point in the period 830 x 943/4. However, as Joseph Loth rightly observed,¹ the Welsh linguistic forms of Chartres are essentially identical with those of Harl., save for Urbagen in the rubric (of which we can say only that it is hardly likely to be later than ca 1000);² it is therefore probable and reasonable that this first revision should be dated to the mid-ninth century or a little later. (The postulated second Welsh revision will then have produced the description 'excerpta' and received the attribution to a 'filius Urbagen'.) Similarly, the Breton exemplar of Chartres 98 is unlikely to have been written later than ca 1000 (and perhaps rather earlier); any intermediate activity, including the

1. Revue celtique, 48 (1931), p. 307, n. 1.

2. Composition-vowels may be reckoned finally to have been lost with the accent-shift in the eleventh century: see Kenneth H. Jackson, Language and History in Early Britain (Edinburgh, 1953), pp. 646-650. I discount the recent hypothesis which would place the accent-shift at a very much earlier date.

period of Irish transmission, will therefore belong to the tenth century. I summarise the details of this reconstruction of the textual history of this recension in fig. III below.

Some remarks may be made about the quality of the Harleian text which was employed by the first redactor. It seems to have been somewhat superior in places to that presented by the extant manuscripts. In § 14 Folcpald (where -p- represents the Old English runic wynn, seen also in Harl.) preserves the first element better than the slightly corrupted Fole- of Vat. and the wholly debased Fode- of Harl. And in § 15, Equicio represents the source (cf. CCCC 183 in Appendix IV below) better than the Equantio of Harl. and Vat., but could be a case of independent correction by reference to a Victorian cursus.¹ Finally, the cethilou of § 11 agrees with Vat. and Gild. against the cetilou and the corrupt cechilou in the principal manuscripts of Harl.; though not necessarily a 'better' OW spelling than cetilou, cethilou must (on the combined evidence of Chartres, Vat., and Gild.) have been the reading of the original text.

Of the additions, § 5 is shared with the Vatican recension (q.v.), while the account of the Romans in Britain has been considerably changed (§ 6). Apart from corruptions, we find the following changes: (i) the material about Cassivellaunus has been added; (ii) a brief summation of the Roman emperors who came to Britain has been created, comparable to Vat. § 2, to which the notices of the various emperors have been added; (iii) Claudius visited Euuonia (note the form: elsewhere, other recensions have Eubonia), 'Man', as well as Orkney; (iv) the fifth emperor, 'Constantinus', is recognised as

1. We know that these were available in Wales: see D. N. Dumville, Bulletin of the Board of Celtic Studies, 25 (1972-74), pp. 439-445.

father (not son, as Harl. § 22) of Constantine the Great, the name is etymologised as uir tranquillissimus (as in Orosius, Hist., VII. 40, and Bede, H.E., I. 8), and we are told a little of the son's history and of the identity of his mother, concubina Helena; (v) Maximus is described, following Orosius, as having been unwilling (inuitus) to be made emperor; (vii) the account of the seventh emperor is quite extraordinary. I should translate as follows: 'The seventh [was] Gratian, son of Valentinian, who left Britain for Rome and was killed there by Maximus; Eugenius avenged him on Maximus, and afterwards Gratian's brother killed Eugenius on Valentinian's behalf'. How this remarkable story was constructed is a mystery.

The final part of § 6 has been much discussed in the past. I do not propose to add to the discussion, save to make a few basic textual points. Once it became clear that 'Libine abas Iæ' meant Slebine, abbot of Iona from 752 to 767, the general import of the three calculations became clear; in particular, it is now evident that a date is wanting after 'anno incarnationis Christi', and it was this that Slebine found, or discovered by calculation, at Ripon; it seems likely that three hundred years, 'ut a<i>unt alii', from the date of the aduentus (in which year the kalends of January fell on the twelfth of the moon) marked the year in which Slebine was at Ripon; A.D. 453 and 753 have been suggested as the appropriate dates.¹ While the general sense and some of the detailed problems of these lines have now been understood, the full details continue to remain obscure.

In conclusion, it must be said that the above investigation substantiates in large measure the views on this recension put forward by Ferdinand Lot.² It is indeed an abridged and refashioned

1. P. Grosjean, Analecta Bollandiana, 78 (1960), pp. 381-389.

2. Nennius et l'Historia Brittonum, i. 20-34.

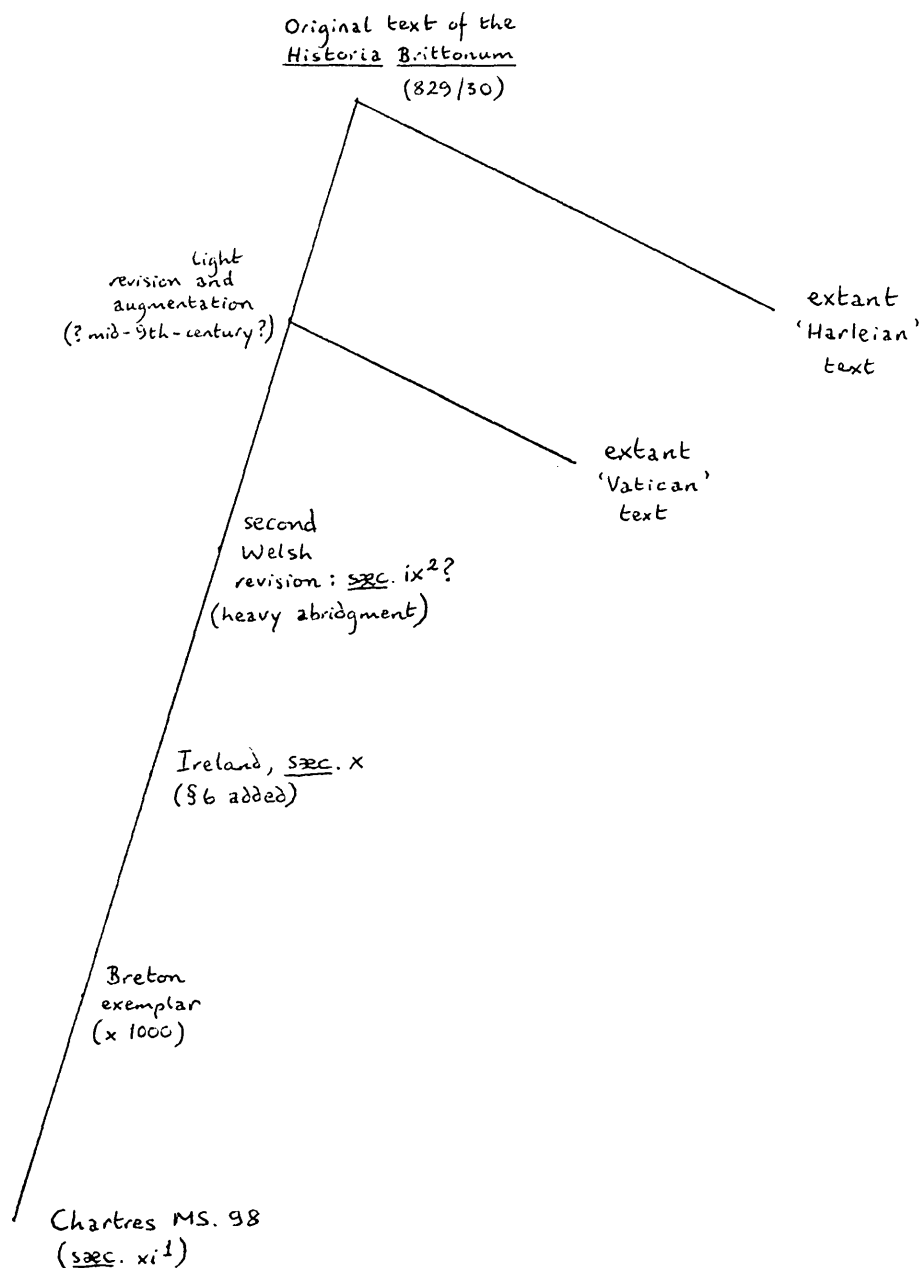


Fig. III. The origin of the Chartres text of the Historia Brittonum

derivative of the Harleian text; its relationship with Vat. is certain but tenuous; but, against Lot, it seems unlikely to have been written in, or transmitted via, England.

THE EDITION

I have attempted to present here a text which is at once readable and faithful to the manuscript. It is hoped that it offers a more accurate text than all previous printings, very largely by profiting from their errors. All tendencies to classicise or 'normalise' the orthography have in this edition been wholly resisted; manuscript-spelling is retained throughout. To this same end, roman numerals have been retained, rather than expanded as in the other recensions. All erroneous forms have been emended in an attempt to produce a more or less readable text and, where necessary, an explanatory additional note has been incorporated in the apparatus. Anything appearing between angle-brackets has no manuscript-authority. The motivating principle has been to follow this manuscript very closely, while at the same time recognising that its many and serious corruptions make emendation a necessary weapon. Punctuation is my own; so, too, is the chapter-division which attempts broadly to follow the divisions of the Harleian and Vatican texts. A translation has not been felt necessary or appropriate.

CONCORDANCE

Chartres	Harl.	Vat.	Sawl.	Editions
1	1	1	1	1-2
2	2	1	1	5
3	3	3	2	7-9
4	4	3	3	9
5	-	4	-	-
6	-	-	-	-
7	16/15	7	s.n./13	18/17
8	5	5	4	11
9	13-15	7	12,13	17
10	17	8	14	19
11	17	9	14-15	19-20
12	28-29	18	27	30
13	29	19	28	31
14	30	20	28	31
15	31	20	29	31
16	32	21	30	32
17	33	22	31	32
18	33	23	32-35	32-35
19	34	24	36-37	36-37

T E X T

Incipiunt ex<c>er<p>ta¹ f<i>l>i² Urbagen de libro sancti
Germani inuenta et <de> origine et genelogia Britonum.

§ 1. DE ÆTATIBUS MUNDI. A principio mundi usque ad diluuium anni
.ii^m.cc.xl.ii.; a diluuiio usque ad Abraham ³anni s<unt>³ .d.cccc.xl.ii.;
ab Abraham usque ad Moysen ⁴anni s<unt>⁴ .d.<c>.xl.ii.⁵; a Moys<e>⁶
usque ad Daud .d.; a Daud usque ad Nabochodonosor .d.<c>.xl.uiii.⁷

§ 2. Prima etas mundi ab Adam us<que>¹ ad Noe; .ii^a. a Noe ad
Abraham; .iii^a. usque ad Daud; .iiii^a. a Daud us<que>² ad Danielelem;
.v^a. a Daniel<e>³ ad Iohanne<m>⁴; .vi^a. a Iohanne usque ad iudicium in
qu<o>⁵ Dominus noster Iesus Christus ueniet iudicare uiuos ac mortuos
et seculum per ignem.

§ 3. DE QUADAM PERITIA A BRITANIA INSUL<A>.¹ Britannia insula a
quodam Bruto consule romano dicta; haec consurgit ab ³<a>fr<i>co
oreali³. Ad occidentem uersus, .d.cccc^{torum}. in longo milium,
.cc^{torum}. in latitudine spacium habet. In ea sunt .xxiiii. ciuitates
et innumerabilia promuntoria cum innumeris castellis ex lapidibus et
latere fabricat<is>⁴. In ea habitant .iiii^{or}. gentes - Scothi, Picti,
Saxones, Britones. .III. insolas habet (quarum una uergit contra
armoricas gentes et uocatur insula Gueith⁵; .ii^a. consita in umbilico
maris inter Hiberniam et Britanniam et uocatur nomen eius Euonia ⁶<id
est>⁶ Manau; .iii^a. sita est in extremo limite orbis Britanię ultra
Pictus⁷ et uocatur Orca), sicut in prouerbiis antiquorum dicitur:
regnauit Britannia<m>⁸ cum tribus insulis. Sunt in ea multa flumina

que conflunt per omnes partes - ⁹ id est ⁹ ad orientem, ad occidentem,
ad aquilonem, ad meridiem. Set tamen .ii.^o. sunt flumin^a¹⁰
preclariora ceteris¹¹ fluminibus aliis, Tamensis et Sabrine, quasi
duo brachia Britannię, per qu^e¹² olim rates uehebantur ad portandas
diuicias causa negociorum.

§ 4. ¹Britones oli^m¹ impleuerunt Britanniam a mari² usque ad
mare.

§ 5. DE ¹GENEOLOGIA BRITONUM¹. De origine Britonum. De Romanis
et Grecis trahunt ethimologiam - id est de matre Labina filia
Latini regis Italie, de patre Siluianię filii Enachi filii Dardani.
²Dardanus fi^{lius}² Saturni, rex Gothorum³, perrexit ad partem Asię.
Et Trous fi^{lius}⁴ Dardani edificauit urbem Troie: Trous pater
Priami et Anchise; Anchises pater Aneneę; Aeneas pater Astani et
Silluii; Siluius filius⁵ Eneę et Labine filię Latini regis Italie.
Et de st^{ir}^{pe}⁶ Silluii, filii Eneę ex Labina, orti sunt Remus et
Romulus et Brutus, tres filii regine sanctimonialis proximi⁷ Reę
qui fecerunt Romam.

Brutus consul fuit in Roma epiromanus⁸ quando expugnauit
Hispaniam ac detraxit in seruit^u^{tem}⁹ Rome. Et postea tenuit
Britanniam insulam quam habitant Britones, Romanorum filiⁱ¹⁰
ol^{im}¹¹ Siluio Posthumo <orti>¹². Ideo dicitur Posthumus qui post
mortem Eneę patris eius natus est; et fuit mater eius Labina super
clandistina quando fuit pregnans. Et ideo Siluius dictus est quia in
silua natus est. Et ideo Siluei dicti sunt reges romani et Britones
quia de eo nati sunt. Set a Bruto Britones, et de st^{ir}^{pe}¹³ Bruti

surrexerunt.

§ 6. Casabellaunus¹ rex britannicus et ipse fuit in obuiam Gaii Iulii Caesaris regis Rome qui missus ab imperatore latino ad expugnandam Britanniae insulam. Et fregit bellum ante Cassabellaunum² duobus uicibus super Gaium Cesarem; et in tercio bello occisus est a Cesare misso ab imperatore.

Hæc sunt nomina imperatorum qui in Britania uenerunt.

Iulius imperator primus in Britanniam uenit per Renum et Germaniam usque Tammensis bellum; <secundus>³ postea Claudias imperator qui usque ad Orcam et Euuoniam et inde Romam exiit; .iii^{us}. imperator Reuersus cum quo ualidus murus factus est; .iiii^{us}. Curatius Tirenus; .v^{us}. Constantinus, Constantini magni pater, id est uir tranquillissimus. Ille Constantinus in Britannia morte obiit; qui Constantinum filium ex concubina Helena, creatum imperatorem G<a>lliarum⁴, reliquit qui in Britannia obiit. .VI^{us}. Maximus imperator in Britania ordinatur inuitus cum quo Martinus sepe locutus est; .vii^{us}. Gracianus, Ualentiniani filius, qui in Romam a Bretannia exiit et ibi a Maximo ocisus est - cuius sanguinem uindicauit Eugenius⁵ de Maximo, et postea Eugenium occidit pro Ualentiniano Graciano frater.⁶

Et in tempore Guorthigirni regis Britanie Saxones peruenerunt in Britanniam, ⁷id est⁷ in anno incarnationis Christi <.....>⁸, sicut Libine abas Iæ in Ripum⁹ ciuitate inuenit uel reperit. Ab incarnatione Domini anni .D. usque a K̄. Iañ. in .xii. luna; ut a<i>unt¹⁰ alii, ¹¹in <.ccc^{tis}.> annis¹¹ a quo tenuerunt Saxones Britanniam usque ad annum supradictum.

§ 7. Britones a Bruto; Brutus filius fuit Hisscionis; Hiscion filius Alaniae; Alanus filius Reae Silue; Rea Siluea filia Numere Pampilii; Numera fili<us>¹ Ascani; Ascanus fili<us>² Eneae, filii Anchise, filii Troi, filii Dardani, filii Sre, filii Riua, filii Iafeth.

Iafeth uero .uii. filios genuit: primus Gomer a quo Galli; .ii^{us}. Magog a quo Scithi et Gothi; .iii^{us}. Madai a quo Medi; .iiii^{us}. Iuuan a quo Greci; .u^{us}. Tubal a quo Hiberei et Hispani et Itali; .ui^{us}. Mosoch a quo Capadoces; .uii^{us}. Tiras a quo Traces.

Iafeth filius Noe, filii Lameth, filii Mathusalem, filii Enoc, filii Iareth, filii Malalehel, filii Cainan, filii Enos, filii Seth, filii Adam, filii Dei uiui altissimi.

§ 8. Quando regnabat Brito in Britannia, Heli sacerdos iudicabat in Hisrael; et tunc archa testamenti possidebatur ab <alienigenis>¹. Postumus, frater eius, regnabat apud La<ti>nos².

§ 9. .III^{es}. filii Noe diuiserunt orbem terre in .iii^{es}. partes post diluuium: Sem in Asia, Cham in Africa, Iafeth in Europa. Ad Europham, de genere Iafeth, Alanus cum tribus filiis suis quorum nomina sunt Hission, Armenon, Neugo. Hission habuit .iiii^{or}. filios - Francus, Romanus, Almannus, Brito. Armennon autem .u. filios habuit - Gothus, Ualagothus, Cebustus, Burgundus, Longobardus. Neugo hab<u>it¹ .iii. filios - Uandalis, Saxo, Bogarus. Ab Hisscione autem .iiii^{or}. gentes orte sunt - Franci, Latini, Almanni, Britones; ab Armene autem Gothi, Ualagothi, Cebidi, Burgundi, et Longobardi; a Nego autem Bogari, Uandali, Saxones, et Turingi. Iste autem gentes ²subdiuise s<unt>² per totam Europam.

Alanius autem filius fuit Ethebii, fili*<i>*³ Egomuin,
 fili*<i>*³ Semoin, fili*<i>*³ Mair, fili*<i>*³ Ethath, fili*<i>*³ Ethieeth,
 fili*<i>*³ Ooth, fili*<i>*³ Abir, fili*<i>*³ Ra, fili*<i>*³ Isra, fili*<i>*³
 Tau, fili*<i>*³ Bath, fili*<i>*³ Iobath, fili*<i>*⁴ Rabuan, filii Iafeth,
 fili*<i>*³ Noe, filii Lameth, filii Mathusalem, filii Enoc, filii
 Iareth, filii Malehel, filii Cainan, filii Enos, filii Seth, filii
 Adam, fili*<i>*⁴ Dei.

§ 10. Romani autem, cum accepissent dominium totius mundi, ad
 Britanos miserunt legatos ut obsides et censum acciperent sicut
 acciperent ab uniuersis regionibus et insulis. Britones autem, cum
 es<s>ent¹ tyrranni et tumidi, legacionem Romanorum contempserunt.

§ 11. Tunc Iulius Cesar, cum accepisset singulare imperium primus et
 obtinuisset, iratus est ualde; et uenit ad Britanniam cum .lx. ciulis.
 Et tenuit in o<st>iu¹m Tamensis in quo naufragium perpress<e>² sunt
 naues illius dum ipse pugnabat apud Dolobellum - qui erat proconsul
 regi britannico qui et ipse Bellinus uocabat<ur>³. Cuius filius
 erat Minoamus qui occupauit omnes insulas Terreni maris. Et Iulius
 reuersus est sine uictoria, cessis multibus fractisque manibus. Et
 iterum, post spacium .iii^{um}. annorum, uenit cum magno <exercitu>⁴
 .ccc^{tis}. ciulis; et peruenit usque ad o<st>iu⁵m Tamensis, et ibi
 inierunt bellum; et ibi ceciderunt milites <et> multi de equis suis,
 quia supradictus consul posuerat sudas ferreos et semen bellicosum -
 cethilou - in uada fl<u>minu⁶m. Discrimen magnum fuit militibus
 Romanorum haec ars inuisibilis. Et discesserunt sine <pace>⁷ in ista
 uice. Gestum est bellum tercio iuxta locum qui dicitur Rinouantum,

et accepit Iulius imperium Britanie .xl. et .uii. annis a<n>te⁸
natiuitatem Christi - ab inicio mundi .u^m.cc.xu.

§ 12. Tribus uicibus occisi sunt duces Romanorum a Britannis.

Factum est autem post supradictum bellum (quod fuit inter Britones et Romanus¹ qua<n>do² duces eorum occisi sunt) et post occisionem Maximi tyranni p<er>³.xl. annos fuerunt sub metu.

§ 13. Guorthigirmus regnauit in Britannia et, cum ipse regnabat, urguebatur a metu Pictorum Scothorumque et a romano impetu nec<on> et a timore Ambrosii.

§ 14. Uenerunt interea .iii. ciule a Gasanania in exilio expulse, in quibus erant Cors et Haecgens qui et ipsi fratres erant, filii Guictils, filii Guicta, filii Gueta, filii Uoden, filii Frelab, filii Freuduls, filii Fran, filii Folcpald, filii Geuta qui <fuit>¹, ut aiunt, filius dei - non Deus <exercituum>² set unus ex idolis que ipsi colebant.

§ 15. Guorthigernus suscepit eos benigne et tradidit eis insulam que uocatur in lingua eorum Canet, britannico sermone Ruimh. Regnante Gra<tia>no¹ secundo cum Equicio, Saxones a Guorthigerno suscepti sunt anno .ccc.xl.uii. post passionem Christi.

§ 16. In tempore illo uenit sanctus Germanus ad predicandum in Britannia. Et claruit apud illos multis uirtutibus. Et multi per

eum salui facti sunt et plurimi perierunt per <eum>. Aliquanta miracula que per illum fecit Dominus scribenda decreui. Primum miraculum de miraculis eius. Erat quid<am>¹ rex iniquus a<t>que² tirrannos³ ualde cui nomen erat Henli. Ille uir sanctus uoluit uisitare et properare ad iniquum regem ut predicaret illi. Et ipse homo Dei ueni<t>⁴ ad portam urbis cum <commitatibus>⁵ suis. Uenit portarius et salutauit eos; et miserunt ad regem; et rex durum re<s>ponsum⁶ dedit eis, et cum iuramento dixit, "Si fueri<n>t⁷ uel si manserint ad finem anni, non uenient umquam in urbem istam". Et dum ipsi expectarent ianuatorem⁸ ut nunciaret illis responsum tiranni, dies decnabat⁹ ad noctem et nox adpropinquabat; et nescirent qu<o>¹⁰ declinarent.

§ 17. Interea uenit unus de familia regis de medio urbis. Et inclinauit se ante uirum Dei, et nunciauit illis omnia uerba regis tirranni. Et inuitauit illos ad cassam suam; et exierunt cum eo; et benigne suscepit eos. Et ille non habebat de omnibus generibus iumentorum ex<cep>ta¹ una uaca cum uitulo; et occidit uitulum et coxit et deposuit ante illos.

§ 18. Et precepit sanctus Germanus ut non confringeretur de ossibus eius. Et sic factum est. Et in crastino uitulus inuentus est ante matrem suam, sanus et uiuus incolomisque. Iterum mane surrexerunt ut inpetrarent salutacionem tiranni. At ipsi cum orarent <et> expectarent iuxta portam¹ <ciuitatis uel artis>¹, et unus uir occurreb<at>² - et sudor illius a uertice capitis usque ad plantas pedum distillabat - et inclinauit se ante illos. Et dixit sanctus Germanus, "Credis in Sanctam Trinitatem?" Et respondit ille,

"Credo". Et baptizauit eum, et osculatus est; et dixit illi, "Uade in pace! In ista hora morieris, et angeli Dei ³expectant <t>e³ in aer<e>⁴ ut cum illis ad Deum exeas cui credi<di>sti⁵."

Et ipse letus intrauit in arcem. Et p<re>fectus⁶ tenuit eum fami regis et alligauit, et ante tiranum ductus et interfectus est quia nocuerat nequissimo tirranno: nam, <si> quis ante solis ortum non peruenisset ad seruitutem in arcem, interfaciebatur⁷. Et manserunt tota die iuxta portam ciuitatis et non inpetrauerunt salutacionem tiranni. Solito ex more supradictus uir adfuit; et dixit illi sanctus Germanus, "Caue ne ullus homo maneas⁸ de hominibus tuis⁹ in ista⁹ nocte in arce!" Et ipse reuersus est in arcem, et eduxit filios suos quorum numerus erat .uiiii. Et ips<i>¹⁰ ad supradictum hospiciu cum ipso¹¹ reuersi s<unt>¹¹. Et precepit sanctus Germanus manere eos¹² ieiun<os>. Et ianuis¹² claussis dixit, "Uigilantes estote! Et <si> quid euenerit in arcem nolite aspicere, et orate indesinenter, et ad Deum uestrum clam<ate>¹³!" Et post modicum interuallum noctis ignis de celo cecidit et conbussit artem et omnes ho<mi>nes¹⁴ qui cum eo tiranno erant. Et <n>umquam¹⁵ conparuerunt usque in hodiernum diem; et arce<m>¹⁶ non edificauerunt usque hodie. In crastino ille uir, qui hospitalis fuit illis, credidit et baptizatus est cum omnibus filiis suis et omnis regio cum illis. Cui nomen erat Catellus. Et benedixit ei, et addidit et dixit, "Non deficiet rex de semine tuo in aeternum, et rex eris ab hodierno die". Et sic euenit ut impleretur quod dictum est per prophetam: 'Suscitans de puluere inopem', et reliqua, 'ut sedeat cum principibus', et reliqua. Iuxta uerbum sancti Germani rex de seruo factus est. Omnes filii eius reg<es>¹⁷ facti sunt, et omnis regio Pausorum regitur a semine illorum usque in hodiernum diem.

§ 19. Factum est autem, postquam metati sunt Saxones in supradicta insula Canet, promissit rex supradictus dari illis uictum et uestimentum absque defectione ut placuit illis. Et ips<i>¹ promiserunt expugnare contra inimicos eius fortiter. At illi barbar<i>² cum multiplicati essent in numero, non potuerunt Britanni cybos prestare illis et uestimenta quia multum postularent. Et Britones dixerunt, "Non possumus dare uobis sicut promisserat rex, q<u>ia³ numerus uester multiplicatus est. Recedite a nobis! Non de auxilio uestro indigemus." Et ipsi consilium fecerunt cum maioribus suis ut disrumperent pacem. Hæncgist autem, cum esset uir doctus atque astutus et callidus et cum intellexit regem inertem et gentem eius, inito consilio, ad regem: "Pauci sumus. Si uis, mitamus ad nostram terram ut electi milites atque fortissimi regionis nostræ ueniant ad nos ad certandum pro te et pro tua gente." Et rex imperauit ut facerent. Et miserunt legatos trans Thicam uallem; et reuersi sunt cum x. uiii. ciulis et electi milites uenerunt in illis, et in una ciula earum uenit puella pulch<ra>⁴ faci<e>⁵ atque decorosa ualde - filia erat Hengisti. Postquam autem uenissent ciule, fecit Hengistus conuiuium Guorthigerno et militibus suis et interpreti suo qui uocabatur Cheritic et puellam ministrare illis uinum et <siceram>⁶. Et inebriati sunt et saturati sunt nimis. Illis bibentibus, intrauit Satanas in corde Guorthigerni ut amaret puellam. Et postulauit eam a patre⁷ suo per interpretem suum et dixit, "A me quod postulas... "

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Iulius (Cesar) [Gaius Iulius Caesar, <u>q.v.</u>]	6, 11
Iuuan	7
Labina (nom.; abl.)	5
Labine (gen.)	5
Lameth (gen.)	7, 9
Latini (gen.)	5
Libine	6
Longobardus	9
Madai	7
Magog	7

Mair (gen.)	9
Malalehel (gen.)	7
Malehel (gen.)	9
Martinus	6
Mathusalem (gen.)	7, 9
Maximus	6
Maximi (gen.)	12
Maximo (abl.)	6
Minoamus	11
Mosoch	7
Moysen (acc.)	1
Moys<e> (abl.)	1
Nabochodonosor	1
Neugo	9
Nego (abl.)	9
Noe (acc.; gen.; abl.)	2, 7, 9
Numere Pampilii (gen.)	7
Numera (nom.)	7
Ooth (gen.)	9
Posthumus [Siluius Posthumus, <u>q. v.</u>]	5
Postumus (nom.)	8
Priami (gen.)	5
Ra (gen.)	9
Rabuan (gen.)	9
Rea Siluea	7
Reae Silue (gen.)	7
Raeae (gen.)	5
Remus	5
Reuersus	6

Riuam (gen.)	7
Romanus	9
Romulus	5
Satanas	19
Saturni (gen.)	5
Saxo	9
Sem	9
Semoïn (gen.)	9
Seth (gen.)	7, 9
Siluianiae (gen.)	5
Silvio Posthumo (dat./abl.)	5
Siluius (nom.)	5
Silluii (gen.)	5
Posthumus (nom.)	5
Postumus (nom.)	8
Sre (gen.)	7
Tau (gen.)	9
Tiras	7
Trous	5
Troi (gen.)	7
Tubal	7
Ualagothus	9
Valentiniani (gen.)	6
Valentiniano (abl.)	6
Uandalis	9
Urbagen (gen.)	1 (rubric)
Uuoden (gen.)	14

II. Index of Names of Peoples in the Chartres Recension

Almanni	9
Armoricas gentes (acc.)	3
Bogari	9
Britanni	19
Britanos (acc.)	10
Britannis (abl.)	12
Britones (nom.; acc.)	3, 4, 5, 6, 9, 10, 12, 19
Britonum (gen.)	1 (rubric), 5
Burgundi	9
Capadoces	7
Cebidi	9
Franci	9
Galli	7
Gothi	7, 9
Gothorum (gen.)	5
Greci	7
Grecis (abl.)	5
Hiberei	7
Hispani	7
Itali	7
Latini	9
La<ti>nos (MS. <u>Lannos</u>) (acc.)	8
Longobardi	9
Medi	7
Pausorum (gen.)	16
Picti	3
Pictus (acc.)	3
Pictorum (gen.)	13

Romani	10
Romanus (acc.)	12
Romanorum (gen.)	5, 10, 12
Romanis (abl.)	5
Saxones	3, 6, 9, 15, 19
Scithi	7
Scothi	3
Scothorum(que) (gen.)	13
Siluei (= <u>reges romani et Britones</u>)	5
Traces	7
Turingi	9
Ualagothi	9
Uandali	9

III. Index of Geographical Names in the Chartres Recension

Asiae (gen.)	5
Britannia	3, 13
Britanniam (acc.)	3, 4, 6, 10
Britan(n)iae (gen.)	3, 6
Britania (abl.)	3, 6, 16
Bretannia (abl.)	6
Canet (nom.; abl.) [= Ruimh, <u>q. v.</u>]	15, 19
Euonia (<id est> Manau)	3
Euoniam (acc.)	6
Europam (acc.)	9
Europham (acc.)	9
Europha (abl.)	9
G<a>lliarum (MS. <u>Gilliarum</u>) (gen. pl.)	6
Germaniam (acc.)	6
Gasania (abl.)	14
Gueith (insula)	3
Hiberniam (acc.)	3
Hispaniam (acc.)	5
Hisrael (abl.)	8
Iae (gen.)	6
Italie (gen.)	5
Manau [= Euonia, <u>q. v.</u>]	3
Orca	3
Orcam (acc.)	6
Renum (acc.)	6
Rinouantum	11
Ripum (abl.)	6

Roma (abl.)	5
Romam (acc.)	5, 6
Rome (gen.)	5, 6
Ruimh [= Canet, <u>q.v.</u>]	15
Sabrine	3
Tamensis (nom.; gen.)	3, 11
Tammensis (gen.)	6
Terreni maris (gen.)	11
Thicam uallem (acc.)	19
Troie (gen.)	5

THE
' V A T I C A N '
R E C E N S I O N
O F T H E
H I S T O R I A B R I T T O N U M :

Historia et Genealogia Brittonum

et de origine eorum necnon et expulsionem.

I N T R O D U C T I O N

GENERAL INTRODUCTORY REMARKS

As the text itself tells us, this recension of the Historia Brittonum belongs to the fifth year of King Edmund of England, namely 943/4. As will appear from the survey of the textual history of the recension, 944 is the more probable year. The main purpose of these brief introductory remarks is neither to study the manuscripts nor to discuss the transmission of the recension nor to investigate the prehistory of this text; all these will be dealt with in their proper places. I propose here to study the nature and purpose of the recension, its treatment of its source-text, and the manner in which the subject-matter is expressed.

The most striking feature of Vat. is its truncated condition. By comparison with Harl., it contains no more than §§ 1-11, 13-52, and 67. The Old English genealogies, the 'Northern History' section, the chronological data of §§ 65-66, and the mirabilia of §§ 68-85 are all missing. Indeed, the Patrician section (Harl. §§ 43-50) has been removed to the end, like an appendix or separate Vita; in consequence, it was lost from most manuscripts. As a result, the recension's final form is indeed that of a 'History of the Britons', from legendary origins to the coming of the English; plainly, a firm decision has been taken to produce a coherent text with no loosely attached assortment of miscellaneous items such as constitute Harl. §§ 53-85. It seems probable that the transference of the list of thirty-three ciuitates to its present place in § 3 was effected in Wales before the creation of the Vatican recension; at the least, the list had been expanded from twenty-eight by the addition of five Welsh names.

Beyond this, there has been no great reorganisation of the source-text. By comparison with Harl., there are only a few additions, and the sole 'omission' is Harl. § 12 which was an interpolation (made in or after 857) into the text of Harl.. Vat. § 4 entered the text at a much earlier stage, for it was also in an ancestor of Chartres. We may note as additions belonging to Vat. the three dating passages (in §§ 1, 20, and 27), and the brief section in § 26 (on Saint Germanus's 'Alleluia' victory) drawn from Bede's De temporum ratione. The list of Roman emperors who ruled in Britain (§ 2) is an innovation - though only in MS. P does it have an explanatory rubric - which serves as an index to §§ 9-17; the reason for its present position is obscure.

The fact that the recension is English workmanship is made abundantly plain in this work. Apart from the mentions of King Edmund in §§ 1 and 20, various other items attest the English origin. The word ciula, found first in Gildas, is a Latin borrowing from a Primitive Old English form of OE ceol (Mod. Eng. 'keel'), 'a ship'; it is used frequently in the 'Harleian' text of the Historia Brittonum. In Vat., however, it has become ceola; this adaptation to a more modern English form could have been the work only of an Englishman; clearly it had already become fossilised as ciula in Cambro-Latin. The Harleian version also contains one Old English phrase, Enimit saxas in § 40; this is replaced in Vat. § 26 by a more modern Nimað sexa. The Old English province-names in Vat. § 26 read: Eastseaxan, Suðseaxan, Middelseaxan; Harl. § 40 has Estsaxum and Sutsaxum. The English equivalent of Cair Gloiu in Vat. § 26 has become Gleucester, rather than the Glocester of Harl. § 42. All these suggest an updating of English forms which only an Englishman was likely to have carried out.

In § 24, at the mention of the English Continental homeland of Angeln, the text reads Ochgul uel Ongle (var. lect, Angle), giving the 'Old Welsh' form some sort of Old English gloss. In Harl. §§ 34 and 39, the author identifies himself firmly with the Welsh language (nostra lingua); in Vat. § 24, the former becomes 'uocatur anglice Centland, bryttannice autem Ceint', where OE Centland is substituted for Canturguoralen (representing OE Cantwaraland) and 'in nostra lingua' becomes 'bryttannice'; in the latter case, however, the nostra form is retained with the Welsh name (Vat. § 25). In Harl., things English are always 'eorum', 'illorum', etc.; in Vat., these pronouns have usually been retained, for they could be used even by an Englishmen telling the story in the third person, but the more egregious features have been toned down (for example, the barbaros of Harl. § 41 have become simply Saxones in Vat. § 26; but, to redress the balance, the pagani of Harl. § 52 are the barbari of Vat. § 27!).

Apart from the text of the Historia Brittonum, the author of Vat. appears to have used only two other sources in his redaction of this work. Even these, however, may have been employed by the last Welsh reviser of the Historia, rather than by the English redactor of 944. I have already noted the item in § 26 about Saint Germanus, introduced from Bede's 'Chronica maiora', De temporum ratione § 66. The other is the computation of the six ages of the world in § 1. Of the two major systems enunciated by the Fathers, Harl. follows that of Augustine, Isidore, and Bede (as do Chartres, Nenn., and Gild.); Vat., however, has replaced this by the earlier system employed in the Hieronymian version of the Chronicle of Eusebius. Such a scheme could be constructed by anyone who had access to the Eusebius-Jerome Chronicle. Ferdinand Lot conveniently set out the rival systems side by side in a table: Nennius et l'Historia Brittonum, i. 48. A



curious fact is that the list of the six ages is the same in both Harl. and Vat. and corresponds to the system of Augustine, Isidore, and Bede. However, the computations themselves are rather different; Harl. § 1 has a modified form of the latter system in which the third age (Abraham to David) is divided into two (at Moses). Vat. § 1 follows instead the system of Eusebius-Jerome. To Heinrich Zimmer (Nennius Vindicatus, pp. 225 ff.) belongs the credit of noticing that the version of the Irish tract Liber de sex aetatibus mundi (probably originally composed in the late tenth or early eleventh century) contained in the late-fourteenth-century Book of Ballymote has a Latin appendix offering exactly the scheme, including the inconsistent recapitulation, found in Vat. § 1. So close is it to Vat., containing even a sentence 'A passione Christi peracti sunt anni DCCCC' that one may well believe it to be a direct borrowing from Vat. (as did Faral, La légende, i.80). One may note, however, the possibility that both go back to a common source of a date little earlier than Vat.

The English author of the revision which produced the Vatican Recension did his work carefully. Most sentences have been entirely reconstructed. The redactor no doubt realised that only by thinking out the meaning of the preexisting text and then expressing that meaning in his own Latin, could he hope to rid the text of the very many linguistic peculiarities displayed by it (see the remarks above on the latinity of the 'Harleian' text). His work is, as a result, a fairly unremarkable piece of straightforward mediaeval Latin. Only one or two items require comment. In § 15, we see in largiatur the conversion of largior from a deponent to an active conjugation; a curious chance preserves in the same chapter a minor crux where three of the four witnesses read simply largitus where a finite verb is needed. MS. J alone reads largitus est, showing the

deponent inflexion; the reading can hardly be original when, a few lines later, all witnesses agree on a non-deponent conjugation of the verb. The gender of nouns causes a few problems: in § 24, MS. J reads in extremos fines, but the other three manuscripts have a non-classical feminine, in extremas fines; also in § 24, pagus appears in MSS JR to be feminine, but this may be due to a scribal fault; in 27, super aliam annem quae indicates the development of a non-classical feminine. In § 25, the Late Latin adverb sanum is worthy of note. Finally, one may remark the use of an adjective instead of a participle in ablative absolute construction in § 28: conscia autem morte.... These are relatively few and trifling examples by comparison with all the features in Harl. that required comment. In particular, we should note that there is no trace of the employment in this recension of the hermeneutic style of Latin writing which appears in England in the reign of Æthelstan and receives its first full literary expression in the mid-century work of Frithegod. (For a history of this style in the works of tenth-century English authors, see M. Lapidge in Anglo-Saxon England 4 [1975], pp. 67-111.)

Two interesting words, one of Greek origin and the other containing a Greek element, do, however, appear in § 4: ethimologia, 'origin', and epiromanus, 'roman'(?), cannot be due to the author of Vat., for he inherited this chapter from his source-text (it is found also in Chartres, q. v.). When the work of collecting all the Greek-based words in early mediaeval Latin has been accomplished, it may be possible to draw some more precise conclusions as to the time and place of the author of § 4. In the meantime, it is worth noting that the adjective epiromanus evidently appealed to the author of Vat., for he used it again in § 1.

The result of the redactor's work has been to create a

version of the Historia which, although containing much the same subject-matter as Harl. §§ 1-11, 13-52, 67, is a strikingly different work in terms of its stylistic appearance. As the absurd condition of Mommsen's apparatus shows, it is not possible to conflate (or even simply to collate) the Vatican recension with the original text of the work. I therefore give below the first critical edition of the Vatican Recension.

ADDENDUM TO PAGE 383, BELOW.

With reference to the discussion of the date and origin of this recension, attention should be drawn to the recent discussion by Eric John, Orbis Britanniae and other studies (Leicester, 1966), page 55, of the dating-formulae of King Edmund's charters. He notes the fashion of dating by the year of this king's imperium and mentions a contemporary document of the year 943.

THE MANUSCRIPTS

I. The complete witnesses to the text.

There are four complete witnesses to the text of this recension, two more than were known to previous editors of the Historia Brittonum. For my definition of the term 'complete witness', I refer to my survey of the manuscripts of the 'Harleian' recension (see p. 124 above).

R: PARIS, BIBLIOTHÈQUE NATIONALE, MS. LATIN 9768 + ROME, BIBLIOTHECA APOSTOLICA VATICANA, MS. REGINENSIS LAT. 1964, fos 47-93.

(Mommson, M; Hardy, 815; Petrie, BB [via Gunn]; Stevenson, no siglum [cites Gunn].) Fos 46 (Paris) + 157, numbered consecutively. Ruled throughout for two columns of 33 lines each. Date, sæcc. x and xi. Mediaeval provenance (sæc. xi) and presumed origin (fos 1-93): Saint-Médard de Soissons.

This codex consists of several distinct and unrelated manuscripts.

Fos 1-93 are our main concern here. Fos 94-97 constitute a fragment of an eleventh-century manuscript, and contain a number of short verse texts.¹ Fos 98-203 are paper, written in the fifteenth century and containing French vernacular texts.²

1. See E. Dümmler, Neues Archiv der Gesellschaft für ältere deutsche Geschichtskunde, 4 (1878/9), p. 530.

2. See Ernest Langlois, Notices des manuscrits français et provençaux de Rome antérieurs au XVI^e siècle (Paris, 1889), pp. 244-247 (vol. 33, part 2, of the series Notices et extraits des manuscrits de la Bibliothèque Nationale et autres bibliothèques).

The manuscript comprising the first 93 folios has been divided only in modern times. In 1797, the fortunes of war brought this and many other Vatican manuscripts to the Imperial Library in Paris; on their return, some years later, the first 46 folios of our manuscript (containing the unique copy of Nithard's History of the Sons of Louis the Pious, and a text of Flodoard's annals) were retained in Paris.¹

The history of the manuscript is long and fairly complicated. It was bought in France from Paul Petau² (the name Petavius is on fo 1^r, with the shelf-mark Q.50) by ex-Queen Christina of Sweden in 1650, whose bequest of her library to Pope Alexander VIII brought it to the Vatican. Gunn reports that a note on a paper leaf in the Paris section indicates that Alexandre Petau procured it from the abbey of Saint-Germain des Prés, Paris.³ That the matter may be more complicated than this is suggested by Lauer's conjecture that Petau acquired the volume from canon Jean de Saint-André.⁴ A note by Claude Fauchet in Rome, B. A. V., MS. Ottoboni 2537, fo 1^r, indicates that our manuscript was in Jean de Saint-André's possession: 'Autre Flodoard, prestre de Reims, a escrit des Annales depuis l'an 919 jusque l'an 966. L'original qui fut de Saint-Magloire est ès mains dudit de Saint-André et j'ai la copie de S[aint] V[ictor].'⁵ In the early seventeenth century, then, the manuscript was recognisable as having belonged to the abbey of Saint-Magloire, Paris. We know from

1. On this, see Ph. Lauer (ed. & tr.), Nithard: Histoire des fils de Louis le Pieux (Paris, 1926), pp. xv-xvi.
2. As part of the Petavian library collected by the brothers Paul and Alexandre Petau.
3. W. Gunn, The "Historia Brittonum" commonly attributed to Nennius (London, 1819), p. viii.
4. Ph. Lauer (ed.), Les Annales de Flodoard (Paris, 1905), p. xxxvii.
5. Lauer, ibid.

two other pieces of evidence that the manuscript once belonged to that house. On fo 93^v, the last page, now badly rubbed, are many scribbles and prayers, as well as at least two notes in a fifteenth-century hand: by the side of a sketch of a man's head is the note Frere Pierre Le Riche/ Saint Magloire/ [followed by another line, illegible on microfilm]; another note begins Saint maglore but trails off into illegibility. The Saint-Victor (Paris) copy of Flodoard (and of Nithard), mentioned in Claude Fauchet's note, is now Paris, Bibl. nat., MS. latin 14663, written at the beginning of the fifteenth century. On fo 289^r, at the head of the text of Flodoard, is the following scribal note: 'Non plus reperi de ista cronica quam habui de monasterio Sancti Maglorii Parisiensis, que ibidem reperitur scripta de littera uetustissima, cuius auctor, ut creditur, fuit Frodoardus....'¹

Going back beyond 1400, we lose sight of the manuscript until we reach the twelfth century. Attached to the texts of Nithard and Flodoard are glosses of eleventh- and twelfth-century dates, which refer to the church of Saint-Médard de Soissons (fos 11^v, 22^r, 28^r). There can be no doubt that the book was there in the eleventh century.

We come, therefore, to the date of the book itself. Fos 47-93, containing the Historia Brittonum, a Frankish genealogy,² and excerpts from the Liber Pontificalis, were written in the second half of the eleventh century.³ The last quire (fos 41-46) of Flodoard

1. Lauer, ibid., pp. xxxvi-xxxvii.

2. See [Edward] Sch[roeder], 'Kleine Mitteilungen', Anzeiger für deutsches Alterthum, 18 (1892), p. 298 f. Another copy may be found in Paris, Bibl. nat., MS. Latin 8501A, fo 1^v: see Edmond Faral, La légende arthurienne (Paris, 1929), i. 288, n. 2.

3. According to Professor B. Bischoff (personal communication of 19.5.1972). They were simply assigned to sæc. xi by earlier scholars: Mommsen, Chronica Minora, iii. 119; L. Duchesne, Le Liber Pontificalis, i (2nd edn, Paris, 1955), p. cc.

seems, according to Lauer, also to belong to the eleventh century,¹ while the remainder of the copy of that work has been generally assigned to the tenth² (though since the work is a chronicle from 919-966, with additional annals for 976-978, it can hardly be earlier than the last quarter). The copy of Nithard which opens the volume has been ascribed both to the tenth century³ and to ca 900.⁴ It is difficult to believe that there is such a great variation in date between the various parts of the manuscript: there is no coincidence of text and quiring between Nithard and Flodoard;⁵ one has the impression that the one work was, from the first, intended to follow the other. A date at the end of the tenth century would seem to be most appropriate for the first five quires and, in spite of Lauer, probably the sixth also. Fos 47-93 are assignable with confidence to the second half of the eleventh century. The volume therefore divides into two roughly equal parts. Of the first we can say only that it was at Soissons by the eleventh century, though it could well have been written there too. What can be said of fos 47-93? The fact that it belongs to the second half of the eleventh century, by which time fos 1-46 were certainly at Saint-Medard, may suggest that it was written there. But this is rendered absolutely certain by the rubric which introduces the body of the Historia Brittonum on fo 47^r, col. 2: 'Incipit Istoria Brittonum edita ab anachoreta Marco eiusdem gentis sancto episcopo'. The textual tradition of this recension of our text does not permit this title to

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1. Lauer, Les Annales de Flodoard, pp. xxxv-xxxvi, suggests the beginning of the century.
 2. G. Waitz, Neues Archiv, 6 (1880/81), p. 482; Lauer, Les Annales de Flodoard, pp. xxxv-xxxvi, suggests the end of the century.
 3. Lauer, ibid.; Waitz, ut supra.
 4. Lauer, Nithard, p. xvi.
 5. Nithard ends on fo 18, the second leaf of a new quire.

be considered original. As has long been recognised, this information could depend on a reading of Heiric of Auxerre's work on the miracles of St Germanus.¹ One of the miracles ascribed to that saint was told to Heiric by the British bishop Marcus, then (apparently ca 873) resident as an anchorite at Saint-Médard de Soissons. The miracle is found in the Historia Brittonum, and a reader of both texts might well conclude that there was a connexion between them. But what would be more likely than that a writer at Saint-Médard should wish to ascribe the text to one who had become, in the late ninth century, a member of his own monastery? A combination of all this information demands the conclusion that this copy of the Historia Brittonum was written at Saint-Médard de Soissons.

The scribe was not entirely equal to the task of copying the Historia Brittonum. He made numerous elementary errors, a good many (but by no means all) of which have been picked up and eliminated in the process of routine correction. A more serious factor, however, was that the exemplar from which he was working was written in Insular script - probably, as will appear, Anglo-Saxon square minuscule. On fo 47^r, col. 2, is an example of Insular r (the second r of Guorthegern); n is found several times for r, and m for ri; o and u are often found for each other - e.g., com (very common), cummisit, cummissum, cummiscerent (§ 26); the Insular abbreviation for autem (hr)

1. Indeed, this is made practically certain - as N. K. Chadwick, Studies in the Early British Church (Cambridge, 1958), p. 108, notes - by the apparent verbal relationship between Heiric's work and the rubric in the Vatican codex. It is a curious coincidence, but certainly no more than that, that the fragment (fos 94-97) in the Vatican codex contains some of Heiric's verse introductions to the books of his Life of Saint Germanus.

is found on almost every folio, occurring some sixteen times. Mutual substitution of i and e is very common: e.g., feeri (§11), imperatoris (for -es, §15).

The text offered by MS. R is good, but by no means perfect. In particular, the chronological data are, as in the other manuscripts of this recension, badly confused. There are other errors, shared by all the witnesses, which must derive from their archetype. We may reckon that, allowing for a small proportion of scribal blunders and for fairly sustained adaptation of the Latin orthography to the scribe's own habits, the text stands quite close to that of the archetype of this recension. We know the text to have been written in the fifth year, A.D. 943/4, of King Edmund of England. Assuming that it was written in England (for which there is a convincing body of evidence), the original copy of that year would have been written in Anglo-Saxon square minuscule, the national script used at that date. The square minuscule effectively gave way to Anglo-Caroline script by the end of the tenth century and, unless we care to postulate a British or Irish copy of the work (transcribed from an English original) as the exemplar at Soissons of MS. R, we may date the exemplar to the period 943/4 x ca 1000 and state that it was written in Anglo-Saxon square minuscule. The good state of English names, words, and phrases in MS. R also indicates an immediate English exemplar (instances of ð and the runic $\text{p} [= \text{w}]$ are perfectly preserved, where even the twelfth-century English MS. J renders its exemplar's ð as dis), making an intermediate British or Irish copy yet more unlikely. What this now lost English book was doing at Soissons in the second half of the eleventh century is another matter.

MS. R is unique among surviving copies of this recension in retaining §28, the account of Saint Patrick. Together with MSS. A

and P, it retains §§1-2, discarded by MS. J.

A later hand is seen at two points in R (§5), making fatuous alterations to the story of 'Bruto'.

There are two modern transcripts and one printed text which depend upon MS. R:

- (i) London, British Library, MS. Stowe 1054, written in 1757 by the Revd Charles O'Connor, contains (fos 8^r - 27^r) a copy of MS. R of the Vatican recension. In the Vatican manuscript itself, at the bottom of fo 53^v, col. 2, a modern hand has written O'Connor: the transcriber left his calling card with his exemplar. The Stowe manuscript is described in the Catalogue of the Stowe Manuscripts in the British Museum, Volume I, Text, with a preface by Edward J. L. Scott (London, 1895), pp. 677-678. The volume contains excerpts from manuscripts and documents in the Vatican.
- (ii) Another copy of MS. R is the edition published from that manuscript (alone) by the Revd William Gunn in 1819. It appeared as W. Gunn, The "Historia Brittonum", commonly attributed to Nennius; from a manuscript lately discovered in the Library of the Vatican Palace at Rome; edited in the tenth century, by Mark the Hermit; with an English version, fac simile of the original, notes and illustrations (London: John and Arthur Arch, 1819). Its text is not entirely accurate, though better than any since printed. Some corrections are given by I. Williams, BBCS, 11 (1941-44), pp. 43-48, but some of these are wishful thinking; R's reproduction of Welsh names is not as accurate as Williams would have us believe. A copy of Gunn's book, which belonged to John Hughes (the author of Horae Britannicae) and has corrections and annotations by him, is now kept at Aberystwyth, National Library of Wales, MS. 5161C.

(iii) London, Public Record Office. A copy of the text of MS. R was made in 1834 by the Record Commissioners. See T. D. Hardy, apud Henry Petrie, Monumenta Historica Britannica (London, 1848), p. 68, n. 5.

J: PARIS, BIBLIOTHÈQUE NATIONALE, MS. LATIN 11108.

(Mommsen, N; Hardy, 787; not mentioned by Petrie; Stevenson, O.)

Fos 62 (44 + 10 + 8). Fos 1-44 ruled for two columns of 33 lines each. Date (fos 1-44): the second half of the twelfth century (the remaining sections are of the thirteenth century). Origin and mediaeval provenance unknown.¹

Three separate volumes are in question here. It is not known if they have any mediaeval connexion. The second (fos 45-54) and third (fos 55-62), both apparently of the thirteenth century, contain Lives of various female saints. The first volume, of the late twelfth century, bears three anonymous texts: an epitome of Bede's Historia Ecclesiastica (fos 1^r-31^v), the Historia Brittonum (fos 31^v-41^v), and a poem on the marvels of Ireland (fos 41^v-43^v) which has been ascribed by modern scholarship² to Patrick, bishop of Dublin (1074-84) and sometime monk of Worcester. Only the last has a rubric (fo 41^v, col. 1), which follows immediately (but in a different colour of ink) the Amen at the end of the Historia Brittonum; at the end of the Bedan

1. [Edward] Sch[roeder], Anzeiger für deutsches Alterthum, 18 (1892), p. 299, says this manuscript comes from Soissons; other information in this note derives from Mommsen, so this probably does too. Braisne (see below) is near Soissons, and this may be the source of the confusion in Schroeder's note.

2. See Aubrey Gwynn (ed. & tr.), The Writings of Bishop Patrick (1074-1084) (Dublin, 1955).

epitome, the Amen is followed by a gap of one line, after which the Historia Brittonum begins with a single large capital.

The history of the volume is almost entirely obscure. It belonged in the eighteenth century to Claude Robert Jardel (1722-88), a native of Braisne (Dépt. Aisne). His name appears in an inscription at the head of fo 1^r: 'Ex Biblioth. C. R. Jardel Bran. Suess.' Jardel is known to have acquired several books from the library of the Premonstratensian abbey of Saint-Yves de Braisne. Mommsen, probably on the basis of a conjecture of L. Delisle, suggested that this volume was one such;¹ in support of that conjecture there appears, however, to be no evidence. Nothing further is known of the history of the codex.

Mommsen said nothing as to the origin of this manuscript, but gave the impression that he thought it French. For he refers to the recension (to which our MSS. J and R were his only witnesses) as 'Gallica'.² For a guide to the history of the volume we must rely, in default of other evidence, on palaeographical and textual enquiry. Palaeographical evidence at once indicates that the manuscript (fos 1-44) is of English execution: the determinant is the employment (fo 34^r, col. 2) of the Insular compendium for enim, which remained part of the repertoire of English scribes down to the fourteenth century. There is another very powerful factor, deriving as well from the Bedan epitome as from the Historia Brittonum: in several names in §20 in the Historia Brittonum, and very commonly throughout the Bedan text, the Anglo-Saxon runic letter wynn (ƿ = w) is employed in personal names. Scribes unfamiliar, as the French would be, with this graph

1. Mommsen, Chronica Minora, iii. 120.

2. Ibid., p. 119.

commonly render it as p. In our manuscript, however, it is everywhere executed with complete assurance and accuracy. Only English scribes, who continued throughout the twelfth century to employ this letter when writing in the vernacular, could have achieved such consistency in the repeated execution of this graph.

Textual and linguistic investigations combine to give support to this conclusion. In Londene (§ 3), we have the substitution of an English name-form for the half-Welsh Londein of the archetype of the recension; in § 20 Ieta for the Geta of the other manuscripts (and therefore the archetype) shows an English linguistic development; and in § 26 county-names are provided for the Old English place-names. MS. J is therefore a witness to a continuing tradition of this recension in Anglo-Saxon England after the exemplar of MS. R was exported to the Continent. The use of wynn (p) in five names (each name occurring twice) in § 20, where the archetype must on the evidence of the other manuscripts have retained the Old Welsh Gu- or -gu- (but, in one case, used Uu-), points to the same conclusion. (However, the forms thus created - e.g., Pecta - are unreal as Old English forms, showing the archaic -ct-, as in Bede, for later -ht-, but p- instead of the Bedan U(u)-.)

Textually MS. J stands apart from the other manuscripts. Like all except MS. R, it lacks § 28, the Life of Patrick, but it goes further in omitting §§ 1-2 and in making frequent light abridgments of the wording - but not of the substance - of the text. In short, while MSS. A and P are very closely related to MS. R, MS. J enjoys an independent descent which occasionally enables it alone to preserve a correct reading corrupted by the other witnesses.

Errors deriving from the transcription of an exemplar in Insular script, but independent of δ , are seen in the hypercorrections

Guaal (§ 24) for Guaul, and porta (§ 25) for portu, as well as the error haec (§ 21, n. 8) for the autem of the other witnesses. A number of cases of e/i variation also occur.

J also enjoys its own peculiar errors: -ct- is found for -st- in § 5: uactauerunt, and Ictor et for Istoreth. Per- occurs twice for pro in § 24: permissum and perueniret. But its most curious error is found twice, in §§ 11-12 and in § 24: in the former Eboraci is omitted from its proper place at the end of § 11 but reappears three lines later in § 12 in a false context; likewise in § 24, et tertio appears two lines later than it should. The most likely explanation is that an ancestor-copy employed the ceann fo eite, allowing surplus words at line-ends to be removed to an unused space a few lines earlier or later in the manuscript; careless copying could cause these words to be displaced from their true context.

P: PARIS, BIBLIOTHÈQUE NATIONALE, MS. LATIN 8048.

(unknown to previous editors.)

Fos 123 (15 + 32 + 8 + 7 + 10 + 10 + 7 + 26 + 8): nine separate manuscript volumes. Sections A (fos 1-15) and D (fos 56-62) are of the eleventh century; the rest belong to the thirteenth century and later. Here we are concerned with Section C (fos 48-55), a French manuscript (now of a single quire) dating from the thirteenth century. This manuscript (fos 48-55) is ruled irregularly for 33-36 long lines per page. Fo 48^r is blank, and the text begins at the head of the verso. The leaves have been cut down, especially at the top. The vellum is of a distinctly inferior quality, having a good number of holes and splits even before it was written on. And the last leaf has suffered more recent damage, apparently developing from an

original defect of the vellum, causing the loss of a few words at line-ends. Origin and mediaeval provenance are unknown.

I owe my knowledge of this volume to the kindness of M. Gwenaël Le Duc of Rennes who, while examining Arthur de La Borderie's notes in Rennes, Archives départementales d'Ille et Vilaine, MS. I.F. 313, discovered a reference to this copy of the Historia Brittonum, where it is described as 'Nennius seconde classe'.

This codex, comprising some nine manuscript books or fragments, appears to have been assembled in modern times by Claude du Puy: on the first page of various sections (e.g., A,F,G) we find 'Cl. Puteani'. Certainly we have no evidence which would demonstrate an earlier connexion between Section C and the remainder of the codex.

The text is very closely related to that of MS. R. That it cannot be a copy or further derivative of that manuscript is made certain by the presence of a few superior readings and by the anonymous nature of the introductory rubric. Marcus would hardly have been dropped if he had been known to the scribe of MS. P. Are MSS. R and P therefore direct copies of the same exemplar? I doubt this, for there is no sign that MS. P was, like MS. R, copied from an Insular exemplar (which would have been an even more difficult task for a French scribe in the thirteenth century than in the eleventh). The remaining possibility is that the exemplar of MS. P was itself a copy of the Insular exemplar of MS. R. (This suggestion of a further intermediate stage will be confirmed by the evidence of MS. A.) MSS. P and R share everything in common save for § 28, which P lacks. The text of P contains many small verbal or stylistic alterations, as well as one French gloss, artauum: canif (§ 26, n. 26), which is not in R and the alteration (§ 24, n. 207) of bryttanice Embres guletic to

anglice..., which is a change no English scribe would have introduced.¹

The most economical hypothesis is that this postulated second copy of R's exemplar was made in France - before or after the writing of R; if the evidence that A and P shared a common exemplar be found convincing, then that will almost certainly have been a French product.

A: LONDON, BRITISH LIBRARY, MS. ADDITIONAL 11702.

(Unknown to previous editors.)

Fos 88. Approx. 19 x 13 cm. Ruled for 29 long lines per page, and occasionally for 30 or 31; written space, 12.4-12.8 x 8-8.5 cm.

2° fo: ad ascanium filium. Decoration: red initials, some chequered with blue. Date, the early fourteenth century. Origin and mediaeval provenance unknown.

This volume, written probably in the south of France in the early fourteenth century, seems to have no known history before the nineteenth century. It was purchased for the then British Museum on 9 May, 1840, from the Chev. de Mortara.² Apart from this, the only clue to ownership is the note, on fo 88^r in childish capitals, Iste liber est meus/ Iovannes Pavolus de Feraris/ dictis de Bertois.

The Historia Brittonum, without title, occupies fos 1^r-11^r, and is followed by Geoffrey of Monmouth's Historia Regum Britannie which breaks off incomplete (with the loss of the remainder of the

1. In § 26 (n. 147), the common ancestor of AP substituted Glocestir (for Gleucester).

2. On Count Alessandro Mortara, an Italian who lived in Oxford for a decade up to 1852, see W. D. Macray, Annals of the Bodleian Library, Oxford (2nd edn, Oxford, 1890), p. 357.

manuscript) at XI. 3. A brief description has been published by H. L. D. Ward, Catalogue of Romances in the Department of Manuscripts in the British Museum, I (London, 1883), p. 247.

The text (save for the lack of § 28) is basically that of MS. R, but is in detail closely related to MS. P, sharing most of its errors and omissions. Indeed, there is one small item which would appear to argue strongly that it is indeed such a copy. In P (§ 26), the French gloss canif is found attached to the word ortauum, subsequently altered to the correct artauum; MS. R also has the error ortauum which must therefore have been the reading of the ultimate common ancestor of R and P. MS. A, however, has artauum (or even attaum, for the second letter is very poorly formed). Unless MS. A drew on an exemplar which read ortauum and corrected independently, it would seem likely to have been copied from the corrected text in MS. P. But this indication is overridden by other cases where A must be independent of P.

II. The partial witnesses to the text.

There are eight partial witnesses known to me at present. They fall into five groups. For my definition of the term 'partial witness', I refer to my survey of the manuscripts of the 'Harleian' recension (see above, p. 140). Their function here is different, however, for they add little or nothing to the quality of the text, indicating instead a more realistic geographical, chronological, and textual spread than is offered by the complete witnesses.

V: CHRONICON VEDASTINUM

This work survives in Douai, Bibliothèque municipale, MS. 795; it is the chronicle of the abbey of Saint-Vaast at Arras in northern France. It seems to be the original manuscript of this eleventh-century compilation, occupying fos 1^r-79^r of the volume, which also contains other annalistic texts including the Annales Vedastini. At the end of the book, in twelfth-century script, occurs a list of relics brought to Marchiennes in 1172; by that date, or soon after, the volume had arrived at that house, whose ex-libris it bears in several places.¹

Georg Waitz, who published extracts from this chronicle for the Monumenta Germaniae Historica in 1881,² noted an extract from the Historia Brittonum. Mommsen³ gave precision to this identification by recognising that it came from the 'Vatican' recension; in this estimate he was undoubtedly correct. But the quotation,⁴ which occurs on fo 16, is introduced in a strange fashion. We read 'Gaius Iulius...
...consul creatus Germaniam et Galliam optinuit. Ductu Comei
Atrebatorum ducis, de Britannia - ut in Eutropio Anglorum repperitur
- sic triumphauit:...' Who or what was this 'Eutropius of the English', we cannot say, unless in this way the author sought to refer to the Historia Brittonum. The plot thickens when we recall that

1. There is a good description of the manuscript in the Catalogue général des manuscrits des Bibliothèques Publiques de Départements, publié sous les auspices du Ministre de l'Instruction Publique, Tome VI, Douai (Paris, 1878), pp. 484-7.
2. Scriptores (in folio), xiii (1881), pp. 674-709.
3. Chronica Minora, iii. 133.
4. Waitz, Scriptores, xiii. 678.

Giraldus Cambrensis, in his Descriptio Kambrie (II. 2), refers to 'the reign of Aurelius Ambrosius whom even Eutropius commends'. One must wonder if there was in circulation an Insular historical text, dealing with Roman and sub-Roman history, which passed under the name of Eutropius.

The quotation derives from §§ 8-9 of the 'Vatican' recension. I give the text of the quotation here from Waitz, but with some changes in the punctuation.

Gaius Iulius, post uictoriam ciuilis belli, annis sex. Hic antea, ut premissum est, consul creatus Germaniam et Galliam optinuit. Ductu Comei Atrebatorum ducis, de Britannia - ut in Eutropio Anglorum repperitur - sic triumphauit: postquam ad Brittones legationes direxerit, uti obsides et census more aliarum gentium romanis regnorum dominis dirigerent, interim naues et nauium apparatus circa litus maris certatim parabantur a Romanis. Brittanni, cum essent tyranni et tumidi, legationem Romanorum contempserunt. Tunc Iulius Caesar, ualde iratus, ad Brittanniam cum sexaginta ceolis peruenit in ostio fluminis Tamensis. In quo naufragium.....antea Britanni.

H: HUGH OF FLAVIGNY.

The late-eleventh-century author Hugh of Flavigny (Hugo Flauiniacensis) was a monk of Saint-Vanne de Verdun, who in 1080 was exiled with his community to Saint-Bénigne de Dijon. He compiled a chronicle which concluded with the year 1102. His autograph manuscript has survived many vicissitudes and is now East Berlin, Deutsche Staatsbibliothek,

MS. Phillipps 1870; MS. Phillipps 1814 in the same library is a detached fragment of this manuscript, which contains a collection of poems by Hugh. I have been denied access to these volumes by the library-authorities on the grounds that Professor E. Hlawitschka of Düsseldorf is preparing a new edition of Hugh's oeuvre. Fortunately, excellent descriptions are available in the Berlin catalogue of 1892.¹

The text was published by G. H. Pertz for the Monumenta Germaniae Historica in 1848.² He identified a section deriving from the Historia Brittonum.³ It is now possible to state that the source was the 'Vatican' recension, § 7. As will be seen from my reprint below of Pertz's text, it is a reorganised and tightened version of our text. In particular it adopts the biblical genealogical form 'A. genuit B.', rather than the patronymic 'B. filius A.' of the Historia. It generally supports the readings of the text which I publish, but occasionally agrees in a variant with MS. J, and sometimes gives a reading of its own. It relies, therefore, on a lost manuscript of good authority.

Adam, plasmatio Dei uiui, genuit Seth; Seth genuit
Enos; Enos Caynam; Cayna genuit Mahaleel; Mahaleel
quoque genuit Iareth; Iareth Enoch; Enoch Matusalam;
Matusalam Lamech; Lamech genuit Noe; Noe genuit Iafeth
qui dilatauit terminos suos in Europa, Sem in Asia, Cham
in Affrica. Iafeth genuit Iohan; Iohan Lobath; Lobath
Bath; Bath quoque genuit Hisrau; Hisrau Esraa; Esraa
Ra; Ra genuit Abyr; Abyr Ooth; Ooth Ethech; Ethech

-
1. Verzeichniss der von der königlichen Bibliothek zu Berlin erworbenen Meerman-Handschriften des Sir Thomas Phillipps (Berlin, 1892), pp. 321-6.
 2. Scriptores (in folio), viii (1848), pp. 280-503.
 3. Ibid., p. 313, line 59 - p. 314, line 8.

Aurchact; Aurchact Ecthactus; Ecthactus quoque
 genuit Mayr; Mayr Semion; Semion Boib; Boib Thoy;
 Thoy Ogomuin; Ogomuin Fetuir; Fetuyr Alanum qui primus
 uenit ad Europam cum tribus filiis suis Ysichion,
 Armenon, Neugio. Ysichion genuit filios quattuor:
 Francum a quo Franci, Romanum a quo Romani, Alamannum a
 quo Alamanni, Britonum a quo Brittones. Armenon
 quinque genuit filios: Gothum a quo Gothi, Walagothum a
 quo Walagothi, Cibidum a quo Cibidi, Burgundum a quo
 Burgundi, Langobardum a quo Langobardi. Neugrio
 quattuor habuit filios: Bogarum a quo Bogari, Wandalum
 a quo Wandali, Saxonem a quo Saxones, Taringum a quo
 Taringi. Et ab Alano patre dicti sunt Alani. Heae
 gentes per totam Europam diuisae sunt.

S: THE SAWLEY TEXT (Cambridge, University Library, MS. Ff.I.27,
 p. 25).

The section Britones a Bruto (part of Vat., § 7) occurs on p. 25 of this manuscript, part of a volume written at Sawley abbey in the early thirteenth century. It is written in coloured script around a diagram of the world showing the division into the three continents with their respective provinces. The Sawley recension of the Historia Brittonum is essentially a conflation of the Gildasian and Nennian texts of the Historia, together with a good quantity of material taken from other sources (see below, section VII). This item provides evidence that a text of the Vatican recension was also known, thus confirming very tenuous indications supplied by a few of the later glosses in CCCC 139 (on which manuscript, see also below,

section VII).

The text is complete from the words Britones a Bruto dicti to the end of §7. It is therefore collated fully with the other witnesses and is not printed separately here. This section contains no variants of any great significance; S seems to agree generally with the text as printed here, which is essentially that of R.

B: THE BURY ST EDMUNDS COLLATIONS

Two manuscripts from the East Anglian house of Bury St Edmunds bear witness to the use there of a text of the Vatican recension, ca 1300. Full descriptions of the manuscripts and accounts of their texts will be found below in the section on the Gildasian recension, but certain details must be given here. London, College of Arms, MS. Arundel 30, fos 11^r-21^r [Ba], written ca 1300, is the exemplar of Cambridge, University Library, MS. Ff.I.27, pp. 41-64 [Bb], which belongs to the first half of the fourteenth century. Both were written at Bury St Edmunds. A series of some eighteen marginalia, most headed either aliud exemplar (habet) or alia littera, contain short extracts or variants from Vat., which are juxtaposed with the Gildasian text. In Ff.I.27 these are arguably by the same hand as the Gildasian text, but they are additions to the College of Arms manuscript.

These items are drawn from §§5, 6, 9, 12, 15, 18, 20, 24-28 of Vat. They show a consistent agreement against J, which is interesting in view of the English origin of MS. J, and an almost equally consistent agreement with R. Most notable of all is the citation of a passage from §28, the Life of St Patrick; §28 is known otherwise only in MS. R. This would suggest that a good text of the

R-type did, in spite of previous indications, survive in England; we can, however, draw no inferences as to the physical nature of the exemplar available to the Bury St Edmunds collator ca 1300.

The manuscript which comprises fos 28-58 of London, British Library, MS. Cotton Caligula A. 8 contains a copy of the Gildasian recension of the Historia Brittonum which bears a large number of marginal and other notes by the sixteenth-century antiquary John Bale (indeed, fo 54 is a paper slip inserted by Bale). He appears to have acquired the manuscript soon after the death of its previous owner, Nicholas Brigam, in 1558; he knew of it already in the period 1549 x 1557 when it was entered in his Index. The many readings which Bale added in this copy of the text belong to the 'Vatican' recension of the Historia; he appears to have drawn them from the mediaeval marginalia in the College of Arms manuscript (Ba), another volume heavily annotated - and apparently once owned - by Bale.

G: THE 'VATICAN' SECTIONS OF A 'GILDASIAN' SUBGROUP.

The distinctive feature of one subgroup of the Gildasian recension of the Historia Brittonum is that it contains, embedded in the text, three extracts from the Vatican recension. These are the whole of Vat. § 4, the section Brittones a Bruto dicti from § 7, and the dating passage 'A tempore quo aduenerunt.....dicti regis est annus' in § 20.

Full descriptions of the three manuscripts which comprise this group will be found below in the account of the Gildasian recension. Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, MS. Latin 6274 [Ga] is the earliest, dating from the thirteenth (or, at the earliest, the end of the twelfth) century; it appears to be a French manuscript, but its

provenance is not recorded. The excerpts appear on pp. 4-5, 15-16, 25-26. Its text is good but not perfect. Rennes, Archives départementales d'Ille et Vilaine, MS. I.F.1003 [Gb] is an incomplete copy of the Historia made, from a now lost manuscript in a Breton library, by the antiquary Pierre Le Baud between 1463 and 1498 (and probably nearer the later date). The relevant sections occur on pp. 183, 185, and 192. Its readings will hardly allow it to be a copy of the Paris manuscript. Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, MS. 363 [Gc], written in England early in the sixteenth century (and perhaps the manuscript seen by John Bale at Balliol College, Oxford), contains these sections on fos 3^r - 3^v, 5^r, 6^v.

A small number of errors in the Paris manuscript [Ga] makes it very unlikely that either of the later copies could have been derived from it. It also seems unlikely that Gc could derive from the exemplar of Gb. We must therefore assume a common ancestor to which all of the extant witnesses go back, either directly or by lost intermediate stages.

As far as they go, the excerpts are complete and unaltered and are therefore collated with the edition below rather than being printed separately here. They agree in general with MS. J (this is especially noticeable in §20), but in one or two places where J gives an erroneous reading, this group agrees rather with R; its source-text therefore belonged to the J-tradition, but was slightly less corrupted. Although we do not know where the hyparchetype of this group was written, the Gildasian text belongs to a subgroup which was generally of English rather than Continental circulation; if it was prepared in England, this would at least accord with the English origin of the J-type text.

THE TEXTUAL HISTORY OF THE VATICAN RECENSION: A SURVEY.

As with the Harleian recension, a tentative stemma may be presented at the outset, partly on the basis of indications given already in the survey of the individual manuscripts.

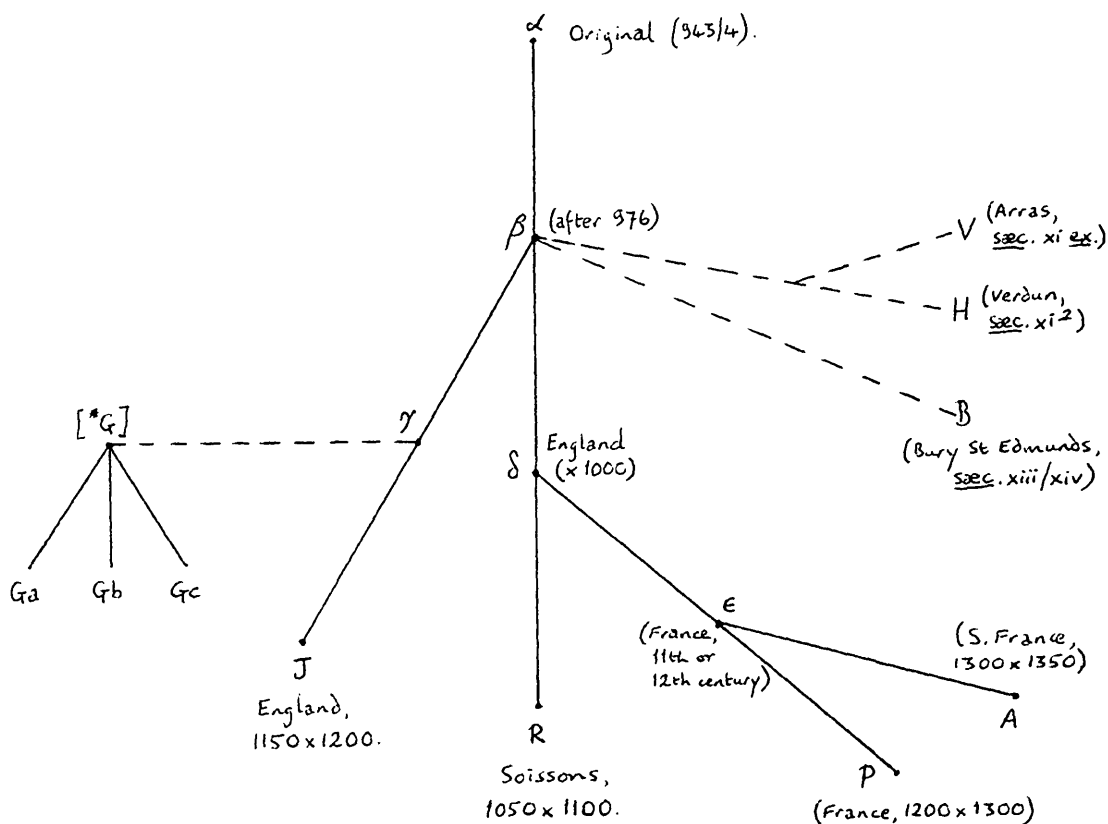


FIG. IV. The transmission of the Vatican Recension of the Historia Brittonum.

I have based my edition of the Vatican recension on MS. R, for it is the only complete copy of the text; in general, it is also superior to any other surviving witness. Its text suffers, however, from a number of corruptions which may be considered in two groups. First, there are those which may have occurred before the recension itself came into existence in 943/4 and therefore could belong to the prehistory of the Vatican version: these are such errors as Dalmeta (§5) for Dalrieta and Gaaul (§11) for Guaul, which occur in every manuscript of the recension and which result from the miscopying at some stage of an exemplar in Insular script. The second group comprises errors which can only postdate 943/4 and the creation of the recension as we now have it: in particular, the dating passages in §§ 1, 20, and 27 are now in a poor condition which is shared by all witnesses to the text.

In short, we must ask how close R stands to the archetype of the recension. From what has already been said about the dating passages it seems likely that all the surviving complete copies derive from a hyparchetype (β) which stood at at least one remove from the original. We have already seen that the exemplar (δ) of R was written in Insular script; given the assumption that it was an English manuscript, it can hardly have been written later than ca 1000 when the native Square Minuscule ceased to be used in England for Latin works. The chief argument in favour of the exemplar's English origin must be the perfect preservation of three examples of the Old English graph $\overset{x}{\underset{O}{O}}$ and one of ϕ ; these would hardly have survived several copyings at the hands of foreign scribes. As has been seen, the rubric ascribing the work to Bishop Marcus is a Soissons addition made probably at the time of writing of R itself. The scribe suffered chiefly - as he realised - from the a, r, and

h (= autem) of his exemplar; judging by the number of examples of unresolved h, which look so bizarre in a French manuscript of this date, he despaired of this compendium, but he can be found correcting mistaken examples of n back to r (e.g., §§26, nn. 119 and 134); so conscious was he of the danger of writing u for a, that he often hypercorrects (e.g., arguebantur for urg(u)ebantur §19) - on at least one occasion, he can be found recovering from an error of hypercorrection immediately after committing it (where he corrects Folegaald back to Foleguald, §20).

The scribe of R also made the mistakes that no copyist can hope to avoid, so that help is sometimes required to restore the reading of his exemplar. Since the publication of earlier editions of the Historia Brittonum, two further complete witnesses (our MSS. A and P) to the text of the Vatican recension have come to light. Both of these are closely related to R, as their inclusion of §§1 and 2 suggests at the outset. In fact, so closely are these three copies related that they might at first be thought to stand in direct line of descent. But it becomes apparent that the thirteenth-century P cannot be a copy of R (or a copy of a copy of R); it bears a rubric (§3) which fails to ascribe the text to Marcus (a detail that the scribe would hardly have omitted, had it been in his exemplar) and appears to be of better authority; it takes no account of the (unfortunately undated) alterations in R, §5; among a host of readings of better authority than R's occur a number which could under no circumstances be the result of independent scribal correction (the most impressive are those which involve names foreign to the French scribe: §3 Gusteint R, Custeint P; §26 Etastseaxan R, Eastseaxan P; §27 Octhta R, Octha P; §27 Cantpariorum R, showing the Old English runic wynn which no thirteenth-century French scribe

should have known, but Cantuariorum P; § 27 Eobda R, Eobba P; there are also examples involving ordinary Latin words).

R and P must, then, derive from the same exemplar. But if the French scribe of R, writing in the second half of the eleventh century, could not cope efficiently with an exemplar in Insular script, how could a fellow-countryman do so two centuries later (by which time the script was used only in part of Ireland)? The problem is resolved by the hypothesis of an intermediate French copy (ϵ) which had been transcribed from the Insular exemplar (δ) at an earlier period. This hypothesis finds welcome support from the evidence of MS. A. Written in the south of France in the early fourteenth century, A gives every appearance of being a copy of P (for much the same reasons as P, it cannot descend from R); it even contains the same single French gloss (§ 26). However, detailed consideration of its text shows that it is independent of P; both must go back to the exemplar (ϵ) postulated above on other grounds. A particularly convincing piece of evidence occurs at the beginning of § 25 which in A begins without notice in mid-line with gitur (for Igitur), indicating that the scribe has copied mechanically from an exemplar which lacked the rubricated initial letter for this chapter; the same omission in R indicates that this fault goes back not merely to ϵ but to δ .

Certain deductions may be made about ϵ . It was written in France. This is demonstrated by the joint reading of AP in § 24 anglice Embres guletic where the anglice stands for the brittannice of JR; no Englishman could have made this alteration. The French gloss canif (§ 26) supports this, but is not certain evidence as it could have been an addition to ϵ . Its scribe coped very competently with the tenth-century Insular exemplar (perhaps, even, more ably

than did that of R), the only points of difficulty apparently being occasioned (in §§ 14, 18, 21, 24) by the compendium for autem (h).

We can date ϵ no more closely than to the eleventh or twelfth

centuries: its terminus post is the arrival of δ on the Continent; the terminus ante is determined by the thirteenth-century date of P.

It was lightly revised as to style, as is shown by the persistent agreement of A and P against the other witnesses. It suffered also from some twenty small omissions, as comparison against R shows.

Most of these are of a single word, but two major items deserve a mention: (i) Scotti autem in quarta obtinuerunt Hiberniam, § 6, and

(ii) Miracula pauca ex multis quae per illum fecit Deus scribere decreui, § 21, are both shown by the evidence of AP to have been omitted from ϵ . Like J, ϵ had lost § 28, no doubt because it appeared to be a separate work rather than an integral part of the Historia.

Much more distant from R is the tradition represented by MS. J, written in the later twelfth century. This represents a purely English development of the text. J wants §§ 1 and 2, as well as lacking § 28; it also represents a text revised with stylistic ends in view, resulting in briefer expression at many points. The palaeographical reasons for considering J to be an English manuscript have been set forth in the description of the codex; the English development of the text (also discussed above) deserves to be remembered. Where AP have innovated, J is almost invariably found agreeing with R (where it does not, usually either it or R has innovated); the agreement of J and R, whose texts developed independently from the later tenth century, constitutes a witness to the earliest recoverable stage of the text of this recension.

The rôle of the partial witnesses, in the establishment of

a critical text of the Vatican recension, is very different from the situation which obtains with regard to the Harleian version. They make no substantial contribution to the amelioration of the text, chiefly because the development ab initio of the Vatican recension is made much clearer by the extant complete manuscripts than is that of the Harleian text; partly, also, they cover a much smaller proportion of the text than do their 'Harleian' counterparts. The chief value of the partial witnesses to the Vatican text is that they help to give a more realistic picture, than do the four complete copies, of the circulation and textual development of the recension.

The sub-group of the Gildasian recension which is distinguished by its use of part of §§ 4, 7, and 20 of the Vatican recension comprises three manuscripts, all of which derive from a common ancestor. This ancestor (*G) had access to a copy (γ) of the Vatican text which belonged to the J-tradition, but was slightly superior to the extant MS. J in some of its readings. Although two (Gab) of the copies are of French provenance, this sub-group of the Gildasian recension belongs to a larger group which is almost exclusively of English distribution. If *G was prepared in England, this would suit well the evidence for the purely English development of this side of the textual tradition.

By contrast, the other partial witnesses agree chiefly with the received text, that of R and its close relatives. The copy available to Hugh of Flavigny (H) at Verdun or Dijon in the second half of the eleventh century was of good authority, as far as may be seen from the small section employed. It agrees chiefly with R, but occasionally supports one of J's readings which must therefore deserve favourable consideration. The copy available to the author of the Arras Chronicon Vedastinum (V) at the end of the eleventh century cannot at present be located securely in the textual tradition, but it

is a reasonable conjecture that it may have been related to the source of H.

Finally, the copy available at Bury St Edmunds ca 1300 must have been of notably good authority. The collations which are its surviving remains testify to a complete copy of the work (i.e., one containing § 28, the Vita Patricii) which agrees systematically with R (and, where possible, against J). Its use at Bury St Edmunds in the late middle ages is a welcome reminder that this is an English recension, and evidence that the R-tradition of the text survived in England for almost four centuries in spite of our total lack of surviving complete manuscripts which both belong to this side of the tradition and are of English execution.

All these partial witnesses, except *G, may be said to go back - by an unknown number of intermediate steps - to an ancestor β which is also the ultimate common ancestor of all the extant witnesses. It is to the consideration of β that we must now turn. Written before ca 1000 (which is the latest possible date for its derivative, δ), it was nonetheless apparently more than one step away from the original copy.

The recension contains three passages which tell us what we know of the date of the recension. They are:

- § 1: A passione Christi peracti sunt nongenti quadraginta sex; ab incarnatione autem eius sunt anni nongenti septuaginta sex, et quintus annus imperii Eadmundi regis Anglorum.
- § 20: Regnante Gratiano Equantio Romae, Saxones uero a Gurthegirno suscepti sunt anno trecentesimo quadragesimo septimo post passionem Christi. A tempore quo aduenerunt primo ad Bryttanniam Saxones usque ad primum imperii annum regis

Eadmundi, sescentos quadraginta duos; ad hunc in quo nos scribimus, annos traditione seniorum sescentos quadraginta septem didicimus, quippe quia iste imperii quintus antedicti regis est annus.

§ 27: Quando Gratianus Aequantius consul fuit in Roma - quia tunc a consulibus Romanorum totus orbis regebatur - Saxones a Guorthegirno anno post Domini passionem trecentesimo quadragesimo septimo suscepti sunt. Ad hunc quem nunc scribimus annum .**dc.** quadraginta septem numeramus.

These extraordinary calculations present us with a host of problems, some soluble, some at present wholly insoluble. Sir Ifor Williams did most of the work towards solving the difficulties presented by § 1 in his article 'Mommson and the Vatican Nennius', Bulletin of the Board of Celtic Studies, 11 (1941-44), pp. 43-48. He conjectured that, by a saut du même au même, the original year of the passion had been omitted, as had the formula 'ab incarnatione autem eius sunt anni'; a subsequent copyist, noticing a passion date only, supplied an incarnation date of 976. Various minor adjustments must be made to Sir Ifor's scheme. He conjectured that the date A.D. 976 had been calculated by adding thirty years to the A.P. date of 946 found in the extant manuscripts, which testify to the reading of δ . However, since such a calculation would conform to no known practice - only 27 or 32 years could be added in such circumstances - we may be confident that whoever made the calculation had before him the uncorrupted date of 944, to which he added the Dionysian number of 32 years. The corruption from 944 (dccccxliiii or dccccxliu) to 946 (dccccxlui) will therefore have occurred in δ , not as early as β . Unfortunately § 1 (and § 2) is missing from J, our only witness (to the text of β) which is

independent of δ , and confirmation by a manuscript-witness is therefore lacking. That the correct year is 944 (and not 943, as stated - reasonably and naturally - by Williams) may appear justified also from the discussion of § 20. The passion-date should therefore originally have been 912, but expressed as 911 years having been completed (peracti sunt), assuming the author to have been following the Dionysian system. The original text (in α) of § 1 will therefore have read as follows:

A passione Christi peracti sunt anni .d. cccc. <xi.; ab
incarnatione autem eius sunt anni .d. cccc. >xliiii, et
quintus annus imperii Eadmundi regis Anglorum.

The problems presented by §§ 20 and 27 are of a rather different order, for we are given a starting date of A. P. 347. This is derived from the original text of the Historia Brittonum (Harl. § 31), but is a date expressed according to the Victorian system (where A. P. 1 = A. D. 28). It is uncertain if our mid-tenth-century English redactor, who was responsible for the Vatican version, appreciated this fact. If he calculated (wrongly) that A. P. 347 = A. D. 379, he will then have required 564/5 years to bring him to the annus presens of 943/4 (§§ 20, 27) and 560 to the beginning of Edmund's reign in 939 (§ 20); if he made the correct calculation that A. P. (V) 347 = A. D. 374, he will have needed 569/70 and 565 years respectively.

We have already noted that, between β and δ , one date in § 1 had become corrupted; further, between α and β , a part of § 1 had been lost. We may also conclude that, on the evidence of all our manuscripts, β already contained corruptions in the figures in §§ 20 and 27. Two facts stand out. The writer of the Vatican version must

have used the rare, but by no means unknown,¹ form .dc. = 500, for there is no need for the six-hundred-plus years which the text now appears to offer. Secondly the very common corruption of .lx. to .xl. has taken place (twice in §20 and once in §27, which is too tidy: once one had become altered, the rest must have been brought into line). The extent of corruption in the final digits is more difficult to estimate. If the difference between the '642' and '647' (or, rather, 542 and 547) of §20, for the first and fifth years of King Edmund, reflects a difference of five in the original text, we have to do with the A.D. years 939 and 944 respectively; the latter date would be that of writing and would require the appropriate figures (911 and 944) to be inserted in §1. This fits well the evidence derived from the discussion of §1. In §20, '565' and '570' would need to be restored; '570' would need to be restored to §27 also. 570 (.dc. lxx.) could easily be corrupted to 547 (.dc. xlvii.), perhaps in two stages; and 565 (.dc. lxx.) even more easily to 542 (.dc. xlii.).

The extent of the corruption makes any attempt at emendation highly conjectural; I have not therefore interfered with the text of §§1, 20, and 27 against the agreement of all the extant manuscripts. The value of this corrupt text is that it shows the common ancestor of all our witnesses to be at at least two removes from the original. Since, as Williams pointed out, it is unlikely that the extant version of §1 was written before 976, β will be no earlier than that date. δ must certainly belong to the last quarter of the tenth century, and probably to its last two decades.

1. See A. Anscombe, *Ériu*, 3 (1907), p. 124, n. 1, and D. N. Dumville, *BBCS*, 25 (1972-74), p. 379, n. 5.

The original text belongs, then, to the fifth year (943/4) of King Edmund of England, and probably - more precisely - to A.D. 944. There can hardly be any doubt that it was written in England itself, rather than in a non-English-speaking area under Edmund's overlordship; it should be noted that Edmund's reign is one from which there are no surviving English charters attested by Welsh subreguli (cf. Lloyd, A History of Wales, i. 353), and the degree of his influence in Wales is unknown. Not only is it most implausible that a Welsh writer should date his work by years of the imperium of an Anglo-Saxon King, but we must reckon also with all the Old English words or names found in this recension.

If, then, the recension was the work of an Englishman of the year 944, what can be said of the text of the Historia Brittonum on which he drew? There are certain notable differences between the Vatican recension and the basic 'Harleian' text which cannot be explained by reference to the work of a mid-tenth-century Englishman. In discussing the Chartres recension, I have already noted a quantity of readings common to the Chartres and Vatican texts, some of which indicated a desire to regularise the latinity of the work by removing certain 'celticisms'; the conclusion drawn, partly on this evidence and partly because Chartres and Vat. have in common the chapter De Romanis uero et Grecis trahunt ethimologiam (Chartres §5/Vat. §4), was that these two recensions derived from a common original which was itself a lightly revised and augmented Welsh version of Harl.. It could be argued that Vat. provides additional evidence for the condition of this lost intermediate version, for there are clear indications of further Welsh interference with the text underlying Vat.; however, as will be seen, this cannot have been effected at the same time as the alterations described above as being common to Chartres and

Vat..

There are four items which can have been introduced into the Historia only by a Welsh writer. In §26 we find one Gloiu da, 'Gloyw the Good'; this replaces the Gloiu Bonus found in Harl. and Gild. (and Lebor) where Bonus is given as one of the sons of Gloyw. Gloyw is otherwise unknown as da, and the evidence of the other recensions indicates that Bonus is presumably the original reading. A Welsh reader must have automatically translated bonus into da, producing the reading of the extant text.

In the account of Arthur's battles in §27, we find three notable differences from the version in Harl. §52. The ninth battle was fought, we are told, 'in urbe Leogis quae brittannice Cair Lion dicitur', where the other recensions say simply in urbe Legionis. The tenth battle, which Harl. places 'in litore fluminis quod uocatur Tribruit', was fought, according to Vat., 'in littore fluminis quod nos uocamus Traht Treuroit'. And the eleventh occurred 'in monte qui nominatur Breguoin ubi illos in fugam uertit, quem nos cat Bregion appellamus', where Gild. says 'in monte qui dicitur Agned, Cat Bregomion' and Harl. has only 'in monte qui dicitur Agned'. It is plain that whoever made the alterations which subsequently became part of the text of Vat. was both a Welsh speaker (nos uocamus; nos appellamus) and had access to Welsh legend. On all this, see K. H. Jackson, 'Once again Arthur's battles', Modern Philology, 43 (1945/6), pp. 44-57, and 'Arthur's battle of Breguoin', Antiquity, 23 (1949), pp. 48-49.

Towards the end of §27 we read 'ipse primus rex fuit, in Bernech et in Cair Af(f)rauc, de genere Saxonum'; this corresponds to 'ipse fuit primus rex in Beornica (id est im Berneich)' of Harl. §52. The addition, which introduces York (Caer Efrog) into the

statement, can have been written only by a Welshman.

The largest alteration occurs in § 3. In Harl. § 3 we are told, following Gildas, that Britain contained twenty-eight ciuitates; they are enumerated in Harl. § 67. In Vat. § 3, the number has become thirty-three (reflecting an easy corruption from .xxuii. to .xxciii.) and thirty-three names have been incorporated into the text at this point; these include the original twenty-eight, to which another five (no. 3, Cair Gurcoc; no. 9, Cair Merdin; no. 14, Cair Ceri; no. 15, Cair Gloiu; no. 30, Cair Teim) have been added. On these names, see K. H. Jackson, 'Nennius and the twenty-eight cities of Britain', Antiquity, 12 (1938), pp. 44-55. It is plain that they could only have been added by a Welshman; the subsequent influence of this lost Welsh revision of the Historia in Wales may be seen in the tract 'Enweu Ynys Prydein' edited by Ifor Williams, 'Enwau ac anryfeddodau ynys Prydain (R.B.H. col. 600)', Bulletin of the Board of Celtic Studies, 5 (1929-31), pp. 19-24.

It is this treatment of the ciuitates which makes it plain that the common ancestor of Chartres and Vat. cannot have contained the Welsh alterations and additions discussed above. For the Chartres text (§ 3) retains the original number of twenty-eight and does not include the list of names at this point. We must reckon, therefore, with a further Welsh stage at which the alterations noted in §§ 3, 26, and 27 were effected, and which was the immediate source of the Vatican recension.

It is difficult to date this Welsh stage more closely than by the limits of 830x944 provided by the dates of Harl. and Vat. respectively. A detailed comparison of the Welsh forms in Vat. with those of Harl. indicates that, although they represent broadly the same stage of orthographic development, the final Welsh version

introduced quite a number of different forms. (Complete lists of names are found in the indices to the separate recensions.) That these alterations took place in the final Welsh revision (with the insertions in §§ 3 and 27) rather than in the earlier one which is also an ancestor of the Chartres text is guaranteed by the fact that the Welsh forms in Chartres (q.v.) are almost wholly identical with those of Harl..

Stated thus simply, these orthographic changes most probably indicate that this final Welsh revision belongs to the latter half of the century 830x944 (and, possibly, to a scriptorium with different orthographic habits). We may, however, go further and turn this comparatively close dating of the revision (i.e., to the century 830x944) to advantage for the purpose of dating changing orthographic habits (and possibly also phonological developments, though the orthography no doubt lagged behind these).

Several orthographic features stand out as worthy of comment:

(i) -e- is commonly written for the -i- of Harl.:

<u>Mermen</u> i (Vat. § 6)	for <u>Mermin</u> i (Harl. § 10)
<u>Treuroit</u> (Vat. § 27)	for <u>Tribru</u> it (Harl. § 52)
<u>Bernech</u> (Vat. § 27)	for <u>Birne</u> ich (but also <u>Be</u> rneich) (Harl. §§ 52, 57, 58, 61)
<u>Gleuesinc</u> g (Vat. § 24)	for <u>Gleguiss</u> ing (Harl. § 37)
<u>Guenet</u> (Vat. § 24)	for <u>Guined</u> (Harl. § 36; but cf. <u>Guenet</u> , MS. V)
<u>Guorthemer</u> (Vat. §§ 25-26)	for <u>Guorthemir</u> (Harl. §§ 39-41)
<u>Guorthegirmus</u> (Vat. §§ 24-27)	for <u>Guorthigir</u> nus (Harl., <u>passim</u>) ¹

1. But, as Professor Jackson points out, there seems to have been a genuine (and not clearly explained) variation between tigern, tegern, tigirn, and tegirn: see LHEB, pp. 445 ff.

The reverse is found in Catigirn (Vat. § 26; but also Categirn § 25) for the Categirn¹ of Harl. §§ 39, 41, and in Derguint (Vat. § 25) for the Derguentid of Harl. § 39.

(ii) -e- and -ei- vary between the two recensions (cf. LHEB, pp. 587 ff.):

Bernech (Vat. § 27) for Berneich (Harl., passim)

Ceint (Vat. § 24) for Cent (Harl. § 34)

Embres (Vat. § 24) for Embreis (Harl. § 38)

Tebi (Vat. § 26) for Teibi (Harl. § 40)

In three of the four cases Vat.'s source preferred to substitute e, but in one did the reverse.

(iii) variation of c(c) / ch:

Cruc Occcident (Vat. § 15) for Cruc Occhidient (Harl. § 24)

Orch (Vat. § 3) for Orc (Harl. § 3)

(iv) varying representation of lenited consonants:

t/d (= /d/): Catel uel Cadel (Vat. § 23) for Catel(1) (Harl. § 33)

t/d (= /ð/): Guenet (Vat. § 24) for Guined (Harl. § 36)

/v/: Cair Af(f)rauc (Vat. § 27) for Cair Ebrauc (Harl. § 67; this form also in Vat. § 3)

Treuroit (Vat. § 27) for Tribruit (Harl. § 52)

(v) ncg for /ŋ/ in Vat., but g/ng in Harl. (cf. LHEB, p. 513):

Cair Guoranncgon (Vat. § 3) for Cair Guiragon (Harl. § 67)

Gleuesincg (Vat. § 24) for Gleguissng (Harl. § 37)

1. See note 1 on preceding page.

(vi) use of oi/oy/ui/uoi:

oi/uoi: Roihin (Vat. § 20) for Ruoihm (Harl. § 31)¹

oi/ui for later wy: Guoidcant² (Vat. § 26) for Guidcant (MSS.

Gaidcant) (Harl. § 42)

(Cair)Loit (Coit) (Vat. § 3) for (Cair)Luit

(Coyt) (Harl. § 67)

Treuroit (Vat. § 27) for Tribruit (Harl. § 52)

oi/oy, ui for later wy: Guo<i>rancgon (MSS. Guorancgon)³ (Vat.

§§ 3, 24) for Guoyrancgon (Harl. § 34) and Guiragon (Harl. § 67)

-oi- is therefore invariable in Vat., while -ui- is the most common form in Harl.

Features displaying linguistic change are the following:

- (i) Cair Lion (Vat. §§ 3, 27) for Cair Legion (Harl. § 67);⁴
- (ii) Duglas (Vat. § 27) for Dubglas (Harl. § 52);⁵
- (iii) Teudor (Vat. § 26) for Teudubr/Teudurb/Teudubir (Harl. § 42);⁶
- (iv) Gurthegirrus (Vat. §§ 19, 20, 24) for Guor- (Harl., passim; but MS. H

1. Chartres (§15) has Ruimh. Unfortunately the etymology of this name is unknown.
2. The Vat. form strongly suggests archaic OW *Wuidcant (or *Woidcant); the Harl. form Guidcant would then be correct if it stood for *Guuidcant. The history appears to be /wui/ > /gwui/ > /gui/, as Professor Jackson points out to me. The etymology of the name is more problematical, but one may compare Guoidcen (and Guoidci, Guidci) in Liber Landauensis.
3. Guorancgon must be an error, no doubt under the influence of the many names with Guor-, for *Guoirancgon. For the spelling of the first element, one may compare Guoidcant above.
4. LHEB, pp. 449, 453-4.
5. Cf. LHEB, p. 275.
6. Cf. LHEB, pp. 337-8, 418-19, 423-4. 'Chad 8', the miscellaneous notes (in the Lichfield Gospels) dated by Henry Bradshaw to sæc. ix/x, offers the form Teudur; this dates from exactly the same period as the form offered by Vat.

alone, possibly through its mid-tenth-century ancestor, records one example of Gur(thegirni) in § 34).

We see here, therefore, four distinctively younger forms,¹ as well as a series of varying orthographic practices. These four developments could therefore arguably be assigned to a half-century or so after ca 875, and more certainly to the period 830x944. It is noteworthy, too, that we fail to find in Vat. evidence for changes which are found first in texts of the middle to second half of the tenth century (e.g., eu for earlier OW ou).

There is only one possible piece of evidence in the text of Vat. for the exact date of this revision. It should be mentioned if only to be rejected. The dating passage in § 27, if interpreted without emendation and taking .dc. to be 500, would give a date of A. P. (V) 894 = A. D. 921 (or A. D. 926, if the Dionysian equation A. P. 1 = A. D. 33 were mistakenly used) for the text. The use of the figures .dc. xlii. and .dc. xluui. in § 20 would then derive from a reading of § 27 and would be the work of the author of Vat.. In my view, this interpretation is an unlikely one, as it creates so many problems for the interpretation of

1. An apparent exception is the form Pouoisorum (Vat. § 23) which compares with the Pouisorum of Harl. § 33. The phonological history of this word is as follows: Pāgēns(es) > *Powēs > *Pōwuis (the stage of Pouoisorum) > *Pō-uis (the stage of Pouisorum). On all this see LHEB, pp. 443-4. However, as Professor Jackson points out to me, although this is the order of development Pouis- need not actually have been written later than Pouois-; the difference between /pōwuis/ and /pō-uis/ being very slight, the two could exist side by side. The various versions of the Historia Brittonum provide a good number of examples of names in forms of apparently varying age standing side by side in the same recension (the best known case being that of Cunedā/Cunedag in Harl.) or of apparently earlier forms appearing in later recensions (e.g., Urbgen Harl., Urbagen Chartres, Urbeghen Nenn.); such cases simply testify to the fact that orthographic habits may long outlast the phonological conditions which produced them and exist side by side in contemporary writing without actual incongruity.

§20. In addition the passage at the end of §27 reads as if it was intended to be the conclusion of the text; it seems unlikely that the truncated text presented by Vat. would be the work of a Welsh reviser who otherwise shows himself keen to supplement the work.

We must conclude, then, that no more firm dating than 830x944 may be proposed for the final Welsh revision of the ancestral text. To allow room for the earlier copy, ancestral also to Chartres, in which the latinity had been lightly revised, we may conjecture that the half-century 875x925 is the most likely period for the production of this last Welsh stage of the pre-Vat. text.

The remaining stage was the creation in England in 944 of the thoroughly revised and truncated Vatican recension which survives now in a form embodying a number of corruptions introduced into the text more than thirty years after its original composition. Comment has been offered, in the introduction to this recension, on the methods and aims of the author of Vat.. The transmission of the recension, as documented by the extant witnesses, has been shown in stemmatic form in fig. IV, above. The prehistory of the recension, as deduced in this discussion, is given below in fig. V.

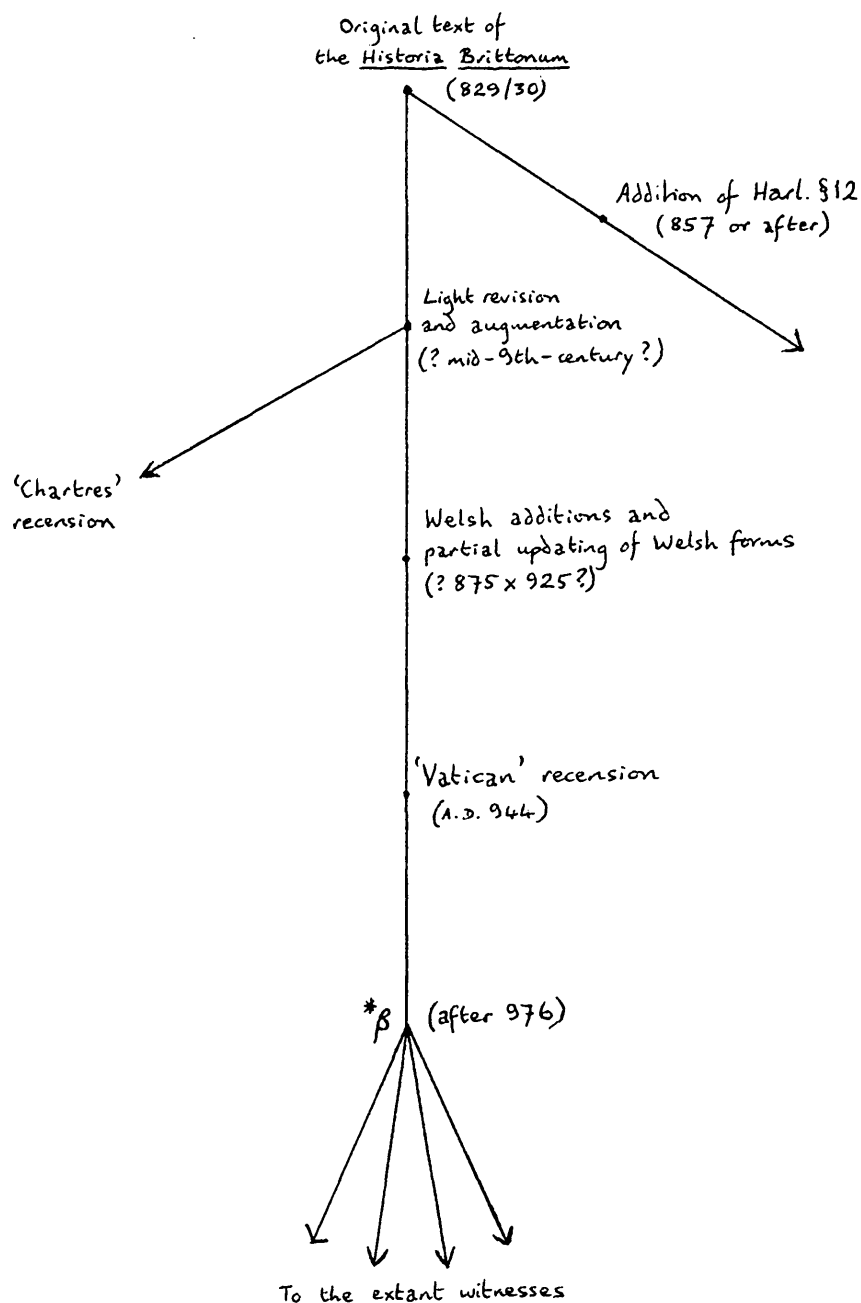


FIG. V. The origin of the Vatican Recension of the Historia Brittonum

PRINCIPLES OF THIS EDITION

In the following edition I have done no more than attempt to reconstruct the text of the common ancestor (β) of all the extant witnesses to the recension. I have been helped in this by the substantially expanded textual base provided by the discovery of two new complete manuscripts (and the use of the partial witnesses).

β nonetheless stands at a minimum of two removes from the original copy of the recension. I have very occasionally resorted to emendation to ensure that the text is intelligible, but in general β appears to have offered a good reliable text. Only in the dating passages is there substantial ground for the belief that the text has become corrupt.

R has been adopted as the basis of the edition, as being generally the most reliable manuscript. Its orthography has therefore been adopted: in particular, Insular spellings have been deliberately retained in the text printed here. Corrupted forms of Celtic names have not been emended against the agreement of the manuscripts, since they were very likely in the original text of the recension, being unintelligible to and unable to be corrected by the English author of the recension. Chapter-division follows the divisions in MS. R.

Except in cases where corruption is suspected, all numerals have been expanded. In cases of ci/ti variation, the reading of R is printed (without comment or citation of variants) unless it is likely to be misleading or is in a proper noun (in which case variant readings are recorded). I have rendered e-caudata (ϵ) as ae where that is the historically correct form; when ϵ occurs in R incorrectly, the reading is relegated to the apparatus (save in § 28, where R is the

only witness); ϵ is invariably rendered as ae in proper nouns and variants are then always cited. The siglum R² which appears on a few occasions indicates the activity of another scribe inserting material in MS. R; if no other reading is given for R, that of R² may be presumed to stand in rasura.

Vat.	Harl.	Chartres	Sawl.	Editions
1	1-2	1-2	1	1-6
2	-	cf.6	-	-
3	3-4,67	3-4	2-3,67	7-10,66 ^a
4	-	5	-	-
5	4-9	8	3-9	10-15
6	9-11	-	10-11	15-16
7	13-16	7,9	11-13(+s.n.)	17-18
8	17	10	14	19
9	17-18	11(cf.6)	14-16	19-20
10	19	cf.6	17-18	21-22
11	20	cf.6	19	23
12	21	cf.6	20	24
13	22	cf.6	21	25
14	23	cf.6	22	26
15	24	cf.6	23	27
16	25	-	24	27
17	26	-	25	27-28
18	26-29	12(cf.6)	25-28	28-31
19	29	13	28	31
20	30-31	14-15	28-29	31
21	32	16	30-31	32
22	33	17	31-32	32
23	33	18	32-35	32-35
24	34-38	19	36-45	36-42
25	39	-	46-47	43-45
26	40-43	-	48-55	45-50
27	51-52	-	63-65	56
28	43-50	-	55-62	50-55

T E X T

§1. Ab Adam usque ad diluuium anni duo milia quadraginta duo; a diluuiio usque ad Habraham¹ anni nongenti quadraginta duo; ab Habraham² usque ad Moysen anni sexcenti; a Moyse usque ad Salomonem et primam aedificationem³ templi anni quadringenti octoginta⁴ octo; a Salomone usque⁵ transmigrationem templi, quae sub Dario rege Persarum facta⁶ est, anni quingenti duodecim computantur. Porro a Dario usque ad praedicationem Domini Nostri Iesu Christi et usque ad⁷ quintum decimum annum⁸ imperii Tiberii⁸ imperatoris explentur anni quingenti quadraginta octo.⁹ Ita simul fiunt ab Adam usque ad predicationem¹⁰ Christi et quintum decimum annum epiromani imperatoris Tiberii¹¹ quinque milia ducenti uiginti octo.

A passione Christi peracti sunt anni .dcccc. †xlui.†; ab incarnatione autem eius sunt anni .dcccc. †lxxui.†, et quintus annus imperii Eadmundi regis Anglorum.¹²

Prima igitur aetas mundi ab Adam usque ad Noe; secunda a Noe usque ad Habraham;¹³ tertia ab Abraham usque ad Dauid; quarta a Dauid usque ad Danihelem;¹⁴ quinta aetas usque ad Iohannem baptistam; sexta¹⁵ a Iohanne usque ad iuditium in quo Dominus Noster Iesus Christus ueniet iudicare uiuos¹⁶ ac mortuos¹⁶ et seculum per ignem.

§2. ¹Hec nomina imperatorum qui in Brittannia regnabant:¹ primus Iulius; secundus Claudius; tertius Seuerus; quartus Carinus; quintus Constantius; sextus Maximus; septimus Maximianus; octauus alius Seuerus Aequantius;² nonus Constantius.

§3. Incipit istoria¹ Brittonum² et de origine eorum necnon et
expulsione.² Brittannia³ insula a quodam Bruto⁴ consule romano dicta
est. Haec consurgit ab africo⁵ boreali. Ad occidentem uersa,
octingentorum⁶ in longitudine⁷ milium ducentorum in latitudine⁷
spatium habet. Et in ea sunt triginta tres ciuitates (prima Cair
Hebrauc;⁸ secunda Cair Ceint; tertia Cair Gurcoc;⁹ quarta Cair
Guorthegern;¹⁰ quinta Cair Custeint;¹¹ sexta Cair¹² Guorancgon;¹³
septima Cair Segeint; octaua Cair Guintruis;¹⁴ nona Cair Merdin;
decima Cair¹⁵ Peris; undecima Cair¹⁶ Lion; duodecima Cair Mencipit;
tertia decima Cair Caratauc;¹⁷ quarta decima Cair Ceri; quinta
decima Cair Gloiu;¹⁸ sexta decima Cair Luilid;¹⁹ septima decima
Cair Graut; duodeuicensima Cair Daun;²⁰ undeuicensima Cair Britoc;
uicensima Cair Meguaid; una et uicensima Cair Mauiguid; duae et
uicensima Cair Ligion; tres et uicensima Cair Guent;²¹ quattuor et
uicensima Cair Collon; quinque et uicensima Cair Londein;²² sex et
uicensima Cair Guorcon; septem et uicensima Cair Lerion;
duodetricensima Cair Draithou; undetricensima Cair Pensa uelcoin;²³
tricensima Cair Teim;²⁴ una et tricensima Cair Urnalc;²⁵ duae et
tricensima Cair Celemion;²⁶ tres et tricensima Cair Loit Coit: haec
sunt nomina antiquarum ciuitatum Brittaniae²⁷ insulae) et
innumerabilia promontoria²⁸ cum innumerabilibus castellis ex latere
et lapidibus fabricatis. ²⁹Et in²⁹ ea habitant quattuor³⁰ gentes -
Scotti, Picti, Saxones, et antiqui Bryttones.³¹ Tres³² magnas
insulas habet³³ quarum una,³⁴ australis, uergit contra Armoricas et
uocatur insula Gueith;³⁵ secunda sita est in umbilico maris inter
Hiberniam et Bryttanniam³⁶ et nominatur ³⁷Eubonia uel³⁷ Manau; tertia
est in extremo³⁸ boreali limite orbis Bryttanniae³⁹ ultra Pictos et
uocatur Orch. Sic in prouerbio dicitur antiquo⁴⁰ quando de iudiciis
et regibus sermo fit: iudicauit Bryttanniam⁴¹ cum tribus insulis.

Sunt in ea flumina multa quae confluunt ad omnes partes eius - id est ad orientem⁴² et occidentem,⁴² ad meridiem et septentrionem. Sunt tamen duo flumina praeclariora ceteris fluminibus - Tamensis et Sabrina,⁴³ quasi duo brachia Bryttanniae⁴⁴ - per quae olim rates⁴⁵ uehebantur ad deportandas diuitias pro causa negotiationis. Bryttones⁴⁶ autem⁴⁷ olim impleuerunt⁴⁸ eam et a mari usque ad mare iudicauerunt.

Si quis scire uoluerit quo tempore post diluuium habitata est haec⁴⁹ insula, hoc experimentum bifarie inueni. In annalibus autem Romanorum scriptum est.

§4. De Romanis uero et Grecis trahunt ethimologiam - id est de matre Lauina filia Latini¹ regis Italiae² et progenie Siluani³ filii⁴ Inahi,⁵ filii⁶ Dardani⁷ (idem⁸ Dardanus filius Saturni regis Grecorum perrexit ad partem⁹ Asiae et illic¹⁰ aedificauit urbem Troiae); Dardanus pater Troi;¹¹ Troius¹² pater¹³ Priami et¹³ Anchisae; Anchises¹⁴ pater Eneae; Eneas¹⁵ pater Ascani¹⁶ et Siluii; Siluius filius Aeneae¹⁷ et Lauinae filiae regis Italiae.¹⁸ Et¹⁹ de stirpe²⁰ filii²¹ Aeneae²² et Lauinae orti sunt Remus et Romulus, duo filii regine sanctimonialis²³ Reae,²⁴ ²⁵ qui fecerunt Roman.²⁵

Brutus consul fuit in Roma epiromanus quando expugnauit Hispaniam²⁶ ac detraxit eam in seruitutem Rome. Et postea tenuit Bryttaniam²⁷ insulam²⁸ quam habitabant Bryttones,²⁹ Romanorum filii olim Siluio Posthumo³⁰ orti. Ideo dicitur Posthumus³¹ quia post mortem Aeneae³² patris eius³³ natus est; et fuit mater eius Lauina super clandestina³⁴ quando pregnans erat. Ideo Siluius³⁵ ³⁶ dictus est,³⁶ quia in silua³⁷ natus est. Ideo Siluatici dicti sunt romani reges et Bryttones³⁸ qui³⁹ de eo⁴⁰ nati sunt. Sed a Bruto⁴¹

Bryttones,⁴² et de Bruti⁴³ stirpe⁴⁴ surrexerunt.

§5. Aeneas¹ igitur post troianum² bellum³ cum Ascanio⁴ filio suo uenit ad Italiam et, superato Turno, accepit⁵ Labinam⁶ filiam Latini regis Italiae in coniugium, filii Fauni, filii Pici⁷ filii Saturni. Et post mortem Latini Aeneas⁸ regnum obtinuit Romanorum (Ascanius autem Albam condidit, et postea uxorem duxit.) Et⁹ peperit Labina¹⁰ Aeneae¹¹ filium nomine Siluium.¹²

Ascanius autem duxit uxorem quae concipiens¹³ ¹⁴grauida facta est.¹⁴ Et nuntiatum est Aeneae¹⁵ quod nurus sua grauida erat et¹⁶ pregnans. Et misit ad Ascanium filium suum¹⁷ ut mitteret¹⁷ magum suum ad considerandam uxorem ut exploraret quid haberet in utero, masculum uel feminam. Et uenit magus et¹⁸ considerauit uxorem.¹⁸ Et dixit Ascanio, Aeneae¹⁹ filio, quod masculum haberet in utero mulier et filius²⁰ ²¹mortis erit quia occidet patrem suum et matrem et erit exosus²¹ omnibus hominibus. (Propter hanc²² uaticinationem occisus est magus ab Ascanio.) Sic euenit. In natiuitate illius mulier²³ mortua est. Et nutritus est filius, uocatumque est nomen eius Bruto.²⁴ Post multum uero interuallum iuxta uaticinationem magi, dum ipse²⁵ luderet cum pueris, ²⁶ictu sagittae occidit patrem suum non de industria sed casu. Et per²⁷ hoc²⁶ expulsus est ab Italia. Et [†]armilis^{†28} fuit.

Et peruenit ad insulas maris Terreni,²⁹ et expulsus est inde causa occisionis Turni quem Aeneas³⁰ occidit. Et peruenit usque ad Gallos, et ibi condidit ciuitatem Torronorum³¹ quae uocatur Turnis. Et ³²postea ad istam peruenit³² insulam³³ quae a nomine suo nomen accepit, id est Brittannia;³⁴ ³⁵et impleuit eam cum suo genere et habitauit in ea. Ab illo autem tempore habitata est³⁵ Bryttannia³⁶

usque in hodiernum diem.

Aeneas³⁷ autem ³⁸regnauit tribus annis³⁸ apud Latinos.
 Ascanius regnauit³⁹ annis triginta tribus, post quem Siluius
 regnauit annis duodecim; Posthumus⁴⁰ annis triginta nouem - a quo
 Albanorum reges Siluii apellati⁴¹ sunt - cuius frater erat Bruto.⁴²
 Quando uero regnabat Bruto⁴³ in Bryttannia⁴⁴ - Heli sacerdos
 iudicabat Israhel⁴⁵ et tunc arca⁴⁶ testamenti ab alienigenis⁴⁷
 possidebatur - Posthumus⁴⁸ autem frater eius apud Latinos regnabat.

Post interuallum uero multorum annorum non minus
 octingentorum,⁴⁹ Picti uenerunt et occupauerunt insulas quae
 uocantur⁵⁰ Orcades. Et postea ex insulis uastauerunt⁵¹ regiones
 multas et occupauerunt eas in sinistrali parte Bryttanniae.⁵² Et
 manent ibi, tertiam⁵³ partem Bryttanniae⁵³ tenentes, usque in
 hodiernum diem.

Nouissime autem Scotti uenerunt a partibus Hispanie⁵⁴ ad
 Hiberniam.⁵⁵ Primus uero uenit⁵⁶ Partholomus⁵⁷ cum mille hominibus,
 uiris scilicet et mulieribus; et creuerunt usque⁵⁸ ad quattuor milia
 hominum. Uenitque mortalitas super eos et in una septimana omnes
 perierunt⁵⁹ ita ut ne unus quidem remaneret ex illis.

Secundus autem ad Hiberniam uenit Nimeth,⁶⁰ filius cuiusdam
 Agnominis,⁶¹ qui fertur nauigasse super mare⁶² annum et dimidium.
 Et postea tenuit portum in Hibernia,⁶³ fractis nauibus suis, et
 mansit ibi per multos annos. Et iterum⁶⁴ nauigio cum suis
⁶⁵reuersus est ad Hispaniam.⁶⁵

Deinde uenerunt tres filii militis⁶⁶ Hispanie cum triginta
 ceolis,⁶⁷ in unaquaque ceola habentes triginta coniuges.⁶⁸ Et
 manserunt ibi per spatium unius anni. Et postea apparuit illis
 uitrea turris in medio maris; et quasi homines conspiciebant⁶⁹
 esse super turrim; et querentes loqui ad illos, numquam

respondebant. Et ipsi uno anno ad obpugnationem⁷⁰ turris
 praeparauerunt se⁷¹ cum suis ceolis⁷² omnibus et cum⁷³ omnibus⁷⁴
 mulieribus, excepta una naue (quae confracta⁷⁵ erat naufragio⁷⁶) in
 qua erant uiri triginta totidemque mulieres. Aliae autem naues
 nauigauerunt ad expugnandam turrin. Et dum omnes descenderent⁷⁷
 in litore⁷⁸ quod erat circa turrin, operuit⁷⁹ illos mare et demersi⁸⁰
 sunt. Sed⁸¹ de familia illius ceolae⁸² quae naufragio confracta
 remanserat, tota Hibernia impleta est usque in hodiernum diem. Et
 postea uenerunt paulatim a partibus Hispaniae⁸³ tenueruntque regiones
 plurimas in Bryttania.⁸⁴ Nouissime uenit Damhoctor^{85 86} et ibi⁸⁶
 habitauit cum omni genere suo quod superest usque hodie. Istoreth,⁸⁷
 Istorini⁸⁸ filius, cum suis tenuit Dalmeta.⁸⁹ Buile autem⁹⁰ tenuit
 cum suis⁹⁰ Euboniam insulam et alia circiter loca. Filii autem
 Liethan⁹¹ obtinuerunt⁹² regionem Demetorum⁹³ et alias prouintias,
 Guoher⁹⁴ et Cetgueli,⁹⁵ donec expulsi sunt a Cunedu⁹⁶ et a⁹⁷ filiis
 eius ab omnibus regionibus bryttannicis.⁹⁸

Si quis⁹⁹ autem¹⁰⁰ scire uoluerit¹⁰¹ quanto tempore fuit
 inhabitabilis et deserta Hibernia, sic mihi periti Scottorum¹⁰²
 nuntiauerunt. Quando uenerunt filii Israhel¹⁰³ per mare rubrum, illos
 persecuti sunt Aegyptii¹⁰⁴ et demersi¹⁰⁵ sunt ut in Lege legitur.
 Erat autem uir nobilis de Scithia¹⁰⁶ cum magna familia apud¹⁰⁷
 Aegyptios,¹⁰⁸ ante electus de¹⁰⁹ regno suo. Et ibi erat quando
 Aegyptii¹¹⁰ demersi¹¹¹ sunt; et non exiuit ad persequendum populum
 Dei. Illi autem qui superfuerant Aegyptii¹¹² facto consilio eum, ne
 obsideret¹¹³ illorum regionem¹¹³ ab eis, expulerunt quia maiores eorum
 in¹¹⁴ rubro mari¹¹⁴ demersi¹¹⁵ erant. At ille, ita¹¹⁶ expulsus, per
 annos quadraginta duos¹¹⁷ circuiens per Affricam,¹¹⁸ peruenit cum
 familia ad aras Filistinorum¹¹⁹ et per lacum salinarum. Uenerunt
 inter Rusicadam et montana Syriae;¹²⁰ et uenerunt¹²¹ per flumen Malua;

transieruntque per Maritaniam, et ad columnas¹²² Herculis
 nauigauerunt Terrenum¹²³ mare, et peruenerunt usque ad Hispaniam.
 Et ibi per annos¹²⁴ habitauerunt multos,¹²⁴ et creuerunt et¹²⁵
 multiplicati sunt; ac illorum gens multiplicata est ualde. Postea
 uenerunt ad Hiberniam¹²⁶ post mille et duos annos postquam demersi¹²⁷
 sunt Aegyptii¹²⁸ in mari rubro.

§6. In tempore quo regnabat Brutus¹ apud Romanos a quo consules
 esse coeperunt² (deinde tribuni³ plebis ac dictatores et consules
 rem publicam obtinuerunt⁴ per⁵ annos quadringentos quadraginta
 septem quae⁶ prius⁷ regia dignitate⁷ dampnata fuerat) Bryttones⁸ in
 tertia etate mundi ad Bryttanniam⁹ uenerunt. ¹⁰Scotti autem in
 quarta obtinuerunt¹¹ Hiberniam¹⁰ Scotti autem de occidente et
 Picti de aquilone unanimiter pugnabant contra Bryttones¹² et uno
 actu indesinenter quia sine armis Bryttones¹³ commorabantur. Et
 post multum spatium temporis Romani monarchiam¹⁴ totius mundi
 obtinuerunt.¹⁵

A tempore quo primo¹⁶ Saxones uenerunt in Bryttanniam¹⁷
 usque ad annum quartum¹⁸ Mermen¹⁹ regis computantur anni
 quadringenti uiginti²⁰ nouem. A natiuitate autem Domini usque ad²¹
 aduentum Patricii²² ad Scottos²³ quadringenti quinque anni fuerunt.
 A morte uero Patricii²⁴ usque ad obitum sanctae Brigidae quadraginta
 anni, et a natiuitate²⁵ Colum Cille²⁵ usque ad mortem²⁶ Brigide²⁷
 quattuor²⁸ anni fuerunt.

§7. Aliud experimentum didici de isto Brutone¹ ex antiquis
 libris nostrorum ueterum. Tres filii Noae² diuiserunt orbem terrae
 in tres partes post diluuium - Sem³ in Asia, Cam⁴ in Africa,⁵

Iafeth⁶ in Europa⁷ - et dilatauerunt terminos suos. Primus homo uenit ad Europam, Alanus cum tribus filiis suis⁸ quorum nomina⁸ Hisicion,⁹ Armenon, Neugio. Hisicion¹⁰ autem habuit¹¹ filios quattuor¹¹ - Francum, Romamum, Alamannum, et Brutonem¹² Armenon autem habuit filios quinque - Gothum,¹³ Ualagothum,¹⁴ Gibidum,¹⁵ Burgundum, Langobardum¹⁶ Neugio uero habuit tres¹⁷ - Uuandalum,¹⁸ Saxonem, Bogarum¹⁹ Ab Hisicione²⁰ autem²¹ ortae sunt quattuor²² gentes - Franci, Latini, Alamanni, et Bryttones;²³ ab Armenone autem Gothi,²⁴ Uualagothi,²⁵ Cibidi,²⁶ Burgundi, et Langobardi;²⁷ a Neugio²⁸ autem Bogari,²⁹ Uuandali,³⁰ Saxones, Tarincgi.³¹ Istae gentes subdiuisae³² sunt per totam Europam.

Alanus, ut aiunt, filius fuit Fethuir,³³ Fethuir³⁴ filius Ogomuin,³⁵ Ogomuin³⁶ filius Thoi;³⁷ Thoi³⁸ filius fuit³⁹ Boib,⁴⁰ Boib⁴¹ filius Semion, Semion filius Mair;⁴² Mair⁴² filius fuit⁴³ Ecthactus,⁴⁴ Ecthactus⁴⁵ filius⁴⁶ Aurthact,⁴⁷ Aurthact⁴⁷ filius Ethec,⁴⁸ Ethech⁴⁹ filius Ooth,⁵⁰ Ooth⁵¹ filius Abir,⁵² Abir⁵² filius Ra, Ra filius Esraa, Esraa filius Hisrau,⁵³ Hisrau⁵⁴ filius Bath, Bath filius Iobath,⁵⁵ Iobath⁵⁵ filius⁵⁶ Iohan, Iohan filius Iafeth,⁵⁷ Iafeth⁵⁸ filius Noe, Noe⁵⁹ filius Lamech, Lamech filius Matusalem,⁶⁰ Matusalem⁶¹ filius Enoch,⁶² Enoch⁶³ filius Iared,⁶⁴ Iared⁶⁴ filius Malalehel,⁶⁵ Malalehel⁶⁶ filius Cainan,⁶⁷ Cainan⁶⁸ filius Enos, Enos filius Seth, Seth filius Adam, Adam filius et plasmatio Dei uiui.⁶⁹

Hanc peritiam⁷⁰ didicimus ex traditione ueterum qui in primordio accolae⁷¹ fuerunt Bryttannie:⁷² ⁷³Bryttones⁷⁴ a Bruto⁷⁵ dicti; Brutus⁷⁶ filius⁷⁷ Hisicionis,⁷⁸ Hisicion⁷⁹ filius Alani, Alanus⁸⁰ filius Reae⁸¹ Silueae,⁸² ⁸³Rea Siluea⁸³ filia Numae⁸⁴ Pampilii,⁸⁵ Numa⁸⁶ filius⁸⁷ Ascanii,⁸⁸ Ascanius filius Eneae,⁸⁹ Aeneas⁹⁰ filius Anchisae,⁹¹ Anchises⁹² filius Troi,⁹³ Troius⁹⁴ filius Dardani, Dardanus filius Flisae,⁹⁵ Flisa⁹⁶ filius Iuani,⁹⁷ Iuan⁹⁸ filius Iafeth.⁹⁹ Iafeth¹⁰⁰

uero¹⁰¹ ¹⁰² septem filios habuit: ¹⁰² primus Gomer, ¹⁰³ a quo Galli;
 secundus Magog, ¹⁰⁴ a quo Scithi ¹⁰⁵ et Gothi; tertius Madian, ¹⁰⁶ a
 quo Medi; quartus ¹⁰⁷ Iuuan, ¹⁰⁸ a quo Greci; quintus Tubal, a quo
 Hebrei, ¹⁰⁹ ¹¹⁰ Hispani, et Itali; ¹¹⁰ sextus Mosoch, ¹¹¹ a quo
 Cappadoces; ¹¹² septimus Tiras, ¹¹³ a quo Traces. Hii ¹¹⁴ sunt filii
 Iafeth, ¹¹⁵ filii Noae, ¹¹⁶ filii Lamech. ⁷³

§8. Romani autem, dum acciperent dominium totius mundi, ¹ ad ²
 Bryttannos³ miserunt legatos¹ ut obsides et censum acciperent ab
 illis sicut accipiebant ab uniuersis regionibus et ab omnibus insulis.
 Brittanni⁴ autem, cum essent⁵ tiranni⁶ et tumidi, legationem
 Romanorum contempserunt.

§9. Tunc Iulius Caesar, ¹ cum accepisset totius orbis singulare
 imperium et primus obtineret, ² ualde iratus ad Bryttanniam³ cum
 sexaginta⁴ ceolis peruenit⁵ in ostio⁶ fluminis Tamensis, ⁷ in quo
 naufragium ⁹ naues illius⁹ perpressae sunt dum ille pugnaret apud
 Dolobellum qui erat proconsul bryttannici¹⁰ regis qui et ipse rex
 Belinus uocabatur; et erat Minocanni filius qui occupauit omnes
 insulas Terreni¹¹ maris. Et Iulius reuersus est sine uictoria,
 caesis militibus fractisque nauibus.

Et iterum, post spatium trium¹² annorum, com¹³ magno exercitu
 et trecentis ceolis peruenit ad ostium¹⁴ praedicti fluminis
 Tamensis. ¹⁵ Et ibi inierunt bellum; et ceciderunt de equis¹⁶
 militibusque suis multi, quia supradictus¹⁷ consul posuerat sudes
 ferreos semenque bellicosum (id est cethilou) in uada fluminis, quod
 discrimen fuit magnum. Ars enim erat latenter constructa et
 inuisibilis ¹⁸ militibus Romanorum. ¹⁸ Et hac uice, sicut prius,

imperator com¹⁹ suis reuersus est sine uictoria uel pace.

Tertio igitur cummissum²⁰ est bellum a Romanis contra Bryttones,²¹ iuxta locum qui dicitur Trinouantum. Et Iulius uictor imperium bryttannicae²² gentis obtinuit,²³ quadraginta et²⁴ septem annis²⁵ ante natiuitatem Christi.²⁶ Ab initio autem mundi quinque milibus ducentis duodecim transactis annis, Iulius primus in Bryttanniam²⁷ peruenit Romanorum rex et regnum²⁸ et gentem obsedit. Et in honorem illius Quintilem²⁹ 'Iulium' mensem³⁰ Romani statuerunt uocari, siquidem Idibus Martis Gaius Iulius Caesar³¹ in curia³² occiditur, tenente Octauiano Augusto monarchiam totius mundi. Nam et censum a Bryttania³³ ipse solus accepit, ut Uirgilius ait: Purpurea intexti tollunt³⁴ aulea Bryttani.³⁵

§10. Secundus autem¹ post hunc Claudius imperator uenit et in Bryttannia² imperauit per quadraginta septem³ annos⁴ post aduentum Christi; et stragem bellumque agens multum, non absque detrimento militum iuuenumque suorum, uictor fuit Bryttanniae.⁵ Postea nauigio ad Orcades⁶ peruenit insulas⁶ et subiecit eas fecitque tributarias. In tempore illius nullum Romanis censum fuit traditum a Bryttania,⁷ sed imperatoribus brittannicis⁸ redditum est. Regnauit autem annis tredecim et mensibus octo. Cuius monumentum in Mogontia⁹ apud Longobardos ostenditur; dum¹⁰ ad Romam iret, ibi defunctus est.

Post¹¹ centum et sexaginta septem annos post aduentum Christi, Lucius bryttannicus¹² rex¹³ com¹⁴ omnibus regulis¹⁵ totius bryttanicae¹⁶ gentis baptismum suscepit, missa legatione ab imperatoribus Romanorum et papa¹⁷ romano Euaristo.

§11. Tercius fuit Seuerus qui transfretauit ad¹ Bryttannos² ubi, ut receptas prouintias ab incursione barbarica defenderet, tuitionis murum et aggerem a mari usque ad mare per latitudinem Bryttanniae³ (id est per centena triginta duo milia passuum) deduxit; et brittannico⁴ sermone uocatur Gaaul.⁵ Propterea iussit feeri⁶ inter Bryttones⁷ et Pictos et Scottos⁸ (quod Scotti⁹ ab occidente et Picti ab aquilone unanimiter pugnabant¹⁰ contra Bryttones¹¹); nam et ipsi pacem inter se habebant. Et post multum tempus¹² Seuerus intra Bryttanniam¹³ Eboraci¹⁴ moritur.

§12. Quartus¹ fuit Caritius² imperator et tyrannus³ qui et ipse⁴ tyrannide⁵ in⁶ Bryttanniam⁷ uenit. Quia⁸ iratus pro occisione Seueri⁹ aduenerat et⁹ cum omnibus ducibus romanae gentis qui erant cum eo, Bryttanniam¹⁰ ¹¹uerberauit ac omnes regulos ducesque Bryttonum,¹¹ et uindicauit in illis Seuerum; et purpuram Brittanniae¹² deuastauit.

§13. Quintus fuit Constantius,¹ Constantini magni filius. Et defunctus est in Brittannia;² et sepulchrum illius esse uidetur iuxta urbem quae uocatur Cair Segeint, ut littere quae sunt in lapide tumuli ostendunt. Et ipse seminauit in pauimento supradicte ciuitatis tria semina - auri argenti aeris³ - ut nullus umquam⁴ ⁵in ea pauper⁵ maneret. Et uocatur alio nomine Minmanton.⁶

§14. Sextus Maximus¹ imperauit in¹ Bryttannia.² A tempore illius consules³ esse coeperunt, et cesares postea numquam appellati sunt. In tempore⁴ autem illius,⁴ sanctus Martinus uirtutibus et miraculis

claruit; ⁵et cum eo locutus est. ⁵

§15. Septimus Maximianus imperator regnauit in Bryttannia. ¹
 Ipse perrexit com² omnibus militibus Brittonum a Bryttannia, ³ et
 occidit regem Romanorum Gratianum et imperium obtinuit⁴ totius
 Europae. Noluitque dimittere belligeros suos - comites,
 Brittones - ad uxores suas⁵ et filios et ad⁶ possessiones suas,
 sed multas illis largitus est⁷ regiones a stagno quod est super
 uerticem Montis Iouis usque ad ciuitatem quae uocatur Cantguic⁸ et
 usque ad tumulum⁹ occidentalem (id est Cruc Occident). Hi¹⁰ sunt
 Bryttones¹¹ armorici, et illic permanserunt¹² usque in hodiernum
 diem. Propter illorum absentiam Brittannia¹³ superata est ab
 alienigenis¹⁴ gentibus et heredes electi, usque¹⁵ quo ¹⁶a Deo¹⁶
 auxilium largiatur. Traditione uero seniorum didicimus fuisse a
 Romanis septem imperatoris¹⁷ in Brittannia; ¹⁸Romani autem¹⁹ nouem
 affirmant.

§16. Octauus fuit alius Seuerus. Hic aliquando in Brittannia¹
 commorabatur, ²et³ aliquando Romae manebat; ibique⁴ defunctus est.

§17. Nonus fuit Constantius. ¹ Ipse regnauit sedecim annis in
 Bryttannia; ²et in septimo³ decimo ⁴imperii sui anno⁴ obiit -
 quasi⁵ dolo ueraciter⁶ occisus in Bryttannia, ⁷ut aiunt. Ita, ut
 legimus, apud Bryttones⁸ regnauerunt Romani per ⁹quadringentos nouem
 annos. ⁹

§18. His ita transactis Bryttones¹ imperium Romanorum contempserunt nec censum dedere² nec illorum reges susceperunt, neque Romani amplius³ sunt ausi³ ut ad regnandum Bryttanniam⁴ adirent quia duces eorum Bryttones⁵ occiderant.

Iterum⁶ repetendus est sermo de Maximiano tiranno.⁷

Gratianus cum fratre Ualentino regnauit annis septem. Ambrosius tunc⁸ Mediolanensis episcopus clarus habebatur in catholicorum⁹ dogmate. Ualentinus cum Theodosio regnauit¹⁰ octo annis.¹⁰ Tempore illo synodus¹¹ Constantinopolim colligitur,¹² trecentorum quinquaginta uidelicet¹⁴ patrum,¹⁵ ¹⁶in quo¹⁶ omnes hereses dampnantur. Hieronimus¹⁷ etiam presbiter Bethleemitis¹⁸ toto mundo claruit. Dum Gratianus imperator regnaret in toto mundo, in Brittania¹⁹ per seditionem militum Maximus imperator factus est quem mox in Gallias transfretasse²⁰ perhibent; et Gratianum regem Parasis²¹ Meroblaudis magistri militum proditione superauit. Et²² fugiens Lugduni captus adque²³ occisus est. Maximus²⁴ Uictorem filium suum consortem regni fecit. Martinus Turonensis episcopus tunc temporis in magnis uirtutibus claruit. Post multum uero spatium temporis a Ualentino et Theodosio consulibus spoliatus Maximus indumentis regis sistitur et in capite lapide dampnatur. Cuius filius Uictor eodem anno ab Argubuste²⁵ comite interfectus est in Gallia, peractis ab initio mundi²⁶ quinque milibus sescentis nonaginta annis.

Tribus uicibus occisi sunt duces Romanorum a Bryttonibus.²⁷ Et²⁸ Bryttones,²⁹ dum anxiantur a barbarorum gentibus (id est Scottorum et³⁰ Pictorum), auxilium Romanorum flagitabant. Et tum³¹ legati mittebantur cum magno luctu, et cum sablonibus super capita sua intrabant, et portabant³² magna munera pro admissa³³ occisionis culpa ducum. Et accipientes grata dona³⁴ consules ab illis, promittebant iurando accipere³⁵ iugum romanici imperii, licet durum

esset. Et Romani cum magno exercitu ad auxilium uenerunt³⁶
 Bryttonum,³⁷ constitueruntque³⁸ duces et imperatores³⁹ in Bryttannia.⁴⁰
 Et composito imperatore cum ducibus, reuertebatur exercitus ad Romam.
 Et sic alternatim⁴¹ per quadringentos quadraginta octo annos agebant:
 Bryttones⁴² autem propter grauitatem imperii occidebant duces
 Romanorum, et auxilium postea petebant ab eis; Romani autem⁴³ ad
 imperium auxiliumque et uindictam proximorum ueniebant et, spoliata
 Bryttannia⁴⁴ auro argento⁴⁵ atque aere⁴⁶ omni⁴⁷ pretiosa ueste⁴⁷
 melle et⁴⁸ muneribus, com⁴⁹ magno triumpho reuertebantur.

Factum est autem post⁵⁰ supradictum bellum quod fuit inter
 Brittones⁵¹ et Romanos quando duces eorum occisi sunt, et uictoriam
 Maximiani⁵² qui Gratianum occidit, transactoque⁵³ Romanorum imperio
 a Bryttannia,⁵⁴ per quadraginta⁵⁵ annos fuerunt sub metu.

§19. Gurthegirrus autem regnabat in Bryttannia,¹ sed in tempore
 illius Bryttones² urgebantur³ a metu Scottorum Pictorumque et ⁴a
 romano⁴ impetu⁵ necnon⁶ et⁷ a⁸ timore Ambrosii.

§20. Interea tres ceolae, a Germania¹ in exilium expulsae,
 Bryttanniam² aduenerunt:³ in quibus dominabantur⁴ Hors et Hengest,
 qui et ipsi fratres erant, filii Guictglis;⁵ Guictglis⁶ filius
 Guicta;⁷ Guicta⁸ filius Guechta;⁹ Guechta¹⁰ filius Uuoden;¹¹
 Uuoden¹² filius Frealof; Frealof filius Fredulf; Fredulf filius
 Finn;¹³ Finn¹⁴ filius Foleguald;¹⁵ Foleguald¹⁶ filius Geta¹⁷ qui,
 ut aiunt, ¹⁸filius fuit¹⁸ dei, non ueri nec omnipotentis Dei et
 Domini Nostri Iesu Christi (qui ante tempora seculorum permanens
 Patri et Spiritui Sancto coaeternus et consubstantialis in fine
 seculorum et¹⁹ mortalitatis nostrae formam non dedignatus est

induere seruilem) sed alicuius²⁰ ex idolis eorum quem, ab ipso daemone caecati, more gentili pro deo colebant.

Gurthegirnus²¹ autem suscepit eos benigne et tradidit eis insulam quae lingua eorum uocatur Tenet,²² brittannice²³ Roihin.²⁴ Regnante Gratiano Equantio²⁵ Romae, Saxones uero²⁶ a Gurthegirno suscepti sunt anno trecentesimo quadragensimo septimo post passionem Christi.²⁷

²⁸A tempore quo aduenerunt primo ad Bryttanniam²⁹ Saxones usque ad ³⁰primum imperii annum³⁰ regis Eadmundi, [†].dc.xl.ii;[†] ad hunc³¹ in quo nos scribimus, annos traditione seniorum [†].dc.xlii.[†] didicimus,³² quippe quia iste imperii quintus³³ antedicti³⁴ regis est annus.²⁸

§ 21. In tempore illo uenit sanctus Germanus ad praedicandum in Bryttannia,¹ et apud illos multis claruit uirtutibus; et multi per eum saluifacti sunt² et plurimi perierunt.² ⁴Miracula pauca ex multis quae per illum fecit Deus scribere decreui.⁴ Primum ergo miraculum⁵ declarandum est, quod uir quidam erat rex iniquus atque tyrannus⁶ cui nomen Belinus.⁷ Audiens autem⁸ uir sanctus iniquitatem eius,⁹ properare¹⁰ disposuit ut uisitaret iniquum regem et praedicaret illi. At cum¹¹ ipse uir Dei¹¹ cum comitibus suis uenisset ad portam urbis, hostiarius¹² ciuitatis obuiauit et salutauit eos. Qui miserunt eum ad regem. Rex autem iniquus,¹³ dure respondens, ait cum iuramento, "Etiam si per¹⁴ istius anni¹⁴ spatium permaneant iuxta portam ciuitatis meae, intro¹⁵ non uenient".¹⁶ Illis autem¹⁷ responsum expectantibus, dies¹⁸ declinauit ad uesperum, nesciebantque quo irent.

§22. Interea¹ uenit unus de seruis regis de medio urbis; et inclinauit² se ante uirum Dei, nuntiauitque eis omnia uerba tyranni.³ Et inuitauit eos ad domum suam, exieruntque cum eo. Et benigne⁴ eos suscepit.⁴ Nihil⁵ tamen habebat de omnibus iumentorum generibus, praeter⁶ unam uaccam⁶ cum uitulo. Ille autem hospitalitatis gratia uitulum mactauit et coxit posuitque ante illos.

§23. Sanctus autem Germanus praecepit sociis¹ suis ut nullum os² frangerent de ossibus uituli.² Sequentis³ autem facto mane diei, inuentus est uitulus stans ante matrem suam, uiuus sanus et incolumis. Primo igitur mane eiusdem diei, iterum adierunt portam ciuitatis ut⁴ salutationem impetrarent⁴ regis iniqui.⁵ Cum autem orando expectarent iuxta portam urbis,⁶ ecce uir unus occurrebat cuius sudor a uertice capitis usque ad plantas pedum distillabat. Inclinauitque se ante illos. At sanctus Germanus ait, "Credis in Sanctam Trinitatem?" Ille uero⁷ respondit, "Credo". Baptizauitque eum⁸ et osculatus est.⁹ Et dixit ei, "Uade in pace. In ista enim hora morieris, et angeli Dei in aere¹⁰ expectant te¹⁰ ut cum illis gradiaris ad Deum cui credidisti." Ipse autem letus urbem intrauit, obuiansque¹¹ praefectus tenuit illum¹² et obprimens¹³ alligauit praesentatusque est conspectui¹⁴ tyranni¹⁵ cuius sententia protinus interfectus est. Hic autem mos¹⁶ erat apud nequissimum regem ut quisquis ad seruitutem ante solis ortum non conueniret continuo in arce¹⁷ decollaretur. Sanctus uero Germanus cum suis iuxta portam urbis¹⁸ tota die prestolabatur, nec tamen¹⁹ impetrare²⁰ potuerunt ut salutarent tyrannum.²¹ Sed solito more supradictus adfuit²² seruus; et dixit illi sanctus Germanus, "Caue ut nullus de tuis hominibus in ista nocte remaneat in hac²³ arce". Ipse uero celerius urbem ingrediens eduxit nouem²⁴ filios suos, et ipsi cum eo ad²⁵ supradictum

hospitium²⁵ reuersi sunt. Et praecepit illis ut ieiuni²⁶ manerent; clausisque ianuis dixit, "Uigilantes²⁸ estote! Et si quid euenerit²⁹ in arce, nolite conspicer³⁰, sed indesinenter orate et ad Deum uerum clamate!" Igitur post modicum³¹ noctis interuallum³¹ ignis cecidit de caelo, et urbem combussit³² omnesque homines qui cum tyranno³³ erant ita ut ne unus quidem ex eis remaneret. Et arx³⁴ illa non est³⁵ aedificata usque in hodiernum diem.

Crastino³⁶ autem die uir ille qui hospitalis fuit credidit, Germano³⁷ praedicante, ³⁸et baptizatus est³⁸ cum omnibus filiis suis³⁹ et cum omnibus in illa regione habitantibus. Erat autem ⁴⁰illi nomen⁴⁰ Catel.⁴¹ Benedixitque eum sanctus Germanus, et⁴² addidit⁴³ dicens, "Rex non deficiet de semine tuo usque in sempiternum" - ⁴⁴ipse est Catel⁴⁵ drunluc⁴⁴ - "et tu ipse rex eris ab hodierna die omnibus diebus uitae tuae". Sicque impleta est psalmigrafi⁴⁶ prophetia⁴⁷ dicentis: 'Suscitans de puluere egenum et de stercore erigens⁴⁸ pauperem'. At⁴⁹ iuxta uerbum sancti Germani⁵⁰ rex de seruo⁵¹ factus est, omnesque filii eius reges facti sunt, et a semine illorum omnis regio Pouoisorum⁵² ⁵³usque in diem regitur hodiernum.⁵³

§24. Factum¹ est autem, postquam metati² sunt Saxones in supradicta insula Tenet,³ promisit ⁴rex supradictus⁴ Gurthegirinus dare illis uictum et uestimentum⁵ absque⁶ defectione pro eo quod sese promiserant uiriliter contra inimicos eius pugnatu⁷. Cum autem barbari multiplicati essent numero, non potuerunt Bryttones⁸ cibare⁹ illos cum solito more cibum uestemque sibi dari postularent, ut eis antea¹⁰ fuerat promissum.¹¹ Dixeruntque¹² Brytones,¹³ "Numerus uester multiplicatus est. Adiutorio uestro non indigemus. Recedite a nobis. Uictum uel uestitum¹⁴ uobis dare nolumus." Et ipsi,

consilium inter se facientes,¹⁵ quaerebant¹⁶ qualiter pacem
 rumperent.¹⁷ Hengistus autem,¹⁸ cum esset uir astutus et callidus
 (explorassetque¹⁹ regem indoctum ac gentem uagitantem²⁰ et sine
 armis²¹ commorantem), inito²² consilio, dixit ad regem Gurthegirnum,
 "Pauci sumus. Si uis, mittemus ad patriam nostram et inuitemus²³
 milites de regione nostra ut amplior²⁴ sit numerus²⁵ ad certandum²⁶
 pro te et pro²⁷ gente tua." Et, impetrata a rege licentia,
 miserunt legatos qui, transfretantes Scithiam,²⁸ uenerunt²⁹ ad
 patriam suam. Electisque inde³⁰ militibus ac uiris bellicosus,
 reuersi sunt cum sedecim ceolis, adducentes secum filiam Hengisti³¹
 pulchram ualde decora³² facie.³³ Reuersisque nuntiis, Hengistus
 conuiuium³⁴ regi Gurthegirno militibusque³⁵ suis et interpreti³⁶
 suo nomine³⁷ Ceretic praeparauit.³⁸ Ac³⁹ puellam filiam suam³⁹
 iussit illis ministrare uinumque et siceram ubertim⁴⁰ propinare,
 quatenus⁴¹ saturarentur nimisque inebriarentur. Sed, illis
 bibentibus et ualde inebriatis, diabolo instigante, Guorthegirnus⁴²
 amore⁴³ inardescens puellae per interpretem⁴⁴ suum illam postulauit
 a patre suo. Promisitque ei dicens, "Quicquid postulaueris pro ea
 a me, uoluntarie tibi praestabo". Hengistus autem, inito⁴⁵
 consilio cum senioribus comitibus suis⁴⁶ qui secum uenerant de genere
 Ochgul⁴⁷ uel Ongle,⁴⁷ petiit pro puella prouintiam quae⁴⁸ uocatur
 anglice⁴⁸ Centland,⁴⁹ bryttannice⁵⁰ autem⁵¹ Ceint.⁵² Et data est
 illis ipsa prouincia, ignorante Guoranguono⁵³ qui tunc temporis
 regnabat⁵⁴ in Cantia; quem⁵⁵ quidem dolor⁵⁵ nimius exagitabat, quia
 regnum suum clam doloseque et imprudenter⁵⁶ alienigenis⁵⁷ datum⁵⁸ est.
 Sic tamen⁵⁹ puella regi tradita est,⁵⁹ dormiuitque cum ea et ultra
 modum amauit.⁶⁰ Hengistus autem pater puellae Guorthegirno⁶¹ regi
 dixit, "Ego ero⁶² pater et consiliator tuus:⁶² caue ne transgrediaris
 consilium meum, quia numquam ab ullo homine uel ulla gente superari⁶³

timebis quoniam gens mea ualida est ad bellandumque robusta. Si uis, mittam ad filium meum cum fratruele⁶⁴ suo, qui sunt uiri bellatores, inuitans eos ut dimicent contra Scottos; et da illis regiones quae sunt⁶⁵ in aquilone⁶⁵ iuxta murum qui uocatur Guaul."⁶⁶ Licentia autem⁶⁷ in prouidi regis⁶⁷ inuitauit eos - Ochta uidelicet et Ebisa - cum quadraginta ceolis. At uero ipsi, cum nauigarent circa Pictos, uastauerunt⁶⁸ Orcades insulas,⁶⁸ et occupauerunt regiones plurimas usque ad confinium Pictorum. Hengistus autem inuitabat paulatim ceolas suae regionis ad se ita ut insulas ad quas uenerant absque habitatore relinquerent; et, dum gens illorum creuisset in uirtute et in⁶⁹ multitudine, uenerunt ad supradictam regionem Cantuariorum.⁷⁰

At⁷¹ super omnia mala adiciens⁷² Guorthegirnus accepit⁷³ filiam suam sibi⁷⁴ uxorem; quae peperit ei⁷⁵ filium. Hoc autem cum compertum esset sancto Germano, uenit⁷⁶ corripere eum⁷⁶ cum omni clero Bryttonum.⁷⁷ Dumque congregatio⁷⁸ magna sinodi clericorum laicorumque una in⁷⁹ consilio, rex stolidissimus⁸⁰ praemonuit filiam suam ut exiret⁸¹ ad sinodum et daret filium suum in sinu sancti Germani diceretque coram omnibus quod ipse⁸² pater esset⁸² infantis. Mulier uero⁸³ in pudica fecit⁸³ sicut prius⁸⁴ erat aedocta.⁸⁵ Suscepitque infantulum⁸⁶ sanctus Germanus et dixit, "Pater tibi ero, nate; nec⁸⁷ te dimittam⁸⁷ donec mihi nouacula cum forcipe⁸⁸ pectineque detur et tibi liceat haec patri tuo carnali dare". Sicque factum est. Et infans⁸⁹ sancto oboediuit⁸⁹ Germano, perrexitque ad auum suum - patrem scilicet carnalem - Guorthegirnum;⁹⁰ et dixit illi puer, "Pater meus es: capud⁹¹ meum tonde, et comam capitis mei!" Et⁹² ille erubescens siluit, et infantulo respondere noluit, sed surgens iratus est ualde. A facieque⁹³ Germani⁹⁴ fugiens, maledictus ac⁹⁵ dampnatus est a sancto⁹⁶ et ab omni sinodali conuentu.⁹⁷

Postea uero⁹⁸ inuitatis⁹⁹ ad se⁹⁹ 100 magis duodecim,¹⁰⁰ quid

ageret ab eis percunctatus est.¹⁰¹ At illi dixerunt, "Ad extremas¹⁰² fines regni tui uade, et urbem aedifica munitam ubi te defendere possis;¹⁰³ quia gens quam suscepisti in regno tuo tibi insidiatur et cogitat te dolo superare uniuersasque regiones, quae nunc tuae subiacent dicioni, uiuenti¹⁰⁴ te, molitur¹⁰⁵ deuastare, quanto magis cum mortuus fueris." ¹⁰⁶Placuit itaque¹⁰⁶ regi magorum consilium, exiuitque¹⁰⁷ idem cum¹⁰⁷ ipsis magis, multas regiones multasque circumiens¹⁰⁸ prouintias, si forte alicubi ad arcem aedificandam aptum locum inueniret. Illis uero longe lateque proficiscentibus et minime ¹⁰⁹locum congruum¹⁰⁹ inuenientibus, tandem peruenerunt ad quandam prouintiam quae ¹¹⁰Guenet uocatur;¹¹⁰ et, cum lustrarent montana Heremi, repperiunt in unius sumitate¹¹¹ montis locum congruum ad arcem construendam.¹¹²

Dixeruntque magi¹¹³ ad regem, "Urbem tibi hic aedifica, quia tutissima erit¹¹⁴ a barbaris in aeternum". Rex autem congregauit artifices lignarios¹¹⁵ lapidariosque¹¹⁶ et omnia necessaria¹¹⁷ ad operis materiam,¹¹⁸ ut arcem erigeret. Congregata uero innumerabili materia,¹¹⁹ omnia una nocte ablata atque dispersa sunt ita ut nihil¹²⁰ remaneret sumptuum ad arcem componendam. Sicque secundo¹²¹ et tertio¹²¹ collectis¹²² undique materiebus,^{122a} rursus omnia ad nihilum¹²³ redacta euanuerunt erectoque¹²⁴ aedificio praecipitium¹²⁵ patuit et nullum ualebat obtinere¹²⁶ statum. At ille, accersitis ad se magis, percunctatus est eos quae esset haec causa malitiae aut unde tanti laboris inutile proueniret¹²⁷ dispendium.¹²⁸ Illi autem respondentes dixerunt, "Nisi¹²⁹ inueneris¹³⁰ infantem sine patre, et nisi occidatur et arx¹³¹ tua a¹³² sanguine eius aspergatur, non aedificabitur in aeternum". Magis uero tale dantibus consilium, rex legatos¹³³ per totam misit Bryttanniam¹³³ ut quererent utrum infantem sine patre uspiam inuenire possent. Qui, omnes prouintias et regiones

Bryttanniae¹³⁴ perlustrantes, peruenerunt ad campum Elleti,¹³⁵ qui
 est in pago¹³⁶ qu⁽ⁱ⁾¹³⁷ uocatur Gleuesing,¹³⁸ ubi pueri pilae ludum
 agebant.¹³⁹ Et ecce duo inter se litigantes; alter alteri dicebat,
 "O homo sine patre,¹⁴⁰ bonum tibi non¹⁴⁰ eueniat!" At illi, ab
 aliis pueris et a matre, de puero illo diligenter percunctati sunt
 si patrem haberet. Mater uero illius pueri negauit, dicens, "Nescio
 quomodo in utero meo conceptus est. Unum tamen scio: quia uirum in
 coitu numquam cognoui." Sicque iure iurando affirmauit quod filius
 eius patrem non haberet carnalem. Duxerunt¹⁴¹ igitur¹⁴² puerum
 secum ad Guorthegirnum regem, dominum suum; insinuaueruntque regi¹⁴³
 omnia quae de illo¹⁴⁴ didicerant. Crastino autem die conuentio¹⁴⁵
 facta est ut puer interficeretur. Puer uero ait ad regem, "Cur
 famuli tui me adduxerunt ad te?" Respondit ei rex,¹⁴⁶ "Ut
 interficiaris¹⁴⁷ et tuo sanguine arx¹⁴⁸ ista aspergatur, ut postmodum
 possit aedificari". Puer autem ad regem: "Quis te docuit ut illud
 facias?"¹⁴⁹ Respondit rex,¹⁴⁶ ¹⁵⁰"Magi isti¹⁵⁰ sic mihi
 praedixerunt". Ad¹⁵¹ haec puer: "Iube ut ad me uocentur!"
 Inuitatis magis, puer eos alloquitur, "Quomodo uobis reuelatum est ut
 aedificium¹⁵² urbis istius¹⁵³ sanguine meo¹⁵³ aspergatur, et quod
 numquam aedificetur nisi sanguine meo prius fuerit aspersa? Nunc
 cognoscere a uobis palam cupio quis me uobis reuelauit." Rursumque
 puer ad regem: "Modo tibi rex in ueritate omnia enucleando narrabo.
 Sed a magis tuis¹⁵⁴ ¹⁵⁵interrogando scire¹⁵⁵ uolo, quid sit¹⁵⁶ in
 pauimento loci istius; etenim congruum mihi uidetur ut tibi
 ostendant quid sub pauimento habeatur." At illi respondentes
 dixerunt, "Nescimus". At ille: "Stagnum in medio pauimenti est.
 Uenite et fodite, quia¹⁵⁷ sic inuenietis!" Uenerunt atque¹⁵⁸
 foderunt, stagnumque inuenerunt. Iterum puer magos interrogans ait,
 "Reuelate nobis quid sit in stagno!" At illi, silentes et
 erubescentes, reuelare non¹⁵⁹ potuerunt. Puer autem¹⁶⁰ ait, "Ego

¹⁶¹uobis possum¹⁶¹ reuelare. Duo uasa sunt ipsa sibi conclusa¹⁶²
 in stagno. " Uenerunt et probauerunt, et ita inuenerunt.
 Interrogansque¹⁶³ magos, puer ait, "Quid in uasis conclusis¹⁶⁴
 habetur?" At illi tacentes respondere non ualebant. ¹⁶⁵Puer
 inquit,¹⁶⁵ "Tentorium¹⁶⁶ est in eis. Separate ea abinuicem, et sic
 inuenietis!" Iussu autem regis separata sunt uasa, inuentumque¹⁶⁷
 est in eis tentorium¹⁶⁸ complicatum sicut puer prius praedixerat.
 More solito puer magos interrogat, "Quid in tentorio¹⁶⁹ circumuoluitur?"
 Illi uero neque hoc soluere potuerunt. Rursumque puer: "Uermes",
 inquit,¹⁷⁰ "duo sunt in eo, unus albus et alter¹⁷¹ rufus".¹⁷²
 Tentorio¹⁷³ siquidem explicato, duo uermes, ut predixerat, dormientes
 inuenti sunt. Adiecitque puer, "Expectate et considerate quid
 faciant uermes!" Illis autem¹⁷⁴ expectantibus,¹⁷⁵ alternatim
 coeperunt inter se colluctare uermes. Albus uero humeros
 subponens¹⁷⁶ rufum deiecit usque medium tentorii;¹⁷⁷ aliquando autem
 usque marginem¹⁷⁸ tentorii¹⁷⁹ expulit. Sicque tribus uicibus
 certantes agebant. Ad¹⁸⁰ ultimum tamen uermis rufus, qui infirmior
 uidebatur, recuperando uirtutem suam album proiecit¹⁸¹ et extra
 tentorium¹⁸² reppulit;¹⁸³ et, trans¹⁸⁴ stagnum rupho¹⁸⁵ album
 subsequente, euamit albus. Puer autem, magos interrogans, ait,
 "Quid significat hoc mirabile¹⁸⁶ praesagium quod uidistis?" At illi
 dixerunt, "Nescimus". Puer uero ait regi, "En uobis misterium quod
 reuelatum¹⁸⁷ est¹⁸⁸ enucleando¹⁸⁹ certius exponam."¹⁸⁹

"Stagnum figura huius mundi est. Tentorium¹⁹⁰ regni tui
 uidetur habere figuram. ¹⁹¹Duo uermes duo dracones sunt:¹⁹¹ uermis
 autem¹⁹² rufus draco tuus est; albus uero uermis draco est¹⁹³ gentis
 illius quae occupat gentes plurimas et regiones in Brytannia¹⁹⁴ et
 pene a mari usque ad mare tenebit.¹⁹⁵ Sed tamen ad ultimum gens
 nostra¹⁹⁶ consurget, et illam Saxonum destruet¹⁹⁷ gentem deicietque

ab hac insula trans mare unde antea¹⁹⁸ uenerant.¹⁹⁹ Tu,²⁰⁰ uero, de
 ista arce uade, quoniam²⁰¹ aedificare non potes! Ego autem hic
 manebo, quia mihi fato²⁰² haec mansio tradita est. Ad alias
 prouintias perge, ubi²⁰³ possis tibi²⁰³ arcem aedificare!" Rex
 autem adolescenti²⁰⁴ ait, "Quid²⁰⁵ ²⁰⁶nomen tibi²⁰⁶ est?" Ille
 respondit, "Ambrosius uocor" (quod est bryttanice²⁰⁷ Embres guletic).
 Rursumque²⁰⁸ rex: "De qua progenie ortus es?" Qui respondit, "Unus
 de consulibus Romanorum pater meus est". At ²⁰⁹uero rex²⁰⁹ dimisit
 illi urbem²¹⁰ illam com²¹¹ omnibus circiter²¹² prouintiis
 occidentalis plagae Bryttanniae.²¹³ Et rex ipse cum²¹⁴ magis suis
 perrexit ad sinistram²¹⁵ plagam Bryttanniae;²¹⁶ et peruenit usque
 ad regionem quae uocatur Gueneri, et ²¹⁷urbem ibi²¹⁷ aedificauit quae
 suo nomine Cair Guorthegirn²¹⁸ appellatur.

§ 25. Igitur¹ Guorthemer,² filius Guorthegirni,³ contra Hencgistum⁴
 et Horsum gentemque⁵ illorum petulanter⁶ pugnabat. Et eos⁷ usque ad
 supradictam insulam Tenet⁸ expulit eosque tribus uicibus ibi
 conclusit,⁹ obsedit occidens, comminuit atterens. Et ipsi legatos
 ultra mare ad Germaniam trans mittebant, ad classem augendam¹⁰
 ceolasque prouocandas cum ingenti numero uirorum bellatorum. Atque,¹¹
 his ita congregatis, pugnabant contra ¹²reges et principes bryttannicae
 gentis,¹² et aliquando dilatabant ¹³uincendo terminos suos,¹³ aliquando
 autem uincebantur¹⁴ et expellebantur. Guorthemer autem quater¹⁵
 contra illos¹⁶ bellum uiriliter¹⁷ egit:¹⁸ primum, ut supra dictum est;
 secundum super flumen Derguint¹⁹ bellum fecit; tertium super uadum²⁰
 quod lingua eorum Episford²¹ uocatur, in nostra autem lingua
 Setthergabail,²² et ibi cecidit²³ Horsus et filius Guorthegirni²⁴
 nomine Catigirn²⁵ in pugna bellantes; quartum uero bellum²⁶ iuxta
 lapidem, qui super ripam maris Gallici est, contra Saxones egit²⁷ et

uictoriam optinuit. ²⁸Saxones uero ²⁸fugerunt usque ad naues suas. Ipse autem post modicum interuallum mortuus est. Et ante obitum suum, futurae rei casum aduertens, ²⁹dixit ad familiam suam, "Sepelite ³⁰in portu ³¹ostii ³²introitus Saxonum ³³corpus meum ³³ - id est super ripam maris a quo primum uenerunt - quia, quamuis in aliis partibus Bryttanniae ³⁴habitauerunt, tamen ³⁵in ista (si sic ³⁵facitis) numquam ³⁶in eternum ³⁶manebunt!" ³⁷ Illi autem, imprudenter ³⁸mandatum illius ³⁹contempnentes, eum in loco ubi ⁴⁰postulauerat non sepelierunt. Barbari uero per hoc magnopere ⁴¹congregati sunt et transmarinis paganis auxiliabantur, maxime quod Guorthegirnus illis esset amicus propter filiam Hencgisti ⁴²quam accepit ⁴³in uxorem; atque adeo diligebat ut nullus auderet contra illos pugnare, quia blande deliniebant regem imprudentem ⁴⁴uiperino tamen corde dolum agentes. Et hoc qui legit intellegat ⁴⁵quod non uirtute ⁴⁶dominantur ⁴⁷Bryttanniam ⁴⁸sed propter peccata maxima Bryttonum, ⁴⁹Deo sic permittente. Quis autem sanum sapiens contra Dei uolontatem ⁵⁰resistere nititur? Sed quomodo uoluit Deus, fecit, quia ipse est Rex regum et Dominus dominantium, omnia desuper iudicans atque gubernans.

§26. Factum est autem ¹post mortem ¹Guorthemeri, ²filiis regis Guorthegirni, ³⁴Hencgisto confortato ⁴et ad se multis iterum nauibus congregatis, cum senioribus suis ⁵dolum ⁶regi Guorthegirno ⁶et suo exercitui ⁷praeparauit; mittensque ad regem legatos, dolose pacem inter se firmari deprecatur ⁸ut perpetua amicitia inter se uterentur. ⁹Rex ¹⁰autem, inscius doli, cum senioribus suis consiliatus est ¹¹pacem cum ¹²Hencgisto ¹³habere et discordiam ¹⁴bellorum ¹⁵renuere. ¹⁶Legati uero reuertentes, id ipsum ¹⁷renuntiauerunt Hencgisto. ¹⁸Hencgistus ¹⁹post modum, grande praeparans ²⁰conuiuium regi Guorthegirno et senioribus militibus eius trecentenis, ²¹conuocauit

regem omnemque familiam eius ad firmandam²² pacem. Latente autem
 sub specie pacis dolosa machinatione Hengistus²³ ²⁴ex suis²⁴
 totidem elegit milites;²⁵ initoque cum eis consilio predixit eis ut
 unusquisque artauum²⁶ suum in ficone²⁷ sub pede suo poneret et
 milites regis ad conuiuium uenientes inter se cummiserent²⁸
 illosque²⁹ sollerti cura inebriarent.³⁰ "Et cum^{30a} clamauiero",
 inquit,³¹ "ad uos et dixero ³²'Nima^x sexa',³² cultellos^{32a} uestros
 ex ficonibus³³ educite³⁴ et in illos irruite et unusquisque
 propiorem sibi iugulet! Verumtamen³⁵ regem custodite et nolite eum
 interficere, sed pro conubio filiae meae quam amat eum seruate!
 Melius ³⁶enim est³⁶ ut a nobis redimatur quam ut occidatur." Rex
 autem ad conuiuium cum ³⁷suis sotiis³⁷ uenit ut ³⁸pactum, quod³⁸
 sibi inuicem seruare promiserant, cercius³⁹ firmarent.
 Aduenientibus⁴⁰ uero cum rege suo Bryttonibus,⁴¹ Saxones, pacifice
 loquentes dolumque in corde uersantes,⁴² conuiuis⁴³ suis⁴⁴ iudaico
 more clam⁴⁵ praeparabant⁴⁶ mortem. At inscii malorum Bryttones⁴⁷
 mixti Saxonibus,⁴⁸ ⁴⁹uir ad inimicum, sederunt.⁴⁹ ⁵⁰Illis autem⁵⁰
 nimis epulantibus⁵¹ et bibentibus⁵² ac⁵³ ultra modum inebriatis,
 Hengistus⁵⁴ (ut prius suis praedixerat comitibus) eleuata⁵⁵ uoce
 subito uociferatus est: ⁵⁶"Nima^x sexa!"⁵⁶ Ad⁵⁷ cuius uocem Saxones
 protinus exurgentes⁵⁸ suosque ⁵⁹extrahentes cultellos⁵⁹ irruerunt
 super Bryttones,⁶⁰ unusquisque super consessorem suum. Et de
 senioribus^{60a} Guorthegirni regis trecenti sunt iugulati; rex autem
 captiuitati subditus est. Pro sua siquidem liberatione tradidit
 illis rex⁶¹ tres prouintias⁶² (Eastseaxan,⁶³ Su^xseaxan,⁶⁴
 Middelseaxan⁶⁵) cum reliquis regionibus quas ipsi eligentes
 nominauerunt.

Sanctus uero Germanus regi Guorthegirno praedicabat ut ad
 Deum uerum se conuerteret et ab illicita ⁶⁶propriae filiae⁶⁶

commixtione alienum se faceret. At ille usque ad prouintiam quae a suo nomine Gurthegoirnnaim⁶⁷ nomen accepit - heu miser! - aufugit ut ibi cum suis⁶⁸ lateret uxoribus.⁶⁸ Secutusque⁶⁹ est⁷⁰ eum sanctus Germanus⁷¹ cum omni clero⁷² Bryttomum⁷³ et ibi, quadraginta diebus et noctibus manens, pro suis delictis supra petram orabat. (Iste⁷⁴ beatissimus uir⁷⁴ dux belli contra Saxones una uice⁷⁵ factus est;⁷⁶ non⁷⁷ tubarum⁷⁸ clangore⁷⁹ sed ad Dominum orando cum cantu psalmorum et⁸⁰ alleluia tot<i>usque⁸¹ exercitus⁸² ad Deum uociferando, hostes in fugam⁸³ usque⁸⁴ mare conuertit.⁸⁵) Et iterum Guorthegirrus usque ad regnum Demetorum⁸⁶ ubi aedificauit arcem, suo nominatam⁸⁷ nomine Cair Guorthegirn,⁸⁸ iuxta flumen Tebi a facie⁸⁹ sancti Germani ignominiose recessit. Et⁹⁰ solito more eum sanctus⁹⁰ subsecutus est. Et ibi ieiunus cum omni ordine clericorum sibi adherentium tribus diebus totidemque noctibus, Dominum deprecans,⁹¹ mansit. Tertia autem nocte, quasi hora tertia noctis, ignis de celo cecidit, et arx⁹² tota ex inprouiso ardente igne caelesti⁹³ combusta est. Nec non⁹⁴ Guorthegirrus, cum filia Hengisti⁹⁵ cumque⁹⁶ aliis uxoribus⁹⁷ et cunctis cum eo⁹⁷ habitantibus uiris ac mulieribus, miserabiliter defecit. Sic inprouidi regis Guorthegirni finem legendo librum uitae sancti Germani repperimus.

Alii autem proferunt quod ille exosus omni populo bryttannico⁹⁸ propter susceptionem populi saxonici idque scelus,⁹⁹ maioribus com¹⁰⁰ omni ordine uulgi sanctoque¹⁰¹ Germano et omnibus clericis¹⁰² in conspectu Domini accusantibus¹⁰³ ac deflentibus,¹⁰³ uagus et errans quaerensque locum refugii fugam iniit. Et cor eius euauit, sicque¹⁰⁴ defunctus est¹⁰⁵ non cum laude.

Alii¹⁰⁶ uero narrant quod terra aperta est et deglutiuit¹⁰⁷ eum in supradicta nocte in qua combusta est urbs¹⁰⁸ illius, quia nulla¹⁰⁹ sunt inuenta¹¹⁰ ossa uel reliquiae eius aut eorum quos¹¹¹

ignis ¹¹² deuorauit cum illo ¹¹² in arce. ¹¹³

Tres filios habuit quorum ¹¹⁴ nomina sunt: Guorthemer qui quater, ¹¹⁵ sicut superius scripsi, Saxones pugnando in fugam uertit; secundus Categirn ¹¹⁶ qui occisus est quando Horsum in pugna occiderunt; tertius Pascent ¹¹⁷ qui regnauit in duabus prouintiis Buel ¹¹⁸ et Guorthegirn ¹¹⁹ post ¹²⁰ mortem patris sui, illi largiente Embresio ¹²¹ (qui ¹²² fuit rex magnus ¹²² inter reges Brittanniae ¹²³ insule ¹²⁴). Quartus fuit Faustus qui a filia sua illi genitus est; quem sanctus Germanus baptizauit enutriuit ¹²⁵ et docuit, et aedificato monasterio non paruo super ripam fluminis nomine Renis sibi consecrauit; ibique perseuerat usque in hodiernum diem. Et unam filiam habuit quae mater fuit sancti Faustini.

Haec est genealogia illius quae a nobis ad initium retro currit: Fernmail, ¹²⁶ qui regnauit in regione Guorthegirnaim, ^{126a} filius ¹²⁷ Teudor; ¹²⁸ Teudor filius Pascent; Pascent filius Guoidcant; Guoidcant ¹²⁹ filius Moriud; Moriud filius Eltat; ¹³⁰ Eltat ¹³¹ filius Eldoc; Eldoc filius Paul; filius Meuprit; Meuprit filius Briacat; Briacat filius Pascent; Pascent ¹³² filius Guorthegirn; ¹³³ Guorthegirn ¹³⁴ filius Guuortheneu; ¹³⁵ Guortheneu ¹³⁶ filius Guitaul; Guitaul ¹³⁷ filius Guitolion; ¹³⁸ Guitolion ¹³⁹ filius Gloiu ¹⁴⁰ da; Gloiu ¹⁴¹ da filius Paul Merion. Ipse ¹⁴² autem ¹⁴³ Gloiu da ¹⁴³ aedificauit urbem magnam super ripam fluminis Sabrinae, quae uocatur bryttannico ¹⁴⁴ sermone Cair Gloiu, ¹⁴⁵ saxonice autem ¹⁴⁶ Gloucester. ¹⁴⁷ De Guorthegirno ¹⁴⁸ nunc satis est. ¹⁴⁹

Sanctus uero Germanus post mortem Guorthegirni reuersus est ad patriam suam.

§27. In¹ illo tempore Saxones inualescebant in multitudine magna et crescebant in Bryttannia.² Mortuo autem³ Hengisto,⁴ Otha⁵ filius eius aduenit de sinistrali parte Bryttanniae⁶ ad regnum Cantuariorum; et de ipso omnes reges Cantuariorum⁷ usque in odiernum⁸ diem.

Tunc belliger Arthur, cum militibus Brittanniae atque regibus, contra illos pugnabat. Et, licet multi ipso nobiliores essent, ipse tamen duodecies dux belli fuit uictorque bellorum. Primum bellum⁹ contra illos iniit iuxta ostium¹⁰ fluminis quod dicitur Glein;¹¹ secundum¹² et¹³ tertium quartumque¹⁴ ac¹⁵ quintum super aliam amnem quae nominatur brittannice¹⁶ Douglas, quae est in regione Linnuis;¹⁷ sextum bellum super flumen quod uocatur Bassas. Septimum¹⁸ contra illos iniit bellum in silua Celidonis¹⁹ qu²⁰od²⁰ brittannice²¹ cat Coit²² Celidon nominatur.²³ Octauum contra barbaros²⁴ egit²⁵ bellum iuxta castellum Guinnion, in quo idem Arthur²⁶ portauit²⁷ imaginem²⁸ sanctae Mariae, Dei genitricis²⁹ semperque uirginis,²⁹ super humeros suos;³⁰ et tota illa die Saxones, per uirtutem Domini nostri Iesu Christi et sanctae Mariae matris eius,³¹ in fugam uersi³¹ sunt et³² magna cede multi ex eis³² perierunt. Nonum egit³³ bellum in urbe Leogis quae brittannice³⁴ Cair Lion dicitur. Decimum uero gessit bellum in littore³⁵ fluminis, quod nos uocamus³⁶ Traht Treuroit;³⁶ undecimum in monte qui³⁷ nominatur Breguoin³⁸ ubi illos in fugam uertit, quem³⁹ nos cat Bregion appellamus. Duodecimum contra⁴⁰ Saxones durissime Arthur bellum in monte⁴⁰ Badonis⁴¹ penetrauit⁴² in quo corruerunt impetu illius una die⁴³ nongenti⁴⁴ quadraginta uiri, nullo sibi Brittonum in adiutorium adherente preter ipsum solum, Domino se⁴⁵ confortante. In omnibus autem supradictis bellis protestantur⁴⁶ semper eum⁴⁶ fuisse⁴⁷ uictorem, sicut fuerunt et⁴⁸ alii perplures militarii Brittones. Sed nulla⁴⁹ fortitudo uel consilium contra Dei uoluntatem: quanto magis uero Saxones

prosternebantur in bellis, tanto magis a Germania et ab aliis
 augebantur Saxonibus⁵⁰ sine intermissione;⁵⁰ atque⁵¹ reges et duces
 cum multis militibus ab omnibus pene prouintiis ad se inuitabant.
 Et hoc egere⁵² usque ad tempus quo Ida regnauit - ⁵³qui filius fuit⁵³
 Eobba;⁵⁴ ipse primus rex fuit, in Bernech⁵⁵ et in Cair Affrauc,⁵⁶ de
 genere Saxonum.

Quando Gratianus⁵⁷ Aequantius⁵⁸ consul fuit in Roma - quia
 tunc a consulibus Romanorum totus⁵⁹ orbis regebatur⁶⁰ - Saxones⁶¹
 a Guorthegirno⁶² anno post Domini passionem⁶³ trecentesimo
 quadragensimo septimo suscepti sunt. Ad hunc quem⁶⁴ nunc scribimus⁶⁴
 annum[†].dc. xlii.[†] numeramus. Et quicumque⁶⁵ hoc legerit,⁶⁶ ⁶⁷in
 melius⁶⁷ augeatur,⁶⁸ prestante Domino nostro Iesu Christo qui cum⁶⁹
 coaeterno Patre et Spiritu Sancto uiuit et regnat⁷⁰ Deus per infinita
⁷¹secula seculorum,⁷¹ amen.⁷²

{28. In illo tempore sanctus Patritius erat apud Scottos; et
 dominus illius nominabatur Milchu, et porcarius cum illo fuit septem
 annis. In decimo septimo autem anno etatis suae reuersus est de
 captiuitate, Deo liberante. Et nutu Dei eruditus est in sacris
 scripturis. Et postea Romam petiit, et longo tempore illic mansit
 legendo; et sacra misteria sanctamque scripturam legit, Spiritu
 Sancto replente. Nam, cum esset ibi in studio lectionis, missus est
 Palladius episcopus primus a Celestino, papa romano, ad Scottos
 Christo conuertendos. Sed per quasdam tempestates et signa illum
 Deus prohibuit (quia nemo potest quicquam accipere in terra, nisi
 fuerit datum desuper); et ille Palladius rediens de Hibernia ad
 Bryttanniam ibi defunctus est in terra Pictorum.

Conscia autem morte Palladii episcopi romanis patriciis
 Theodosio et Valentino regnantibus, a Celestino papa romano - et

angelo Dei comitante monente atque adiuuante Victore - et a Germano episcopo a<d>¹ Scottos ad fidem Sanctae Trinitatis conuertendos Patritius missus est. Misit ergo Germanus seniore[m] cum illo Segerum ad quen<dam>² grandeum laudandumque senem episcopum et ad regem, Matheum nomine, in propi<no>quo commorantem; ibique sanctus Patricius - quae uentura illi erant praescius - episcopalem gradum a Matheo rege pontificeque sancto accepit. Et illud nomen - Patricius - in ordinatu suscepit, quia ante Mauun uocabatur. Auxilius uero et Iserminus aliique fratres gradibus inferioribus simul ordinati sunt cum eo.

Tunc, acceptis benedictionibus perfectisque omnibus in nomine Sanctae Trinitatis, peruenit ad mare quod est inter Gallos et Bryttones. Inde prompto nauigio descendit in Bryttanniam. In ea praedicauit aliquo tempore. Praeparatis autem sibi necessariis, angelo commonente, Ibernicum mare petiit. Impleta uero naue transmarinis muneribus et spiritalibus thesauris, Dei largitu peruenit ad Hiberniam. Et eis praedicauit, illosque baptizauit.

A mundi siquid³ principio usque ad baptismum Hibernensium quinque milia trecenti triginta anni fuerunt. In quinto anno imperii Logiore regis Hiberniae primum praedicatio uere fidei Trinitatis almae unitatisque indiuiduae Hiberniensibus aduenit.

Sanctus itaque Patricius extraneis nationibus euangelium Christi per annos quadraginta praedicauit. Uirtutes apostolicas fecit: cecos illuminauit; leprosos mundauit; surdos audire fecit; demones ab obsessis corporibus eiecit;⁴ nouem mortuos suscitauit. Captiuos multos utriusque sexus suis propriis muneribus redemit, et in nomine Sanctae Trinitatis liberauit. Canonicos aliis⁵ ad fidem catholicam pertinentibus libros scripsit trecentos sexaginta quinque; aecclesias quoque eodem numero trecentas sexaginta quinque fundauit;

seruos Dei docuit et ad episcopalem gradum, Spiritu Sancto affirmante, tali numero consecrauit - id est trecentos sexaginta quinque. Praesbiteros autem admodum tria milia ordinauit; et duodecim milia hominum in una regione Cunnehta ad fidem christianam conuertit et baptizauit. Et septem reges, qui fuerunt septem filii Amolghith, in una die baptizauit. Quadraginta diebus et quadraginta noctibus in cacumine montis Eli ieiunauit, id est Cruachan Eli.

In quo monte tres petitiones, pro his Hiberniensibus qui fidem receperunt, clementer a Deo postulauit. Prima petitio eius fuit, ut Scotti affirmant, ut unusquisque plebis credibilis ad Dominum per illum penitentiam peccatorum recipiat, licet in extremo uitae suae statu; secunda autem ut numquam consumeretur a barbaris; tertia uero ⁶ut superrogetur⁷ aquis septem annis ante aduentum Domini quo⁸ uenturus est iudicare uiuos ac⁹ mortuos, ut ¹⁰pro oratione¹⁰ sancti Patricii crimina populi abluantur¹¹ et animae ante iudicium purgentur.⁶

De illo supercilio montis popul<i>s¹² Hiberniae dixit; et ideo ascendit ut oraret pro eis et ut licentia Dei uideret fructus laboris sui. Et uenerunt ad illum aues coloris multi ualde innumerabiles ut benediceret eis; quae significabant omnes sanctos utriusque sexus peruenire ad eum in die iudicii de genere Hibernensium, quasi ad patrem et apostolum suum, ut illum ad iudicium ante tribunal Christi sequantur. Ipse autem sanctus Patricius post magnum laborem postque multas uirtutes et innumerabilia bona migravit ad Dominum de hoc mundo, uitam in melius conuertens in ~~senectute~~ bona et perfecta, ubi semper cum sanctis et electis Dei gaudet in saecula saeculorum, amen.

Quattuor modis coaequantur Moyses et Patricius: uno modo angelo illi colloquente in rubo igneo; alio modo in monte quadraginta diebus et quadraginta noctibus ieiunando; tertio modo quod similes

fuerunt aetate centum uiginti annorum; quarto modo quod sepulchrum illius nemo scit, sed in occulto humatus est nemine sciente.

Sedecim annis in captiuitate fuit; in uicesimo quinto anno a Matheo rege episcopus subrogatur; octoginta quinque annis in Hibernia praedicauit. Profitiebat amplius de Patritio narrare, sed cumpendio laboris breuiter nunc liceat terminare: explicit de sancto Patritio episcopo.

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Flisae (gen.)	7
Francum (acc.)	7
Gaius Iulius Caesar (= <u>Iulius Caesar</u> , q. v.)	9
Germanus	21, 23, 24, 26, 28
Germani (gen.)	23, 24, 26
Germano (dat. ; abl.)	23, 24, 26, 28
Gibidum (acc.)	7
Gomer	7
Gothum (acc.)	7
Gratianus	18
Gratianum (acc.)	15, 18
Gratianus Aequantius	27
Gratiano Equantio (abl.)	20
Habraham (acc. ; abl.) (= <u>Abraham</u> , q. v.)	1
Heli	5
Herculis (gen.)	5
Hieronimus	18
Hisicion	7
Hisicionis (gen.)	7
Hisicione (abl.)	7

Hisrau (nom.; gen.)	7
Iafeth (nom.; gen.)	7
Iared (nom.; gen.)	7
Iesus Christus (= <u>Christus</u> , q. v.)	1
Iesu Christi (gen.)	1, 20, 27
Iesu Christo (abl.)	27
Inahi (gen.)	4
Iobath (nom.; gen.)	7
Iohan (nom.; gen.)	7
Iohannem Baptistam (acc.)	1
Iohanne (abl.)	1
Iserninus	28
Iulius Caesar (= <u>Gaius Iulius Caesar</u> , q. v.)	9
Iulius	2, 9
Iuuan	7
Iuواني (gen.)	7
Labina (= <u>Lauina</u> , q. v.)	5
Lamech (nom.; gen.)	7
Latini (gen.)	4, 5
Lauina	4
Lauinae (gen.)	4
Labina (nom.)	5
Labinam (acc.)	5
Longobardum (acc.)	7
Lucius	10
Madian	7
Magog	7
Mair (nom.; gen.)	7
Malalehel (nom.; gen.)	7

Mariae (gen.)	27
Martinus	14, 18
Matheum (acc.)	28
Matheo (abl.)	28
Matusalem (nom.; gen.)	7
Maximianus	2, 15
Maximiani (gen.)	18
Maximiano (abl.)	18
Maximus	2, 14, 18
Meroblaudis (gen.)	18
Mosoch	7
Moyses	28
Moysen (acc.)	1
Moyse (abl.)	1
Neugio (nom.; abl.)	7
Noe (nom.; acc.; gen.; abl.)	1, 7
Noae (gen.)	7
Numa	7
Numae Pampilii (gen.)	7
Octavianus Augusto (abl.)	9
Ogomuin (nom.; gen.)	7
Ooth (nom.; gen.)	7
Palladius	28
Palladii (gen.)	28
Patricius	28
Patritius	28
Patricii (gen.)	6, 28
Patritio (abl.)	28
Pici (gen.)	5

Posthumus (= <u>Siluius Posthumus</u> , q. v.)	4, 5
Priami (gen.)	4
Ra (nom.; gen.)	7
Rea Siluea	7
Reae (gen.)	4
Reae Silueae (gen.)	7
Remus	4
Romanum (acc.)	7
Romulus	4
Salomonem (acc.)	1
Salomone (abl.)	1
Saturni (gen.)	4, 5
Saxonem (acc.)	7
Segerum (acc.)	28
Sem	7
Semion (nom.; gen.)	7
Seth (nom.; gen.)	7
Seuerus	2, 11
Seuerum (acc.)	12
Seueri (gen.)	12
Seuerus Aequantius (alius)	2
Seuerus (alius)	16
Siluari (gen.)	4
Siluius (= <u>Posthumus</u> , q. v.)	4, 5
Siluium (acc.)	5
Siluii (gen.)	4
Siluio Posthumo (dat.)	4
Theodosio (abl.)	18, 28
Thoi (nom.; gen.)	7

Tiberii (gen.)	1
Tiras	7
Troius	4, 7
Troï (gen.)	4, 7
Tubal	7
Turni (gen.)	5
Turno (abl.)	5
Ualagothum (acc.)	7
Valentinus	18
Ualentino (abl.)	18, 28
Uictor	18
Uictorem (acc.)	18
Uictore (abl.) (an angel)	28
Uirgilius	9
Uuandalum (acc.)	7

IV. Index of Peoples named in the Vatican Recension

Aegyptii	5
Aegyptios (acc.)	5
Alamanni	7
Albanorum (gen.)	5
Anglorum (gen.)	1
Antiqui Bryttones	3
Bogari	7
Brittanni (Bryttani, &c.)	7, 9
Brittannos (acc.)	7, 11
Bryttones (Brittones, &c.) (nom.; acc.)	3, 4, 6, 7, 9, 11, 15, 17, 18, 19, 24, 26, 27, 28
Bryttonum (gen.)	3, 12, 15, 18, 24, 25, 26
Bryttonibus (abl.)	18, 26
Burgundi	7
Cantuariorum (gen.) (var. lect., § 27, MS. R:	
<u>Cantuariorum</u>)	24, 27
Cappadoces	7
Cibidi	7
Demetorum (gen.)	5, 26
Eastseaxan	26
Filistinorum (gen.)	5
Franci	7
Galli	7
Gallos (acc.)	5, 28
Gothi	7

Greci	7
Grecorum (gen.)	4
Grecis (abl.)	4
Hebrei	7
Hibernensium (gen.)	28
Hiberniensibus (dat.; abl.)	28
Hispani	7
Itali	7
Langobardi	7
Longobardos (acc.)	10
Latini	7
Latinos (acc.)	5
Medi	7
Middelseaxan	26
Persarum (gen.)	1
Picti	3, 5, 6, 11
Pictos (acc.)	3, 11, 24
Pictorum (gen.)	18, 19, 24
Pouoisorum (gen.) (glossed <u>uel</u> <u>Pausorum</u> : R; sic. leg., MS. J)	23
Romani	6, 8, 9, 15, 17, 18
Romanos (acc.)	6, 18
Romanorum (gen.)	3, 4, 5, 8, 9, 10, 15, 18, 24, 27
Romanis (dat.; abl.)	4, 9, 10, 15
Saxones (nom.; acc.)	3, 6, 7, 20, 24, 25, 26, 27
Saxonum (gen.)	24, 25, 27
Saxonibus (abl.)	26, 27

Scithi	7
Scotti	3, 5, 6, 11, 28
Scottos (acc.)	6, 11, 24, 28
Scottorum (gen.)	5, 18, 19
Siluatici (= romani reges et Bryttones)	4
Siluii (= Albanorum reges)	5
Su ^x seaxan	26
Tarincgi	7
Torronorum (gen.)	5
Traces	7
Uualagothi	7
Uuandali	7

V. Index of Geographical Names in the Vatican Recension

Africa (abl.)	7
Affricam (acc.)	5
Albam (acc.)	5
Armoricas (acc.)	3
Asia (abl.)	7
Asiae (gen.)	4
Badonis (gen.) (= <u>mons Badonis</u> , q. v.)	27
Bassas	27
Bernech (abl.)	27
Bethleemitis	18
Breguoin	27
Bregion	27
Brittannia (Bryttannia, &c.) (nom.; abl.)	3, 5, 9, 10, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 21, 24, 27
Brittanniam (acc.)	3, 4, 6, 9, 11, 12, 18, 20, 24, 25, 28
Brittanniae (gen.)	3, 5, 7, 10, 11, 12, 24, 25, 26, 27
Buelt	26
Cair Britoc	3
Cair Caratauc	3
Cair Ceint	3
Cair Celemion (var. lect., MS. P: <u>Cair Celeinion</u>)	3
Cair Ceri	3
Cair Collon	3
Cair Custeint	3

Cair Daun	3
Cair Draithou	3
Cair Ebrauc	3 (var. lect. , MS. J)
Cair Hebrauc	3
Cair Affrauc (var. lect. , MS. J: <u>Cair Afrauc</u>)	27
Cair Gloiu	3, 26
Cair Graut	3
Cair Guent	3
Cair Guintruis	3
Cair Guorancgon	3
Cair Guorcon	3
Cair Guorthegern	3
Cair Guorthegirn	24, 26
Cair Gurcoc	3
Cair Lerion	3
Cair Ligion	3
Cair Lion	3, 27
Cair Loit Coit	3
Cair Londein (var. lect. , MS. J: <u>Cair Londene</u>)	3
Cair Luilid	3
Cair Mauiguid	3
Cair Meguaid	3
Cair Mencipit	3
Cair Merdin	3
Cair Pensa uelcoin	3
Cair Peris	3
Cair Segeint	3, 13
Cair Teim (var. lect. , MS. J: <u>Cair Ceim</u>)	3

Cair Urnabc (var. lect. , MS. J: <u>Cair Uruach</u>)	3
Cantguic	15
Campum Elleti (acc.)	24
Cantia (abl.)	24
Ceint (= <u>Centland</u> , q. v.)	24
Celidon	27
Celidonis (gen.)	27
Centland (= <u>Ceint</u> , q. v.)	24
Cetgueli	5
Coit Celidon (= <u>Silua Celidonis</u>)	27
Constantinopolim (acc.)	18
Cruachan Eli (= <u>mons Eli</u> , q. v.)	28
Cruc Occident	15
Cunnehta (abl.)	28
Dalmeta (acc.)	5
Derguint (acc.)	25
Duglas	27
Eboraci (loc.)	11
Elleti (campum)	24
Episford (= <u>Setthergabail</u> , q. v.)	25
Eubonia (= <u>Manau</u> , q. v.)	3
Euboniam (acc.)	5
Europa (abl.)	7
Europam (acc.)	7
Europae (gen.)	15
Gallia (abl.)	18
Gallias (acc. pl.)	18
Germania (abl.)	20, 27
Glein	27

Gleucester (var. lect. , MSS. AP: <u>Glocestir</u>)	26
Gleuesincg	24
Gual	24
Gaul	11
Gueith (insula)	3
Gueneri	24
Guenet	24
Guinnion (castellum)	27
Guoher	5
Guorthegirnaim	26
Guorthegirnaim	26
Gurthegoirnaim (acc.)	26
Heremi (gen.)	24
Hibernia (nom. ; abl.)	5, 28
Hiberniam (acc.)	3, 5, 6, 28
Hiberniae (gen.)	28
Hispaniam (acc.)	4, 5
Hispanie (gen.)	5
Ibernicum mare (acc.)	28
Israhel (gen. ; abl.)	5
Italia (abl.)	5
Italiam (acc.)	5
Italiae (gen.)	4, 5
Leogis (urbe) (abl.)	27
Linnuis (abl.)	27
Lugduni (loc.)	18
Malua (acc.)	5
Manau (= <u>Eubonia</u> , q. v.)	3
Maris Gallici (gen.)	25

Maritaniam (acc.)	5
Mediolanensis	18
Minmanton	13
Mogontia (abl.)	10
monte Badonis (abl.)	27
montis Eli (gen.) (= <u>Cruachan Eli</u> , q. v.)	28
montis Iouis (gen.)	15
Ochgul (= <u>Ongle</u> , q. v.)	24
Ongle (var. lect., MS. R: <u>uel Angle</u> , in gloss) (gen.)	24
Orcades (nom.; acc.)	5, 10, 24
Orch	3
Parasis (loc.)	18
Renis (fluminis) (gen.)	26
Roihin (= <u>Tenet</u> , q. v.)	20
Roma (abl.)	4, 27
Romam (acc.)	4, 10, 28
Romae (gen.; loc.)	4, 16, 20
Sabrina	3
Sabrinae (gen.)	26
Scithia (abl.)	5
Scithiam (acc.)	24
Setthergabail (= <u>Episford</u> , q. v.)	25
Silua Celidonis (abl.) (= <u>Coit Celidon</u> , q. v.)	27
Syriae (gen.)	5
Tamensis (nom.; gen.)	3, 9
Tebi (flumen)	26
Tenet (nom.; acc.; abl.)	20, 24, 25
Terrenum mare (acc.)	5
Terreni maris (gen.)	5, 9

Traht Treuroit (var.lect., MS. Bb: <u>Trath Treuroit</u>)	27
Trinouantum	9
Troiae (gen.)	4
Turnis	5
Turonensis	18

V

THE 'NENNIAN' RECENSION
OF THE
HISTORIA BRITTONUM,
INCLUDING THE IRISH TRANSLATION
KNOWN AS
LEBOR BRETNACH.

'NENNIUS' AND THE HISTORIA BRITTONUM

The ascription of the early-ninth-century Historia Brittonum to 'Nennius' seems to be universally taken for granted. Yet this has by no means always been the case, least of all in the middle ages. I hope to show here, by a discussion of the implications of the place of the Nennian attribution in the manuscript-tradition of the Historia, that the author remains unknown and that the ascription to 'Nennius' is no older than a Welsh recension of the text in the mid-eleventh century.

There survive today five mediaeval manuscripts of the Historia Brittonum which assign the text to 'Nennius.' Of the remaining manuscripts, approximately thirty in number, the overwhelming majority attribute it anachronistically to Gildas whose claim was to be the only early British 'historian' identifiable by name. It has been generally agreed by scholars — and with good reason — that the so-called 'Harleian' recension of the Historia, comprising a group of manuscripts bearing no indication of authorship, preserves best the work as it was originally composed, probably in the year 829-30.¹ However, the desire to ascribe the text to 'Nennius' has caused some embarrassment owing to the absence from this group of the prologue of 'Nennius', which constitutes the sole evidence for that authorship. The conclusion appears therefore to have been reached either that the Harleian group has suffered some slight abridgment² — regrettably including the

1. On the date, see D. N. Dumville, 'Some aspects of the chronology of the Historia Brittonum', Bulletin of the Board of Celtic Studies, 25 (1972-4), pp. 439-445.

2. Thus Lot, Nennius et l'Historia Brittonum, i, 16-19.

omission of the prologue — or that 'Nennius' was responsible for a series of recensions over a number of years,¹ in the last of which alone he added the prologue bearing his name. Neither conclusion is supported by the manuscript-tradition.

Let us consider instead the manuscripts which bear the name of 'Nennius'. Of these five, one is the ultimate source of all the others. This is Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, MS 139,² happily dated precisely to 1164;³ from it descends the Nennian material in Durham Cathedral MS B.2.35, added in 1166 to a text of the recension attributed to Gildas (and from this was copied in 1381 the composite text in British Library MS Burney 310); from CCCC 139 descends also the expanded text in the early-thirteenth-century Cambridge University Library MS Ff.I.27 (Part 1), from which the prologue was added to an already existing text, now in St John's College, Oxford, MS 99. It is worth noting that all of these manuscripts come from a geographically restricted area and represent the results of the work of one school of historiographical activity:⁴ the two Cambridge manuscripts originated at Sawley (Lancashire; prior to 1974 in the West Riding of Yorkshire); the Durham and Burney manuscripts were written at Durham; the Oxford manuscript comes from Jervaulx, and was perhaps earlier at Bridlington.

When one comes therefore to consider the archetype of this

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1. R. Thurneysen, Zeitschrift für celtische Philologie, 1 (1896/7), pp. 163-6.
 2. Henceforth abbreviated to CCCC 139.
 3. A rubric on fo. 51v was written in September of that year.
 4. I shall be devoting a paper to the Sawley school in due course. In the meantime, see section VII and Appendix IX below.

group, MS CCCC 139, a host of problems immediately demands one's attention. The original text of the Historia Brittonum contained in this manuscript belonged to the secondary, Gildasian recension (indeed, to a sub-group associated with Cistercian houses); thereafter, a massive series of alterations, collations and additions — by as many as ten hands — has accumulated on every folio. The lack of a guide to the palaeographical (and consequent textual) problems presented by this manuscript has been a major stumbling-block in the way of a scientific investigation of its importance in the tradition of the Historia; such a guide is now available, however, and on the basis of that clarification this study may proceed.¹

At some point during the years 1164 to 1166, a series of additions was made to this text by three hands, apparently acting in concert and deriving their material from the same source.² Among this material was the prologue, which — since it has never been printed with complete accuracy — I give here from CCCC 139, fo. 168v.

Incipit eulogium breuissimum Brittannie insule quod Ninnius, Eluodugi discipulus, congregauit.

Ego Ninnius, Eluodugi³ discipulus, aliqua excerpta scribere curauī que hebitudo gentis Brittannie deiecerat, quia nullam peritiam habuerunt neque ullam commemorationem in libris posuerunt doctores illius insule Brittannie. Ego autem coaceruauī omne quod inueni tam de annalibus Romanorum

1. D. N. Dumville, 'The Corpus Christi "Nennius"', BBCS 25 (1972-4), pp. 369-380.
2. Hands C¹, C², C³, described in my paper cited in the last note.
3. On this form, see below, p. 475, 473f.

quam de cronicis sanctorum patrum (id est Ieronimi Eusebii
 Isidori Prosperi) et de annalibus Scottorum Saxonumque, et
 ex traditione ueterum nostrorum quod multi doctores atque
 librarii scribere temptauerunt. Nescio quo pacto
 difficilius reliquerunt an propter mortalitates
 frequentissimas uel clades frequentissimas¹ bellorum.
 Rogo ut omnis lector qui legerit hunc librum, det ueniam
 michi quia [†]cuius^{†2} sum post tantos hec tanta scribere
 quasi garrula auis uel quasi quidam inualidus arbiter.
 Cedo illi qui plus nouerit in ista peritia satis quam ego.
Explicit eulogium.

The first point which plainly requires to be noted is the form Ninnius
 for, if the only manuscript on which textual reliance may be placed
 twice gives a reading totally at variance with that which has long
 been accepted, it is a matter of some concern. Two other hands,
 providing new rubrics for the whole text, give the forms Nennio
 (ablative)³ and Nemmii (genitive),⁴ thus testifying to a certain
 orthographical instability, but it is to be stressed that the

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1. This word is glossed creberrimas by hand C⁷, written in the first
 quarter of the thirteenth century; this gloss has passed into the
 received printed text, displacing its lemma, without comment.
 2. Certainly corrupt. The antiquaries of the sixteenth and
 seventeenth centuries conjectured ausus (which has passed silently
 into the printed texts) and conatus (which is perhaps more
 satisfactory on palaeographical grounds).
 3. C¹, writing in the years 1164x1166.
 4. C⁸, probably writing shortly after 1200.

authoritative form must be that (Ninnius) which occurs in the only section of text intimately connected with that name.¹

Associated with the prologue is the remainder of the material which, taken as a whole, constitutes the so-called 'Nennian' recension of the Historia. All this has been added to the copy of the Gildasian recension in our manuscript in interlinear or marginal positions; we are therefore in possession only of the detritus of the 'Nennian' recension, merely of such material as the collators saw fit to incorporate into the Sawley manuscript. That this material is the result of a collation with a complete copy of a recension attributed to Ninnius we need not doubt, and there are sufficient variant readings given to allow us to place this recension with some assurance in the textual tradition of the Historia Brittonum. It should also be possible to indicate the approximate date at which the recension took shape.

Let us attempt first to place this lost version in the tradition of the Historia with the aid of the textually significant additions and variants found in CCCC 139. A selection of twenty-five examples will permit us to document with abundant clarity the affiliation of this recension. The major examples may be listed first: (1) the end of a genealogy has been supplied — filiu Enohc, f. Iareth, f. Malaleel, f. Chainan, f. Enos, f. Seth, f. Adam, f. Dei uiui (Harl. § 15; Sawley § XIII); (2) the seventh Roman emperor in

1. The various forms of the name were studied by R. Thurneysen, ZCP 20 (1933-6), pp. 98-104. His view was that Nemnius and Nemnius (see below) were orthographical variants of the same name (of which Nennius was a corruption); he adopted the former for general usage. Unfortunately, owing to the shortcomings of Mommsen's edition, with regard especially to CCCC 139, he did not consider the possible importance of the form Ninnius.

Britain, properly called 'Maximus' by the Gildasian text, is altered passim to 'Maximianus' (Harl. §§ 24, 27, 29; Sawley §§ XXIII, XXVI, XXVIII);¹ (3) the sentence Maximianus Uictorem filium suum consortem regni fecit has been inserted (Harl. § 27; Sawley § XXVI), as has (4) Satis dictum est de Gortirgirno et de regno suo et de genere eius (Harl. § 42; Sawley § LIIII), and (5) a clause about Arthur, et in omnibus bellis uictor exstitit (Harl. § 52; Sawley § LXIII). In addition, (6, 7) two passages in the mirabilia, lost owing to sauts du même au même and already missing in the common ancestor of every Gildasian sub-group of the Historia, have been supplied.² We may list rapidly the other eighteen examples, which comprise verbal variants: (1) Harl. § 4/ Sawley § III, habitata est hec insula; (2) Harl. § 5/ Sawley § IIII, Quando Britto regnabat in Brittannia; (3) Harl. § 9/ Sawley § IX, Et postea consules rursum; (4) Harl. § 18/ Sawley § XVI, honorem (replacing 'hereditatem'); (5) Harl. § 29/ Sawley § XXVIII, et dum ipse regnabat (replacing 'pugnabat'); (6) Harl. § 33/ Sawley § XXXII, et uiuus; (7) Harl. § 35/ Sawley § XXXIX, concilio Brittonum; (8) Harl. § 39/ Sawley § XLVII, mortem suam ad familiam suam; (9) Harl. § 39/ Sawley § XLVII, manebunt (replacing 'mutabunt'); (10) Harl. § 41/ Sawley § LIII, Et unam (replacing 'Quintam'); (11) Harl. § 47/ Sawley § LIX, leprosos mundabat; (12) Harl. § 49/ Sawley § LXI, ad patrem et ad magistrum suum; (13) Harl. § 52/ Sawley § LXV,

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1. The same variation occurs in the versions of the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, as Professor Dorothy Whitelock kindly points out to me: Maximianus A, G; Maximus B, C, E, F.
 2. (1) Harl. § 72/ Sawley § LXXII: se] in modum arietum; et procedit unusquisque ad alterum et collidunt se [ad inuicem...; (2) Harl. § 73/ Sawley § LXXIII: ad sissam] et mare inundatur similiter in ostio supradicti fluminis, et in stagno ostii recipitur in modum uoraginis mare et non uadit sursum. Et est litus iuxta flumen; et quamdiu Sabrina inundatur ad sissam [istud litus...

ipse primus rex fuit in Beornica; (14) Harl. § 77/ Sawley § LXXVII, traxit ad se; (15) Harl. § 80/ Sawley § LXXX, ipse occidit eum ibidem; (16) Harl. § 83/ Sawley § LXXXIIII, qui est in medio pelagi; (17) Harl. § 84/ Sawley § LXXXV, margarite multe; (18) Harl. § 85/ Sawley § LXXXVI, et uocatur Luch Echac. The significant readings are those underlined. All these readings leave no room for doubt that the recension attributed to Ninnius was essentially of the Harleian type.¹ However, there is also evidence for a quantity of additions and subtractions of a substantial nature, which must now be considered.

The text of 'Ninnius' embodies one major alteration which at once both confirms that it was based on the Harleian type of text and reveals some information as to the circumstances and nature of the changes effected. This is a substantial marginal addition to CCCC 139, fo. 177r:

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1. Special comment is required on four small textual points thrown into relief by the comparison of the 'Nennian' text as represented by the additions in CCCC 139 and by the Irish version (on which see below, pp. 466ff, 480ff) with the various other recensions of the Historia. (1) In the passage corresponding to Harl. § 27, the date A. M. 5690 is found in the Gildas, Irish, and Vatican recensions; it is not deleted by the Sawley collators. Its presence in all these texts suggests that its absence from the manuscripts of the Harleian recension may be due to scribal failure in their archetype. (2) A similar position obtains in the passage corresponding to Harl. § 40, where the Irish text, the additions to CCCC 139, and the Vatican recension all name Middlesex among the areas ransomed for Gwrtheyrn. (3) The Vatican, Gildas, and Irish texts all agree on Ascanius as the founder of Alba, as against Aeneas in the Harleian text (§ 4). This could equally well be a case either of scribal error in the archetype of the extant representatives of the Harleian recension or of independent correction by the other recensions of an original error in the Harleian version. (4) A short form of the genealogy in Harl. § 15 is a feature shared by the Irish and Gildasian texts, but not by the 'Nennian' collations in CCCC 139 which complete the text. The Irish and Gildasian texts have abbreviated independently (the Irish version stops at Lamech, the Gildasian at Methuselah), no doubt in the belief that the remainder of this biblical genealogy was common knowledge (Genesis, cap. 5; Luke, iii. 36-38) and need not be written out in full. On two other problematical textual points (the section Initium compoti... in Harl. § 12; the seven sons of Amolgith in the passage corresponding to Harl. § 47) this version offers no special additional guidance.

Ida filius Eubba tenuit regiones in sinistrali parte
 Humbri maris duodecim annis, et iunxit arcem (id est
 Din Gueirin)¹ et gurd Birnech que due regiones fuerunt
 in una regione (id est Deur a Birnech, anglice Deira et
 Bernicia). Elfled, filia Edwini, duodecimo die post
 pentecosten baptismum accepit cum innumerabibus
 hominibus de uiris et mulieribus cum ea; et hec prima
 baptizata est. Edwinus uero postea in sequenti pascha
 baptismum suscepit, et duodecim milia hominum in uno die
 baptizati sunt cum eo. Si quis scire uoluerit quis
 baptizauit eos, sic mihi Renchidus² episcopus et Elbobdus³
 episcoporum sanctissimus tradiderunt: Run mep Urbeghen⁴
 (id est Paulinus Eboracensis archiepiscopus) eos baptizauit,
 et per quadraginta dies non cessauit baptizare omne genus
 Ambronum (id est Aldsaxonum), et per predicationem illius
 multi crediderunt Christo. Sed cum inutiles⁵ magistro meo
 (id est Beulano preabitero)⁵ uise sunt genealogie Saxonum
 et aliarum genealogie gentium, nolui eas scribere; sed de
 ciuitatibus et mirabilibus Brittannie insule, ut alii
 scriptores ante me scripsere, scripsi.

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1. On this form, see below, p. 476 and n. 5.
 2. The name Renchidus does not appear to be attested elsewhere in Welsh sources.
 3. Elbobdus was emended in CCCC 139 (after 1166, for the original reading is found in Durham B. 2. 35) to Elbodus by the erasure of the second -b-. See below, p. 476, n. 2. The altered form would have been quite acceptable ca. 1200, granting that by this time the first -b- (for MW -u-) would have been a little archaic.
 4. MS. Run MepuR. Beghen. See further below, p. 475, n. 4, and p. 476.
 5. These words were rewritten in CCCC 139 by C⁷, a hand of the first quarter of the thirteenth century. The accuracy of the rewriting is guaranteed by the evidence of the Durham manuscript.

One may see from this that the Old English genealogies and associated North British historical material were contained in the text which was received and then remodelled to form the recension of 'Ninnius'. It can have been a representative only of the Harleian type. Two items from these chapters were, however, retained, albeit somewhat rewritten: one related to Ida and the unification of Northumbria, the other to the baptism of Edwin and his followers; evidently Beulan had not thought these to be inutiles. The equation of Paulinus and Rhun¹ reflects another aspect of this recension which is apparent from its surviving remains; namely, a tendency to explain by means of glosses (which may at times seem maladroit to the historian of today) any points which might occasion some difficulty. Also omitted as inutiles were aliarum genealogie gentium, a phrase which has caused previous commentators some trouble. It seems to me that the only section of the original text which fits the description exactly is the chapter Brittones a Bruto (Harl. § 16) which catalogues in summary form the descent of the European nations. This is missing from the Gildasian recension, and was not added to CCCC 139 by any of the Sawley collators; it was therefore probably missing also from the text of 'Ninnius'.² It may very well be that, when it was dropped, its most relevant point was added at the very beginning of the work, which in this recension

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1. This information on the baptism (and, by implication, the identification) was allegedly supplied by Bishops Renchidus and Elbobdus; the mention of Elfoddw supplies a link with the prologue, the only other reference to him in the Historia.
 2. It forms a part of the text written in C.U.L. MS. Ff.I.27, Part 1, but appears to have been added from a text of the Vatican type. This chapter is missing also from the Irish translation (see below, p.468).

reads 'Brittannia insula a Britone filio Isioconis qui fuit filius Alani de genere Iaphedi dicta est uel, ut alii dicunt, a quodam Bruto consule romano', relegating the original derivation to a subordinate rôle.

Perhaps the most notable feature of this passage is the reference to the writer's magister. Although the scribe does not name himself here, he refers to the priest Beulan who, from his title magister and his decisive rôle in the transmission of the text, was doubtless the master of the scriptorium or school in which this recension was prepared.

There is another major addition (CCCC 139, fo. 169v) which refers to Beulan. It begins with a cryptic remark about the Irish,¹ then gives a genealogy of 'Britus' contrived from the Vergil scholiasts,² and ends as follows:

Sic inueni ut tibi Samuel (id est infans magistri mei, id est Beulani presbiteri) in ista pagina scripsi. Sed hec genealogia non scripta in aliquo uolumine Brittannie sed in scriptione mentis scriptoris fuit.

Some commentators have taken Samuel as a nominative, presumably on the ground that the gloss infans appears to be nominative, and translated 'I have found thus, as I Samuel (the infans of my master Beulan the priest) have written for you in these pages'. Others, however, have felt that this defies both the natural order of the piece and the sense, which require that tibi and Samuel be taken together, with the latter

1. 'Hec est genealogia istius Briti exosi nunquam ad se nos id est Brittones ducti quandoque uolebant Scotti nescientes originis sui ad istum domari.'

2. Mommsen, ed. cit., p. 152, n. 1.

(and infans) as a vocative: 'Thus have I found, as I have written for you, Samuel, in these pages'. Some support for this latter view comes from the obscure verses associated with this recension. These occur on fo. 168v of CCCC 139 where, after the prologue of Ninnius, a rubric reads Item eiusdem quod scribi debet in fine libri.¹ There follow a tract on the characteristics of nations² and two sets of verses in somewhat obscure language. These latter have never been completely or properly translated, in spite of a number of attempts,³ and have accordingly sometimes been stigmatised as corrupt or spurious; the glosses which accompany the first piece have, above all, been regarded with grave suspicion. I think it is now possible to comprehend these texts; let us consider the first.

Adiutor benignus,^a caris / doctor effabilis fonis:^b

 sit .i. Samueli
Gaudium honoris isti / katholica lege magni!

Nos omnes precamur: / qui ros^c sit, tutus utatur!

 .i. Beulan
piste, tribuisti patri / Samuelem leta Matre.^d

Hymizat^e .i. Mater .i. Samuel
hec semper tibi. / Longeuus ben,^f seruus tui;

Zona induc salutis / istum tis^g pluribus annis!^h

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1. eiusdem plainly refers back to Ninnius; hence the specific attribution (often denounced) in MS. Ff. I. 27.
 2. Ed. Theodor Mommsen, Mon. Germ. Hist., Auctores Antiquissimi, xi (Berlin, 1894), pp. 389-90. This is the 'forma secunda', found also in two Continental manuscripts of saec. xi and xii. It does not seem to have been noted that there exists an interesting Middle-Irish metrical translation of a version of this tract: K. Meyer, ZCP 1 (1896/7), pp. 112-13; a more modern Irish text is given by Eugene O'Curry, Lectures on the Manuscript Materials of Ancient Irish History (Dublin, 1861), p. 580f.
 3. V. H. Friedel, 'Les vers de pseudo-Nennius', ZCP 3 (1899-1901), pp. 112-22; 'Ad versus Nennii', ibidem, p. 515. A substantial advance was made by Lot, ed. cit., i. 124-6.

" The gentle helper, doctor praiseworthy with dear voices:

(May there be) joy of great honour to him [Samuel] (in accordance)
with universal law!

We all beseech (you), May he dwell safe who is a divine blessing!

O Christ, you granted Samuel to (his) father [Beulan], to the joy
of his Mother;

She [Mother] hymns you forever. (May he [Samuel] be) a long-lived
son, your servant;

Clothe him with the girdle of your salvation for many years! "

NOTES

- a. Line 1 might be thought to refer to Christ, but one would then expect the vocative benigne.
- b. See the 'Hisperic' poem Rubisca, line 35, where this word occurs and is glossed uocis: ed. F. J. H. Jenkinson, The Hisperica Famina (Cambridge, 1908), p. 56. In the Brittonic-Latin colloquy in 'Codex Oxoniensis Posterior', fona is glossed .i. uoces uel uerba; ed. W. H. Stevenson, Early Scholastic Colloquies (Oxford, 1929), p. 10, line 23.
- c. Rubisca, line 39, where ros is glossed by caput; so, too, in a glossary in the now destroyed Chartres MS. 90, quoted by Friedel (p. 119, n. 2). This is a Hebrew word. There is an alternative tradition, developed from the Latin ros, 'dew', by the Fathers (especially Jerome) under the influence of Biblical usage. Ros comes to mean 'divine grace' (cf. Bulletin Du Cange: Archivum Latinitatis Medii Aevi 27 [1957], p. 129) and thus 'divine blessing' (cf. Albert Blaise, Dictionnaire Latin-Français des Auteurs Chrétiens [Strasbourg, 1954], p. 725f.). For this use in Insular

hermeneutic poetry, see Frithegodus, Breuilloquium Vite S. Wilfredi (ed. A. Campbell [Zürich, 1950]), line 1337.

- d. Line 4 embodies an obvious comparison of Beulan and Samuel with the Heli and Samuel of I Kings (I Samuel) i-iv. The mater is the Church, which hymns Christ for ever.
- e. Cf. Rubisca, lines 89 and 92, where ymniste is twice glossed laudate. The otiose initial H- of Hymnizat is not significant and does not affect the strict abecedarial form which requires y at this point.
- f. A Hebrew word. See the Mittellateinisches Wörterbuch, p. 1418, S. V.
- g. Cf. Rubisca, lines 12 (glossed tui) and 62. Mis (= mei) is also found in Rubisca, line 7, and in the late-eleventh-century poetry of the sons of Bishop Sulien (see the edition by M. Lapidge, Studia Celtica 8/9 [1973/4], pp. 68-106). Mis, tis, and sis (= sui) are ancient Latin monosyllabic forms, normally employed for metrical reasons. A record of them was preserved by the grammarians; see Thes. Ling. Lat. V.2, col. 253f. and H. Keil, Grammatici Latini (Leipzig, 1857-70), ii.578 and iii.34 (Priscian), iv.357 (Donatus), iv.410 (Servius). The use of these words was reintroduced by mediaeval Latin poets.
- h. The strict abecedarial form of the poem is stressed by the addition of coloured capitals, A to Z, between the lines. The metrical form of these verses is noteworthy: they are rhythmic octosyllables arranged in pairs joined by endrhyme. This poem could well be printed (as does Friedel, p. 118) in twelve lines rather than the six of the manuscript. The first half of line 3 lacks two syllables. The continuity of the abecedarial form demonstrates that this is due to the poet's inadvertence, not to scribal error.

This syllabic form (in which quantity is irrelevant) is derived ultimately from (quantitative) trochaic tetrameter hymns of the Late Latin period, and is found first in Ireland in the late seventh century. The form was popular in England, being used by Aldhelm, Aediluald, Boniface, etc.; see I. Schröbler, 'Zu den Carmina Rhythmica in der Wiener Handschrift der Bonifatiusbriefe oder über den Stabreim in der lateinischen Poesie der Angelsachsen', Beiträge zur Geschichte der deutschen Sprache und Literatur [Tübingen], 79 (1957), pp. 1-42 (esp. 12-17). However, its distribution is neither exclusively Insular nor confined to the 7th and 8th centuries: it is found, for example, in a poem written at Metz ca 1000 (M. G. H., Poetae Aevi Carolini, v, p. 116); cf. Dag Norberg, Introduction à l'Étude de la Versification Latine Médiévale (Stockholm, 1958), p. 125 f.

It does appear very unlikely that Samuel, the infans of Beulan (be he spiritual or fleshly son, or both), could be the author of these verses. They are rather composed in his honour. The logical interpretation of the passage quoted above (Sic inueni ut tibi Samuel...) must therefore be the same; that it was produced 'for you, O Samuel'.

It would seem, then, that one has to do with the activity of a scribe working under the direction of Beulan, and producing a work in honour of Samuel. The remaining verses introduce us to a scribe; they seem to represent a similar milieu, and we may well believe that the scribe who identifies himself in this verse colophon is the scriptor who has acted under the instructions of Beulan.

Fornifer,^a qui digitis scripsit ex ordine trinis,
 Incolumis obtalmis^b sitque omnibus menbris!
 Eu uocatur ben^c notis litteris nominis quini.^d

" May the bearer of gifts,^e who according to custom has
 written with three fingers,
 be safe in eyes and all limbs!
 He is called 'Euben',^f the letters of (his) fivefold name
 having been recognised. "

NOTES

- a. Although a perfectly good Greek word, *φερυόφορος* is apparently attested only in the Latin context of S. Jerome's Commentary on Daniel (on xi.6), ed. in Corpus Christianorum, Series Latina, lxxv A (Turnhout, 1964), p. 903 (line 941, but see critical apparatus); cf. G. W. H. Lampe, A Patristic Greek Lexicon (Oxford, 1961-68), p. 1473. For its use in Insular Latin, cf. fornifori in Lantfridus (saec. x²), Translatio et miracula S. Swithuni (Analecta Bollandiana 4 [1885], p. 374), and Ælfric Bata (saec. x/xi), Colloquia Difficiliora (Stevenson, op. cit., p. 69, line 10) where fornifori is glossed didascali (cf. p. 68, line 21: didascole .i. magister). Jerome must have been the ultimate source of the word's employment by Insular Latin writers.
- b. Cf. Rubisca, line 47, where obtalmum is glossed oculum. The fact that the unusual words (except ben and fornifer) in these two sets of verses can be paralleled in Rubisca is striking; we have no reason to assume borrowing, but we are naturally led to seek some connexion. A common glossary-source would be the obvious deduction, but only fonis, obtalmis, and ros may be discovered in printed

glossary-sources. The Rubisca occurs only in two English manuscripts: Paris, Bibl. Sainte-Geneviève, MS. 2410 (saec. x/xi), and Cambridge U. L. MS. Gg.5.35 (Canterbury, saec. xi med.).

Given our present knowledge of the use of hermeneutic Latin in tenth- and eleventh-century England (cf. M. Lapidge, Anglo-Saxon England 4 [1975], pp. 67-111), Jenkinson's unargued description of Rubisca as 'presumably Irish' will not do (nor am I convinced by the conjectures of M. Herren, Eriu 25 [1974]); it is very likely an English work of the late tenth century (cf. Schröbler, op. cit., p. 25). The date suggested below (mid-eleventh century) for the present recension of the Historia Brittonum and therefore for our two poems fits well the contemporary English evidence; it is notable that all the unusual words employed here may be paralleled in the Anglo-Latin literature of the century between the Benedictine reform and the Norman Conquest.

- c. Tmesis (Eu...ben) is a favourite device of Insular poets; some examples are given by A. Campbell, Transactions of the Philological Society (1953), p. 20.
- d. The metrical form of this little poem is extremely interesting. Each line comprises two parts: 7+8 syllables with a caesura between. The end of the first part rhymes with that of the second (with one exception which may therefore be due to scribal error, notis : quini<s?>). These verses have a trochaic rhythm, the first half of each line being acatalectic. The second half of line two appears to lack one syllable. This verse-form seems not to occur elsewhere: see the index to Norberg, op. cit., pp. 212-15.
- e. A periphrasis for 'scribe'. One may quote two amusing periphrases relating to scribal activity from the charters of King Æthelstan (924-39): scedula....uirgineo aterrimi lacrimas liquoris forcipe in

planitiam tetragoni campuli albentem destillante perscripta est,
 from a charter dated 930, ed. A. S. Napier and W. H. Stevenson,
The Crawford Collection of Early Charters and Documents now in the
Bodleian Library (Oxford, 1895), p. 7, lines 63-7; hanc....

breuiculam atrae fuscationis pallore depictam ac lacrimosa
uirginei forcipis destillatione fedatam....corroborauī, quoted by
 Napier and Stevenson, p. 73. Further research is required to
 determine whether the inflated 'Hisperic' style of Æthelstan's
 reign has any direct English antecedents, or whether it may be
 traced to his close relations with the Celtic countries, or to
 contacts with the Continent.

- f. The form Euben is otherwise unattested. It must stand for Euuen.
 The OW form was Ougen which in later OW became Ouuen and finally
Euuen: cf. K. H. Jackson, L[anguage and] H[istory in] E[arly]
B[ritain] (Edinburgh, 1953), p. 370, n. 1. There is a real
 difficulty here, however, for u = /w/ and b = /v/ are very rarely
 confused in OW before Liber Landauensis, and b is apparently never
 written for /w/. There are accordingly two possible explanations
 of the form Euben. First, u and b were often confused in Late
 Latin spelling; the fact that eu and ben are intelligible as Latin
 words (cf. the use of ben a few lines before, in the first poem)
 not only gives an added ingenuity to this line but provides a Latin
 context for such an orthographical slip (cf. LHEB, pp. 74, 90 n. 1).
 The alternative and perhaps more likely possibility would provide an
 explanation purely in terms of the development of Welsh orthography.
 The /v/ which was written b in OW came to be written u (v, w) in MW
 (cf. the form Eluodugi, discussed below); in the period of
 transition from OW to MW, the reverse (b for u) might well be a
 possible slip, giving such a form as Euben for correct Euuen. For

the implications of this error, see below, p. 475.

'Euben' was doubtless the author of both sets of verses: he was the typical scholar-scribe whom we meet so often in the earlier mediaeval period. These poems would be seen as forming a fitting conclusion to the work which he had just executed. The ingenuity, and the arcane vocabulary, of the closing verses together tell us something of the intellectual milieu of which this writer was a part; this verbal ingenuity is also a feature of the style of some of the additions peculiar to this recension of the Historia.

May we deduce from our materials any indications as to the time and place of this activity? At the beginning of the text, some three alterations and additions have been made to the chronological computations. Owing to subsequent alterations to CCCC 139, two of these are preserved only in Durham B.2.35, into which they were copied from the Sawley manuscript in 1166. The calculations of the original text, indicating that the opening chapters of the Historia Brittonum were written in 829, have been altered to give the date-series A.P. 880,¹ A.D. 912, A.M. 6108.² The continuous, emended text reads:

A passione autem Christi peracti sunt anni dccc.lxxix;
ab incarnatione autem eius anni sunt dcccc.xii, usque
ad .xxx. annum Anarauht regis Monie (id est Mon) qui

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1. 879 years having been completed.
 2. According to the computus there were 5228 years from Adam to the Passion. These calculations are therefore consistent with each other, pace Heinrich Zimmer, Nennius Vindicatus. Über Entstehung, Geschichte und Quellen der Historia Brittonum (Berlin, 1893), p. 43 f.

regit modo regnum Wenedocie regionis (id est Guernet).¹

Fiunt igitur ab exordio mundi usque in annum presentem

sex milia .c.viiij.

Anarawd, son of Rhodri the Great, and king of Gwynedd, appears to have reigned from 878 to 916.² The dates above may therefore manifest some slight error if the thirtieth year of Anarawd (perhaps 907/8) was the precise date intended.³ At any event, these data appear to point to North Wales (and perhaps more precisely to Môn, Anglesey) as the area in which the monastery of Beulan was situated.⁴ There is one other

1. On this form, see below, p. 476 and n. 1.
2. J. E. Lloyd, A History of Wales (3rd edn, London, 1939), i. 326-33, for the sons of Rhodri Mawr. The dates for this period of Welsh history are still highly uncertain; the chronology of the Annales Cambrie has yet to be subjected to a rigorous critical scrutiny. It is presumed that Anarawd was Rhodri's eldest son and that he succeeded directly to Môn and Gwynedd, but there is no certain historical evidence for this.
3. It is not impossible that the author of these calculations followed the Victorian system, where A. P. 880 = A. D. 907; the change to 912 could then be deliberate (substitution of Dionysian calculation) or accidental (scribal confusion of y and x : dccccvii > dccccxii). See further below.
4. It was proposed by H. Zimmer (Neues Archiv der Gesellschaft für ältere deutsche Geschichtskunde 19 [1893/4], pp. 667-9) that the church of Llanbeulan in Anglesey was to be associated with the Beulan of the Historia Brittonum. J. Loth ('Le Beulan-Peulan de Zimmer', Revue celtique 16 [1895], pp. 238-9) replied that Zimmer 'viole les lois les plus élémentaires du consonantisme et du vocalisme gallois', and that *Llanfewlan would be the modern name for a foundation deriving from Beulan. More recently, K. H. Jackson (LHEB, p. 370, n. 1) has classed Beulan with instances of eu which 'are clearly only early examples of the eu regular in MW', in other words late OW forms deriving from OW ou (thus implying a possible OW form Boulan). However, the initial B- for the necessary P- remains a totally insuperable objection to Zimmer's theory, for Llan + Beulan would of course give ModW *Llanfeulan. Three further points should be noted: the name Beulan is unique to this text, and cannot be explained in terms of Welsh philology; Llanbeulan must derive from an eponym Peulan, earlier Poulan (from Poul < Lat. Paulus, with addition of suffix -an); even if Beulan could give a place-name Llanbeulan (which it cannot), the Beulan of our text would almost

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small indication which may point towards Anglesey. The only likely trace of local knowledge manifested is when in the Mirabilia Monie the name Cereuus is removed and a different, vernacular, name - Pol Kerist (Pwll Ceris in the Menai Straits) - is substituted.¹

The explicit internal evidence of the recension points therefore to the early years of the tenth century, but since we must be to some extent in the realms of forgery (the Ninnius prologue: see further below) an external check is desirable. In some measure this is available, although the evidence is sufficiently early only to demonstrate that this redaction is not to be associated with the controversial literature of the earlier twelfth century. The witness to which I refer is the Lebor Bretnach,² the Irish translation of the Historia Brittonum, ascribed to the 'synthetic historian' Gilla Coemáin³ of whom we can say only that he was alive in 1071-2.⁴ This

certainly be of too late a date to have a Llan-name called after him. (I should like to acknowledge the kind help given me by the late Professor Melville Richards in dealing with the problems raised by Zimmer's theory.)

1. On Pwll Ceris, see W. W. Gill, Folklore 50 (1939), p. 40f.
2. Ed. and tr. James H. Todd, Leabhar Breathnach annso sis. The Irish Version of the Historia Brittonum of Nennius (Dublin, 1848); ed. A. G. Van Hamel, Lebor Bretnach (Dublin, 1932).
3. R. Thurneysen, ZCP 20 (1933-6), pp. 101-3, doubted this ascription. His stated reasons are weak, but his instinct may well have been correct; the ascription occurs only in a related pair of MSS. However, since the linguistic evidence supports an 11th-century date, this is not a matter of great importance for the present purpose. A study of Gilla Coemáin's other writings may throw further light on this question.
4. It has been repeatedly stated that Gilla Coemáin died in 1072. To illustrate the dubious reasoning behind this unsupported statement, I propose to quote its author (Zimmer, Nennius Vindictus, p. 13f.) at some length: 'Wir haben von ihm [sc. Gilla Coemáin] ein im Book of Leinster....eine grosse Reimerei annalistischer Art. Sie hebt an mit der Versicherung, dass der Verfasser die Dinge vom Anfang der Welt bis auf seine Zeit chronologisch behandeln wolle.... Im Verlauf

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date appears acceptable both on linguistic grounds and from the evidence of the extant manuscripts. A fragment of the text is preserved in the oldest part of that great Irish codex Leabhar na hUidhre [LU], written before (and perhaps substantially before) 1100.¹ None of the complete manuscripts is earlier than the late fourteenth century; it is therefore especially fortunate that the material in LU has survived. There is a certain variation in content between the several manuscripts but, as far as may be deduced from the editions, this fluctuation involves only material which is found in none of the Latin recensions and which shows every sign of having been added during the Irish period of transmission. An important fact is that the text in LU suffers from some corruptions which are not present in other and later manuscripts; LU does not therefore stand at the head of the tradition, whose origin should perhaps be pushed to the middle of the eleventh century.

kommt der Verfasser schliesslich auf den Tod von Dondchad mac Briain (ob. 1064), "zwei Jahre vom Tode des Dondchad mac Briain die Schlacht der Sachsen, in der der Dänenkönig fiel (1066....), von da bis in das heurige Jahr 5 Jahre, den 7. des Januar". Am 7. Januar 1071 schloss also Gilla Coemgin dies Werk ab; er machte im folgenden Jahr noch eine zweite Ausgabe, die ausser einem Schlussgebet an Christus noch enthielt: "1072 Jahre sind es von Christi Geburt bis auf dieses Jahr, in dem Diarmait durgen fiel". Diarmait, der Sohn des Mael na mbo, König von Leinster, fiel nach den Annalen der vier Meister am Dienstag den 7. Februar 1072.... Da wir keine Spur einer weiteren Recension der annalistischen Reimerei haben, wird Gilla Coemgin das Jahr 1072 kaum überlebt haben. (The underlining is mine.)

1. Ed. R. I. Best and O. Bergin, Lebor na hUidre. Book of the Dun Cow (Dublin, 1929); see also H. P. A. Oskamp, 'Notes on the history of Lebor na hUidre', Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy 65 C (1966), pp. 117-37; Edmund Hogan, The Irish Nennius from L. na hUidre and Homilies and Legends from L. Brecc (Dublin, 1895), pp. 10-16. LU also contains a fragment of the unedited Irish tract Sex Aetates Mundi (Hogan, pp. 1-10; Best and Bergin, pp. 1-6), on which see H. P. A. Oskamp, 'On the author of Sex Aetates Mundi', Studia Celtica 3 (1968), pp. 127-40. This work also draws on a text of the Historia Brittonum; Oskamp's conclusions must be treated with considerable reserve, owing to his reliance on Van Hamel's theorising. For a revision of the date of LU, see now T. Ó Concheanainn, Éigse 15 (1973/4), pp. 277-288.

Now this Irish text corresponds with the essential peculiarities of the recension of 'Ninnius', as we have seen them manifested in CCCC 139. It contains the prologue, and gives the author's name as Nemnus or Nemnius;¹ the opening sentence is modified as in CCCC 139; the interpolated Roman genealogy of Britus is found, but the closing sentence attributes it to Cuamu and there is no mention of Beulan or Samuel; the chapter Brittones a Bruto is lacking; the seventh emperor is 'Maximen' or 'Maximain' (Maximianus); the additional passage about Ceredig the interpreter² is present; the description of the mare fre(nes)sicum - 'quod inter nos Scotosque est'³ - appears to have been known to the Irish translator; the two notes, one about Ida and the other on the baptism of Eanfled and the English, which are associated with the second Beulan passage are found, while the body of the Saxon genealogies and Northern historical material is missing; finally, the rubric De myrabilibus Monie insule⁴ was doubtless in the translator's exemplar.⁵ The complete text which lay before the Irish translator appears, then, to have been - making due allowance for the somewhat free nature of his Irish version - just what the additions in the Cambridge manuscript would lead one to expect. The translation also has the virtue of providing an external and independent check which establishes the middle of the eleventh century as an approximate terminus ante quem of the 'Nennian' recension of the Historia Brittonum.

1. Other variants are listed and discussed by R. Thurneysen, ZCP 20 (1933-6), p. 99 f.

2. CCCC 139, fo. 173v.

3. Ibid., col. 2.

4. CCCC 139, fo. 178v.

5. He misunderstood it as referring to the Isle of Man. See W. W. Gill, Folklore 50 (1939), pp. 33-44.

We thus have a period of a century and a half between the date which this recension claims for itself (the thirtieth year of Anarawd) and the first independent witness to its existence. Is there any reason to doubt the internal evidence of the text? The first ground for suspicion is the dubious nature of the prologue of Ninnius, and it is to this we must now turn. There can be no doubt that this prologue is a secondary addition to the Historia, and it seems to me that all the indications point to its having been composed and added at the time of the revision of the text, apparently under the direction of Beulan. But the question must be put, whether or not there is any reason to believe that, though we first find the prologue and the other new materials in association with one another, they embody two strata: namely, the prologue on the one hand, and the work of revision associated with the name of Beulan on the other.¹ I should regard this as the production of a hypothesis for which there is neither evidence nor necessity. These additions contain nothing which need suggest such a twofold division,² and there is one slight piece of evidence which points in the opposite direction.³ Scholars have often noted that the prologue refers to 'annales Saxonum' in its list of sources employed, and that this seemed perhaps an odd description of the English genealogies and associated materials, some certainly of British origin, relating to Northern history. If, however, one takes

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1. Such a view is of course based on the desire to make 'Nennius' the original author of the Historia in opposition to the evidence of the manuscript-tradition. This reasoning allows 'Nennius' to add his prologue in a last recension which itself then suffers changes at the hands of Beulan and company.
 2. If we are to believe in a twofold process, a different division of the additions suggests itself. See below, p. 477f.
 3. Cf. also p. 455, n. 1, above.

the prologue to refer to the work as it was after the revision superintended by Beulan (remembering that the note by the reviser refers specifically to the exclusion of 'genealogie Saxonum'), its author will have had no need to refer to English genealogies and his general term 'annales Saxonum' will suit very well the material relating to the story of Hengist and the aduentus Saxonum, just as the 'annales Scottorum' covered the historical materials relating to the aduentus Scottorum in Hiberniam and the aduentus Patricii ad Scottos.

What is known of the Ninnius to whom this prologue is attributed? He is described there as Eluodugi discipulus, which allows some degree of chronological certainty. Elfoddw is known from two references in the so-called Annales Cambrie; these annals have not yet been subjected to a close scrutiny to test their chronological precision, so one must for the moment adopt the dates which have gained currency and which are unlikely to be grossly incorrect. In 768 Elfoddw was apparently the bishop responsible for the conformity of the Welsh Churches in the paschal question; his death is placed in 809. A pupil of Elfoddw might therefore be active at any time in the last generation of the eighth century or the first generation of the ninth. Important in this connexion is a curious tract contained in an early-ninth-century Welsh manuscript.¹ It begins as follows:

Nemnius istas reperit literas, uituperante quidem
scolastico saxonici generis quia Brittones non haberent

1. Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS. Auct. F.4.32 (S.C. 2176), fo. 20r. There is a facsimile of this codex, edited by R. W. Hunt, St. Dunstan's Classbook from Glastonbury (Amsterdam, 1961). For earlier notices of this manuscript, see Thurneysen, ZCP 20 (1933-6), pp. 97 ff, and I. Williams, BBCS 7 (1933-5), pp. 380 ff.

rudimentum; at ipse subito ex machinatione mentis suae
formauit eas ut uituperationem et hebitudinem deleceret
gentis suae; de figuris et de nominibus dicens....

There follows an alphabet, based on the Old English runic 'futhorc', but adapted with Welsh names.¹ We know nothing else about this Nemnius, but modern scholars were quick to identify him - and no doubt correctly - with the 'Nennius' of our prologue. This manuscript was almost certainly written in 817,² precisely in the period in which one might expect to find an alleged discipulus of Elfoddw. Nemnius, as we see him through this tract, was a synchronising scholar with a knowledge of English materials; depending on the value that was placed on such ingenious activity - and it may well have been considerable³ - Nemnius may have been a famous Welsh scholar. From the evidence of this manuscript alone, we cannot date his activities with great precision, for he is referred to strictly in the past tense.⁴ It will be well to remember also that we know only from the dubious evidence of the prologue of Ninnius that he was a pupil of Elfoddw.⁵

1. René Derolez, Runica Manuscripta. The English Tradition (Brugge, 1954), pp. 157-9.
2. The evidence consists of prickings in the margin of an easter-table. See Hunt, op. cit., p. viii and note. The easter-cycle spans the years 817-835 (not -832, as stated by Hunt).
3. One may compare here the contemporary Bamberg cryptogram, the story of which involves the court of Merfyn Frych. See R. Derolez, L'Antiquité Classique 21 (1952), pp. 359-75; W. Stokes, The Academy 42 (1892), pp. 71-2, 215; J. Loth, Annales de Bretagne 8 (1892/3), pp. 289-93.
4. Sir Ifor Williams believed the manuscript to have been copied by a disciple of Nemnius, thus raising the possibility that other materials in this manuscript are to be associated with that scholar: BBCS 7 (1933-5), p. 381.
5. Of course, to produce a credible forgery or simulation of an author's prologue, one had to have some grounding in fact. If Nemnius was a famed scholar, this information is likely enough to be accurate.

It is in the light of the evidence provided by the genuine, early-ninth-century source that we must consider the prologue of Ninnius. Since we have seen that the evidence of the text-tradition of the Historia is decisively against the genuineness of the prologue, we have three possibilities to consider. (1) The attribution to Ninnius was a guess, a belief that this perhaps famous synchronising scholar (given the identification with Nemnius) was responsible for the Historia Brittonum, itself an example of synchronising historiography. The attribution could even be correct, but there is no evidence for it.¹ (2) It was a deliberately false attribution, and the prologue is an outright forgery. (3) The prologue really was written by someone called Ninnius (who attempted to claim the whole work as his own) but who lived in the tenth or eleventh century. There is one piece of evidence that argues strongly against the last suggestion, namely the fact that there is a literary relationship between the Nemnius note and the prologue of Ninnius. Consider the first sentence of the prologue: 'Ego Ninnius...aliqua excerpta scribere curavi que hebitudo gentis Brittannie deiecerat, quia nullam peritiam habuerunt neque ullam commemorationem in libris posuerunt doctores illius insule Brittannie': this bears a remarkable resemblance to the note about Nemnius, sharing especially the idea hebitudinem deieceret gentis suae. We may reasonably infer direct borrowing.² A motive for deliberate

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1. A variation on this would be the wishful belief that Nemnius ought to have been responsible for this History.
 2. Sir Ifor Williams proposed an emendation of the text of the prologue, based on the notion that both were contemporaneous: BBCS 9 (1937-9), pp. 342-4. With reference to the Nemnius tract, he wrote: 'The censorious Saxon had his leg pulled by a Briton who resented the charge of hebitudo so much that he stooped to counter it by faking. This incident makes it very unlikely that the same Briton would preface his Historia with a frank admission of the stupidity of his people, for that is what the Preface does, in its present form. It

Continued

forgery seems to be lacking: the explanation that the writer of this prologue believed Ninnius-Nemnius to be the author of the Historia (and took great pains to produce a credible preface)¹ is not only the more charitable but also fits the evidence more satisfactorily.²

Although we have seen that the prologue is a carefully manufactured literary conceit, this by itself is insufficient to damn the explicit testimony of this recension as to its own date. A more substantial basis for concern is provided by a consideration of the linguistic evidence.

It will be seen from the list of Welsh words printed at the end of this discussion that they are all essentially Old Welsh forms. Some of them, however, point unmistakably to the latter part of the OW period. The Gor- of Gorti(r)girno is in fact a form known rather from Middle Welsh than OW sources, but some examples are found in Liber Landauensis.³ The final -ug seen in Eluodugi (ignoring the Latin

is quite out of character.' (p. 342). I agree with this assessment, but would draw the conclusion that these are the words of two different writers, one borrowing from the phraseology of the other.

1. Cf. N. K. Chadwick, Studies in the Early British Church (Cambridge, 1958), p. 92, who seems to have suspected this possibility. For other doubts about the 'Nennian' authorship, see Joseph Stevenson, Nennii Historia Britonum (London, 1838), pp. viii, xv; Arthur de La Borderie, Études Historiques Bretonnes. L'Historia Brittonum attribuée à Nennius et l'Historia Britannica avant Geoffroi de Monmouth (Paris and London, 1883), pp. 2, 11f., 121; W. W. Newell, PMLA 20 (1905), p. 626.
2. A partial parallel may be found in the other concocted preface to this work (printed by Mommsen, ed. cit., p. 126f.), written at Sawley ca 1200 in line with contemporary historiographical standards. See also section VII, below.
3. Ed. J. G. Evans and J. Rhys, The Text of the Book of Llan Dâv, reproduced from the Gwysaney Manuscript (Oxford, 1893): Goruan (p. 72), Guoruan (p. 77); Goruanus (pp. 303, 311).

genitive termination) is a spelling first attested in the Annales Cambrie and 'Harleian Genealogies' in British Library MS Harley 3859; it seems not to be found in sources later than Liber Landauensis.¹ Another late OW form is the -eu- from earlier -ou- found in Beulan and Euben;² again, this is first found in the two mid-tenth-century texts in Harley 3859. We are therefore in the context of the late stages of OW but the forms already discussed are not sufficiently precise as dating criteria to challenge the early-tenth-century date which our text seems to claim for itself;³ nonetheless they do provide some cause for unease.⁴

1. LHEB, p. 387.

2. LHEB, p. 370, n. 1.

3. The date of origin of the written forms eu (<ou) and -ug (-gu, -g) depends on one's view of the texts in Harley 3859. There is no certain evidence for modernisation (beyond Anglo-Norman scribal interference) of the ninth-century forms in its copy of the Historia Brittonum (cf. LHEB, p. 48f.). There is accordingly no reason to assume that the mid-tenth-century forms of the Annales Cambrie and Harleian Genealogies have been updated, especially in view of the orthographic differences which occur between HB on the one hand, and AC and HG on the other. Harley 3859 is an Anglo-Norman manuscript of ca 1100 (its ascription to St David's by N. Denholm-Young, Handwriting in England and Wales [Cardiff, 1954], p. 41, is based on a misunderstanding) and could very well depend directly on a Welsh exemplar of saec. x^{med} or x². The forms eu and -ug are therefore later OW, but are not sufficiently precise as dating criteria in the present case.

4. The form Mineu has no significance for the present discussion. The earlier form *Moniu might be written as late as saec. x, but Minu (of which Mineu is a variant spelling) had already arisen: LHEB, p. 378.

Two other considerations, however, require us to place the execution of this recension at the latest possible date. The -b- of Euben (for Euen) is most plausibly explained as an example of a confusion which would occur only in the period of transition from OW to MW.¹ More significant is the -u- for /v/ in Eluodugi. In OW, before the time of Liber Landauensis, this sound is represented only by -b-;² the use of -u- displays an orthographic development which is associated with the beginnings of MW. That this form in our manuscript is no later modernisation is strongly suggested by its appearance in the manuscripts of the Lebor Bretnach.³ This gives an approximate terminus ante quem of the middle of the eleventh century: we can hardly accept a much earlier date for the Latin recension attributed to Nimius Eluodugi discipulus.⁴

The forms found in CCCC 139 also show a degree of corruption which may indicate either an intervening Anglo-Norman exemplar from which the Sawley collators worked, or merely those scribes' own

1. For full details, see above, p. 463, note f.
2. Compare the first -b- in Elbobdus, also in this manuscript. (For a few apparent exceptions, see LHEB, p. 90, n. 1.) The existence in the one text of the older Elbo(b)dus, the confused Euben, and the newer Eluodugi strongly suggests the transitional period from OW to MW.
3. Van Hamel, ed. cit., p. 1.
4. The form Urbeghen, retaining its composition-vowel, does not require any modification of this conclusion. If the final reduction and loss of the composition vowel was due to the accent-shift (LHEB, p. 649), then this form offers no more than a terminus ante of the occurrence of that shift in the eleventh century (for the date, see LHEB, pp. 682ff.: I discount the theories of T. Arwyn Watkins, BBCS 25 [1972-4], pp. 1-11). One may compare also the occurrence of the form Urbagen in the fragments of the later and derivative recension of the Historia Brittonum found in the eleventh-century flyleaves of Chartres MS. 98 (destroyed in 1944).

failings. Guernet (<Guenet)¹ and Gortirgirno (<Gortigirno) both show the intrusion of a superfluous -r-, Elbobdus (Elbodus)² a superfluous -b-;³ Run. MepuR. Beghen displays false word-division and the corruption of OW map;⁴ Din Gueirin (<Din Gueirui)⁵ is a simple error. The K- in Pol Kerist,⁶ and the W- and -ci- of Wenedocie reflect Anglo-Norman spelling conventions. Finally, the presence of one gloss which can today be explained only by reference to Geoffrey of Monmouth may also suggest late interference with the text.⁷

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1. See K. H. Jackson in Celt and Saxon. Studies in the Early British Border, ed. N. K. Chadwick (Cambridge, 1963; rev. imp., 1964), p. 30, for other forms of this name. The form Guined occurs in British Library MSS. Harley 3859, fo. 182v, and Cotton Vespasian D. 21, fo. 8r. Guenet is found in the Vatican text (MS. Reginensis lat. 1964, fo. 53v, col. 2).
 2. Corrected to Elbodus by a later editor (probably in the years soon after 1200) who also alters an earlier gloss Mermini to Meruini (fo. 170v). There must be a strong suspicion that this editor had a knowledge of Welsh. See below, Appendix IX.
 3. Celt and Saxon, p. 54, n. 5, for the impossibility of the original reading.
 4. Celt and Saxon, p. 32 f.
 5. Cf. Celt and Saxon, p. 27 f., for a discussion of this name. It occurs twice in the Harleian recension: in § 58 as Din Guayrdi, and in § 61 as Din Guoaroy (MSS. dinguo aroy). The reading Din Gueirin in CCC 139 stands in the section representing § 58 of the Harleian version. The only way of reconciling Guayrdi and Gueirin is by taking -di as an error for -oi in the former (there are other examples of this error in the manuscripts of the Harleian text), and -in as a very simple error for -ui in the latter. These would then harmonise very satisfactorily with the -oy in the reading of § 61, leaving no real doubt as to the nature of the termination. But it is still not easy to explain the internal opposition of -ei-, -ay-, and -oa-.
 6. Pol is merely a variant spelling for OW Pull.
 7. On fo. 173r, the Taneth of the text is glossed .i. ars chorii by hand C² (Durham MS., p. 242, col. 1: .i. ars corii). The story explaining this name for Thanet (which depends on an etymology from English 'thong', Latin corium) is found in Geoffrey's Historia Regum Britanniæ; ed. Acton Griscom (London, 1929), p. 369 f. [= VI. xi], or E. Faral, La Légende Arthurienne (Paris, 1929), iii, p. 178 [= cap. 99].

How, then, are we to face the dilemma forced upon us by the linguistic evidence? An argument that we have here a recension of the beginning of the tenth century which has later been linguistically modernised in only a few particulars is hardly likely to carry conviction. A much less unsatisfactory solution of this difficulty may be suggested. The sole evidence for the early-tenth-century date comes from the introductory computation. The initial computus is, however, usually copied mechanically (and without regard to the date it contains) in manuscripts of the Historia Brittonum, but is also sometimes capriciously altered; it is, of course, of no value in dating a manuscript nor, without strong supporting evidence, can it be used to date the recension in which it occurs.¹ A case in point is the recension, of the Historia Brittonum, falsely ascribed to Gildas. In the initial computation, all the Gildasian manuscripts contain a date A.D. 831, yet this recension was executed probably in England in the years around 1100. The most likely explanation is therefore that the thirtieth year of King Anarawd merely represents the date which was found in the copy of the 'Harleian' text which formed the basis for the new recension created under the direction of the priest Beulan, probably by the scribe Euben, and ascribed to Ninnius.²

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1. The date A.D. 829 for the Harleian recension is guaranteed by explicit internal support (see BECS 25 [1972-4], pp. 439-445) and by the consistent agreement of all the internal evidence with an early ninth-century date. The date of the Vatican recension (the 5th year of King Edmund, A.D. 943/4) is also guaranteed by statements elsewhere in its text.
 2. Allowing the necessary reservations as to the precise form of the name, not only of 'Ninnius', but also of 'Beulan' and 'Euben'.

Of this, the so-called 'Nennian' recension of the Historia Brittonum, we can now speak with some degree of certainty. It is a work which dates only from about the middle of the eleventh century; the attribution of the Historia to Ninnius, or 'Nennius' as he is traditionally known, is no earlier than this date. In terms of the textual tradition of the Historia it is a secondary development. The primary text of the Historia is represented by the anonymous 'Harleian' recension; we must admit to ignorance of the name of its ninth-century author.

I list here, with references to the folios of MS. CCCC 139, all the occurrences of Welsh words in the collations made in the period 1164x1166 by hands C¹, C², C³, from a manuscript of the 'Nennian' recension, now lost.

a (177r)

Anarauht (169r)

Beulan (168v); Beulani (169v); Beulano¹ (177r)

Bernech (177r)

Birnech (177r)

Cair [Costaint]² (171v)

[Pol] Kerist (178v)

[Cair] Costaint² (171v)

1. Reading guaranteed by the Durham manuscript.

2. Glosses Cair Segeint. The form Costaint shows two errors, presumably scribal (read Custeint); but the -o- might be due to recognition that the name comes from Constantius.

Deur (177r)
 Din [Queirin] (177r)
 Elbobdus¹ (177r)
 Elmet (173v)
 Eluodugi (168v, twice)
 Euben (168v)
 Gortirgirmo (176r)
 [Din] Gueirin (177r)
 Guernet (169r); Wenedocie (169r)
 gurd (177r)
 (stagnum) Liguane² (177v)
 Man³ (170r)
 Menei⁴ (178v)
 mep (177r)
 Mineu (170r)
 Mon (169r); Monie (169r; 178v)
 Nemio (169r)
 Ninnius (168v, twice)
 Orc .i. Orcades insule (169r)
 Pol [Kerist] (178v)
 Renchidus (177r)
 Run (177r)
 Urbeghen (177r)

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1. Reading guaranteed by the Durham manuscript.
 2. The Harleian recension gives (stagnum) Liuan.
 3. Glosses Euboniam.
 4. The Harleian recension gives Mene.

A SURVEY OF THE MANUSCRIPTS AND THE TEXTUAL TRADITION
OF THE LEBOR BRETNACH

The Lebor Bretnach, a Middle Irish translation of the Historia Brittonum, has been twice edited, first by J. H. Todd in 1848¹ and then — with the aid of additional manuscripts — by A. G. Van Hamel in 1932.² I propose to re-edit the work in due course as part of the task of re-examining all the textual witnesses to the Historia Brittonum; this cannot, however, be undertaken here.

It has already been pointed out, in the preceding discussion of the place of the 'Nennian' attribution in the textual tradition of the Historia Brittonum, that the Irish text is a translation of the now lost 'Nennian' recension of the Historia. I have argued that this was produced in Wales perhaps about the middle of the eleventh century; as will be seen, this is the latest possible date allowed by the Irish evidence. Our sole Latin witness to this recension comprises the collations entered in MS. C. C. C. C. 139 in the period 1164 x 1166 from a complete copy of the work, now lost. In the eventual re-edition of Lebor Bretnach, the Latin fragments will have to be printed in parallel or as part of the critical apparatus; in the meantime, reference may be made to the preceding discussion (where the major items are printed) and to the textual notes to the Sawley recension (section VII below), of which CCCC 139 is the source.

I shall begin by surveying the manuscripts of the Lebor Bretnach, describing each in turn, before proceeding to a survey of the Irish textual tradition.

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1. James H. Todd (ed. & tr.) and Algernon Herbert, Leabhar Breathnach annso sis. The Irish version of the Historia Britonum of Nennius (Dublin, 1848).
 2. A. G. Van Hamel, Lebor Bretnach. The Irish version of the Historia Britonum ascribed to Nennius (Dublin, 1932).

U Dublin, Royal Irish Academy, MS. 23. E. 25 (1229): Leabhar na hUidhre.¹

This codex comprises the remains of the earliest of the great Irish vernacular manuscripts to survive. Its original writing belongs to the eleventh century, but it was substantially revised and interpolated (perhaps after suffering damage) ca 1100.² During the last decade, a great deal of work has been done on the physical structure of this book, with a consequent great increase in our understanding of its history.³ It is certain, however, that much more remains to be learnt; a good many opportunities for controversy also present themselves. This volume now contains but a fragment — a single leaf — of the text, comprising §§ 36-43 in Van Hamel's numeration. This leaf (pp. 3-4; fo. 7 in the 17th-century foliation; g in the mediaeval alphabetical foliation) follows a chasm, in which the main part of the text has been lost; there appears to be no leaf missing after p. 4, however, and we must take it that the work was intended to conclude in this copy with § 43 (the account of Arthur's battles).⁴ This immediately indicates a relationship between U and MS. B (on which, see below). Lebor Bretnach is written in the hand of scribe A, the first scribe of the

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1. Catalogue of Irish Manuscripts in the Royal Irish Academy, pp. 3367 ff.
 2. These seem to be the conclusions to be drawn after the most recent work on the book, especially that of T. Ó Concheanainn, 'The reviser of Leabhar na hUidhre', Éigse, 15 (1973/4), pp. 277-288.
 3. H. P. A. Oskamp, 'Notes on the history of Lebor na hUidre', Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy, 65 C (1966/67), pp. 117-137; Roger Powell, 'Further notes on Lebor na hUidre', Ériu, 21 (1969), pp. 99-102; H. P. A. Oskamp, 'On the collation of Lebor na hUidre', Ériu, 25 (1974), pp. 147-156; also, Ó Concheanainn's article cited above. Forthcoming is D. N. Dumville, 'Scéla Láí Brátha and the collation of Leabhar na hUidhre', Éigse, 16 (1975/6), pp. 24-28.
 4. See Oskamp's table in Ériu, 25 (1974), p. 151.

codex, whose activity is not closely datable but who can hardly have been working much after the middle of the eleventh century.¹ This fragment was printed with translation in 1895 by Edmund Hogan² who failed to recognise that it was separate from the fragment of the preceding text, the Liber de Sex Aetatibus Mundi. A semi-diplomatic edition of the whole manuscript was published in 1929.³ One notable feature (apart from the termination at § 43) is that some of the later manuscripts present a text superior in places to that of U.⁴

Dublin, Royal Irish Academy, MS. 4A.8 (867) contains on fos. 87r-89v a complete copy of the fragment in Leabhar na hUidhre. It dates from the nineteenth century and is in the handwriting of O'Beirne Crowe.⁵ It is of no value in the establishment of a text.

B Dublin, Royal Irish Academy, MS. 23.P.12 (536): the Book of Ballymote.⁶

Written during the years 1384-1406⁷ by a number of scribes, this great codex contains (on pp. 203^a1-211^b51) a complete text of §§ 1-43 of Lebor Bretnach. The scribe of our text was one Robeartus Mac Sithigh,

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1. This is the conclusion compelled by Ó Concheanainn's article, cited above.
 2. Edmund Hogan, The Irish Nennius from L. na hUidre and Homilies and Legends from L. Brecc (Dublin, 1895), pp. 10-16.
 3. R. L. Best and O. Bergin, Lebor na hUidre. Book of the Dun Cow (Dublin, 1929).
 4. Van Hamel, pp. ix, xvi-xvii.
 5. Catalogue of Irish Manuscripts in the Royal Irish Academy, pp. 2583ff.
 6. Catalogue of Irish Manuscripts in the Royal Irish Academy, pp. 1610-1655. A complete photographic facsimile was published by the Royal Irish Academy in 1887.
 7. Catalogue of Irish Manuscripts in the Royal Irish Academy, pp. 1611-12.

whose signature is found at the foot of p. 225, col. 3. Of materials not found in any Latin text of the Historia Brittonum, B contains §§ 4, 6-7 (two prose pieces and one verse text on the Picts), and §§ 24-25 (on Muircertach mac Erca and Saint Cairnech). Like U, it stops at § 43.¹

Dublin, Trinity College, MS. 1295 (H.2.4) is an incomplete copy of the Book of Ballymote written in 1728.² It contains on pp. 378-390 the whole of B's text of Lebor Bretnach. Ordinarily, it would have no value for the establishment of the text but, as B is in some places illegible owing to damp-stains, this transcript is of help in deciphering B's text.

Dublin, Royal Irish Academy, MS. 24.E.25 (1201), a nineteenth-century paper manuscript, contains on pp. 177-187 an English translation of Lebor Bretnach, based on the Irish text in the Book of Ballymote.³

L Dublin, Royal Irish Academy, MS. 23.P.2 (535) + Dublin, Trinity College, MS. 1319 (H.2.17), Vol. 2, fos. 63-71: the (Great) Book of Lecan.⁴

This codex was written during the years 1416-1418⁵ by three scribes,

1. Cf. Van Hamel, p. viii.

2. For a summary description, see T. K. Abbott and E. J. Gwynn, Catalogue of the Irish Manuscripts in the Library of Trinity College, Dublin (Dublin, 1921).

3. Catalogue of Irish Manuscripts in the Royal Irish Academy, pp. 3248-49.

4. Ibid., pp. 1551-1610.

5. Ibid., pp. 1552-3.

Gilla Ísu Mac Fir Bhisigh, Adhamh Ó Cuirnín, and Murchadh Riabhach Ó Cuindlis; of these, the first and last named also collaborated in the writing of a portion of the so-called Yellow Book of Lecan, compiled 1391-1399. A fourth scribe involved in the writing of L, and also found in the Yellow Book, has recently been identified as Tomás Cam Mac Fir Bhisigh.¹

The nine leaves now in TCD MS. 1319, Vol. 2, constitute the remains of a detached fragment of ten leaves of the Book of Lecan. They were included in the complete facsimile of the volume, produced by the Irish Manuscripts Commission in 1939;² I shall therefore refer throughout to the foliation of the facsimile edition rather than to the folios or pages of the two manuscripts.

The text of Lebor Bretnach is found partly in the RIA book and partly in the TCD book. It is precisely at the beginning of the TCD section (facs. fos. 142-150), however, that one leaf has been lost with the consequent disappearance of text from the middle of § 22 to the end of § 29.

The text contained in L is of a rather complicated nature. The codex in fact contains two copies of Lebor Bretnach which run consecutively and with no more indication of a break than the title Do senchus Breatan andso bodeasta (facs. fo. 140^vall). I propose to describe each in turn.

La This text, Van Hamel's L¹, comprises §§ 2-5, 8-11, 14-23, and 26.³ It occupies facs. fos. 139^ral-140^val0. It is the version

1. T. Ó Concheanainn, 'Gilla Ísa Mac Fir Bhisigh and a scribe of his school', Ériu, 25 (1974), pp. 157-171.

2. Kathleen Mulchrone (ed.), The Book of Lecan. Leabhar Mór Mhic Fhir Bhisigh Leacain (Dublin, 1939).

3. Van Hamel, p. vi.

of Lebor Bretnach for which Van Hamel made such extravagant claims in 1932,¹ only to be soundly rebuffed by Lot two years later.² It would appear, at first sight, to be an abridgment of the text found in other witnesses.

Lb This is Van Hamel's L³-L².³ It occupies facs. fos. 140^v all -143^rb23, with a lacuna representing a single lost leaf between facs. fos. 141 and 142. This text is complicated by being, to all appearances, an unintelligent copy of a dislocated exemplar: we find §§ 8-22, lacuna, §§ 30-46, and §§ 1-7, in that order. The text seems to constitute a whole; we need not doubt that §§ 1-7 belong to this copy rather than to some other. We must simply postulate the dislocation of leaves in the exemplar. Van Hamel calculated that the missing leaf contained exactly the same amount of text as did B, thus demonstrating that Lb also contained §§ 24-25 (on Saint Cairnech and Muirchertach Mac Erca).⁴

One point which has caused some confusion deserves to be mentioned here. At the end of the Lebor Bretnach material in L (that is, after Lb § 7) occurs a poem beginning Canum bunadus na nGaeidel and headed 'Mael Muru cecinit'. For some unknown reason, Van Hamel chose to print this heading under the poem (Cruitnich cid dusforglaim) which constitutes § 7 of Lebor Bretnach,⁵ though he should have known that

1. Van Hamel, pp. xi-xli, xix-xxxiv.

2. Ferdinand Lot, Nennius et l'Historia Brittonum (Paris, 1934), i. 135-142.

3. Van Hamel, pp. vi-vii.

4. Van Hamel, p. vi.

5. Van Hamel, p. 14; cf. p. xxxv where he explicitly attributes § 7 to Mael Muru. Mael Muru's poem Canum bunadus is edited and translated in Todd's 1848 edition, pp. 220-271.

such a statement always introduces a poem rather than follows it; it cannot belong with § 7. The poet in question is Mael Muru Othna who flourished in the ninth century. Van Hamel's error has recently led to the unjustified belief that the poem which is § 7 of Lebor Bretnach may be of ninth-century date.¹

Dublin, Royal Irish Academy, MS. 23.G.4 (679) is an eighteenth-century paper manuscript² which contains on pp. 366-373 a copy of Lebor Bretnach, comprising the texts La and Lb (§§ 8-11). A colophon on p. 373 reads 'Scripim do seanchus Breathn̄: August 12 1722'.

From the latter derive two other transcripts. Dublin, Royal Irish Academy, MS. 23.G.5 (781) is an eighteenth-century vellum³ containing on pp. 11-16 the same material as RIA MS. 23.G.4. It concludes with the colophon (p. 16), 'Scripim do seancus Breatn̄ June 1799'.

Exactly the same colophon is found in London, British Library, MS. Egerton 134, fo. 6^r, also of the eighteenth to nineteenth century, which bears on fos. 1^r-6^r the same contents as the above two manuscripts. It is in the hand of Fíngin Ó Scannail.⁴ Both RIA 23.G.5 and BL Egerton 134 are therefore descendants of RIA 23.G.4, but only a detailed collation will determine their precise relationships.

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1. M. O. Anderson, Kings and Kingship in Early Scotland (Edinburgh, 1973), p. 80.
 2. Catalogue of Irish Manuscripts in the Royal Irish Academy, pp. 2101ff.
 3. Ibid., pp. 2460ff.
 4. Robin Flower, Catalogue of Irish Manuscripts in the British Museum, 11 (London, 1926), pp. 619-620.

Dublin, National Library of Ireland, MS. G 47 (formerly Phillipps 10272),¹ a paper manuscript, bears on pp. 1-13 a copy of all the Lebor Bretnach material from RIA MS. 23.P.2 (535), viz. La and Lb (§§ 8-22), transcribed without regard to the sense. It lacks all the text now found in the detached fragment of L. The writing of this copy belongs to April 15-24, 1807, as dates in this section of the volume attest.

G Dublin, National Library of Ireland, MS. G 1 (formerly Phillipps 4169) is a vellum manuscript written by Pilip Ballach hua Duibhgeandáin during the years 1579 to 1584.² This minute book (its dimensions are 6.8 x 5.4 cm) contains on fo. 52^{r/v} an excerpt from § 5 of Lebor Bretnach. This manuscript was unknown to the last editor.

M Dublin, Royal Irish Academy, MS. Stowe D.ii.1 (1225): Leabhar Í Mhaine.³

This vellum codex of the late fourteenth century contains on facs. fos. 35^v1-38^ra23 a copy of the Lebor Bretnach (Van Hamel's H),⁴ headed: 'Sequitur Leabur Breatnach. Incipit de Britania airte quam Nenius

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1. Nessa Ní Shéaghdha, Catalogue of Irish Manuscripts in the National Library of Ireland, ii (Dublin, 1961), pp. 62-64.
 2. Ibid., i (Dublin, 1967), pp. 1-12.
 3. Catalogue of Irish Manuscripts in the Royal Irish Academy, pp. 3314 ff. A complete facsimile, edited by R. A. S. Macalister, was published by the Irish Manuscripts Commission.
 4. Van Hamel, pp. viii-ix.

construxit, Gilla Coemhain roimpai i Scotie.' It shares this ascription to Gilla Coemáin (fl. 1071/2) with MS. H, as well as its text of Lebor Bretnach (viz., §§ 1-3, 5, 8-23, 26-46) and the following Pictish king-list and beginning of a summary translation of Bede's Ecclesiastical History.

Dublin, Royal Irish Academy, MS. Stowe F.v.4 (775), an eighteenth-century paper manuscript,¹ contains on fos. 50^v and 56^v extracts from the Lebor Bretnach. It has been inferred from the handwriting that the scribe was Charles O'Connor; various dates, from 1765 to 1785, occur in this manuscript. Following each of these two folios containing matter from Lebor Bretnach, a leaf is now wanting: the cataloguer has failed to notice these lacunae. The volume contains some half-dozen references to a Codex O'Duvegan or Leabhar Uí Dhubhagáin roeg 1372; of these, one is the first excerpt from Lebor Bretnach and is headed Ex O Dovegani Collectaneis, fol. 91. Collation shows this to be a transcript from our MS. M, and reference to fo. 91 of Leabhar Í Mhaine (= facs. fo. 35) indicates beyond doubt that this codex must be the O'Duvegan book in question. Most of the references to this codex can be traced without difficulty to an exact point in Leabhar Í Mhaine. Some ten references are given to a Codex O Duvegan in Ogygia: seu, Rerum Hibernicarum Chronologia (London, 1685) by Roderic O Flaherty, whose work is cited throughout RIA MS. Stowe F.v.4. Another reference, but this time drawn from O'Flaherty's work, is found in Dublin, National Library of Ireland, MS. G. 24 (formerly Phillipps 9359), p. 73, of the eighteenth century.² Collection and examination of all these

1. Catalogue of Irish Manuscripts in the Royal Irish Academy, pp. 244-2 ff.

2. Nessa Ní Shéaghda, op. cit., ii. 20-24.

seventeenth- and eighteenth-century references to the O'Duvedan book will surely lead to a greater knowledge of the history and former contents of Leabhar Í Mhaine than would otherwise be possible.

H Dublin, Trinity College, MS. 1336 (H. 3.17).

This codex comprises a number of separate manuscripts, of which that containing the Lebor Bretnach has been conjectured to have been written ca 1500;¹ the date is not, however, firmly established. This text, Van Hamel's D, occupies fos. 232^r-237^r (cols. 806-826^A), and is introduced by the rubric 'Incipit de Britainia antiquitas quam Nemius construxit; in puer autem Cææain eam conuertid i Scotig'. Like M, it contains §§ 1-3, 5, 8-23, 26-46, and is followed by a Pictish king-list (Van Hamel's §§ 47-53) and the beginning of a summary translation of Bede's Ecclesiastical History (Van Hamel's §§ 54-58).

E Lost manuscript used by John Lynch, 'Cambrensis Euersus' (1662), pp. 93-94.

John Lynch (?1599-1670?) mentions 'an Irish version of Nennius in my possession', and publishes² from this manuscript a large fragment of the Pictish king-list, of the same version as MSS. H, M, and O but not textually identical with any other copy.³ This text was not known to

1. Van Hamel, p. viii.

2. The book was reprinted in an edition by M. Kelly (Dublin, 1848-52). See Vol. 2, p. 91.

3. Cf. M. O. Anderson, Kings and Kingship in Early Scotland (Edinburgh, 1973), p. 78.

Van Hamel.

O Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS. Laud misc. 610.

This codex, described by Myles Dillon, Celtica, 5 (1960), pp. 64-76, belongs to the years 1453-54.¹ It is now in some disorder and suffering from a number of substantial lacunae. The twelfth quire begins (fo. 87) with an acephalous copy of the Pictish and Scottish king list (Van Hamel's §§ 48, line 10, - 53) which has recently been published by M. O. Anderson, Kings and Kingship in Early Scotland (Edinburgh, 1973), pp. 261-263; it is followed by the summary translation of Bede's Ecclesiastical History, but in a copy which contains a good deal more than either M or H.² There is every reason to believe that the quire lost from before fo. 87 once contained a copy of Lebor Bretnach which was closely related to those in MSS. M, H, and (the lost) E.

With the survey of manuscripts thus concluded, it remains to consider in brief the textual history of Lebor Bretnach. Van Hamel

1. See also M. Dillon, Celtica, 6 (1963), pp. 135 ff.

2. Printed by O. Bergin in Anecdota from Irish Manuscripts, iii (Halle, 1910), pp. 63-76; an edition with facing translation by E. G. Cox was published in G. S. Northrop et al. (edd.), Studies in Language and Literature in celebration of the seventieth birthday of James Morgan Hart (New York, 1910), pp. 122-178.

divided the witnesses into three main groups:¹ La constituted a group by itself ('Version I'); B and Lb constituted a second group ('Version III'), with U, but U showed some points of contact with the third group ('Version II'), comprising H and M as well as the lost texts E and O.

Van Hamel was excellent at noticing significant textual points, but he seems invariably to have drawn the wrong conclusions from them. Let us pass by La (his 'Version I') for the moment: he mistakenly considered this to be the most primitive and most important version of the text;² his treatment of it recalls to mind the way in which the Chartres text of the Latin Historia was used by its enthusiastic discoverers.

B and Lb share in common a number of items which do not occur in the Latin recensions. These are §§ 4, 6-7, 24-25.³ § 4 is in fact placed in these two witnesses between §§ 1 and 2; it shares this chapter with La which places it between Van Hamel's §§ 3 and 5.⁴ B and Lb place §§ 6-7 between the last two sentences of § 5.⁵ Lb has an additional five sentences at the end of § 6,⁶ while B adds two further quatrains to the end of § 7.⁷ Neither manuscript can therefore derive from the other; Lb was, in any case, written later than B and is disordered in such a way that only the state of its exemplar can

1. Van Hamel, pp. xi-xix.
2. Van Hamel, pp. xix-xxiv.
3. Van Hamel, pp. xxxiv-xxxvi.
4. Van Hamel, p. 5, n. 1.
5. Van Hamel, p. 8, n. 82.
6. Van Hamel, p. 9, n. 160.
7. Van Hamel, p. 14, n. 2.

account for its present condition. But the exemplar of Lb can hardly have been the exemplar of B, so we may reckon that these two exemplars themselves go back to a common exemplar (β). §§ 24-25 occur only in B, as Lb suffers from a lacuna at this point; as mentioned above, however, Lb seems also to have contained this item, which must therefore have occurred in β too.¹ Finally, it must be noted that B shares in common with U, three centuries and more its senior, the fact that they stop at the end of § 43, lacking §§ 44-46 which go back to the Latin text of the Historia Brittonum. Lb, however, makes up for this discrepancy; in this, it stands alone among the manuscripts of 'Version III'.

H and M (Van Hamel's 'Version II') contain none of these additions to the Latin tradition, thus demonstrating the position of §§ 4, 6-7, and 24-25 as interpolations. H and M (and E, O) enjoy the common feature of being followed by the Pictish and Scottish king-list and by the version of Bede. For reasons best known to himself, Van Hamel chose to print these (as §§ 47-58) as if they were an integral part of Lebor Bretnach,² which they are certainly not. It is an interesting coincidence, nonetheless, that both sides of the tradition attracted Pictish material: 'Version I' (La) has § 4 and 'Version III' has §§ 4, 6, and 7; 'Version II', on the other hand, has §§ 47-53. Only the text represented by H and M has any attribution of the Irish text to an author. Their choice, Gilla Coemáin, raises a number of problems which will be discussed later. Another feature of this version is the noticeable preference for Latin words and phrases.³

1. Van Hamel, p. xxxiv.

2. Van Hamel, pp. 82-90.

3. Van Hamel, p. xiii.

It has already been observed that La shares § 4 with B and Lb, but that its position is different in the two versions. We may conclude that in their ultimate common ancestor, the section was a note added in the margin; different scribes must then have inserted it at different places when making copies. The text of § 4 in BLb is corrupted by the intercalation of a Pictish king-list, probably as a result of a gloss on this gloss; by contrast the ancestor of EHMO added such material at the end of the text. The state of the corruption is, however, different in B from that in Lb.¹

§§ 4 and 6 belong together, however. They are found as a separate text, but including the interpolated king-list, at facs. fo. 132^vb2 (p. 286b2) of the Book of Lecan; nevertheless, this copy did not form a source for the interpolation in Lebor Bretnach, as its contents are not identical with those of § 4.²

We may summarise the discussion this far in diagrammatic form:

1. Van Hamel, p. xxxv.

2. Van Hamel, ibid.

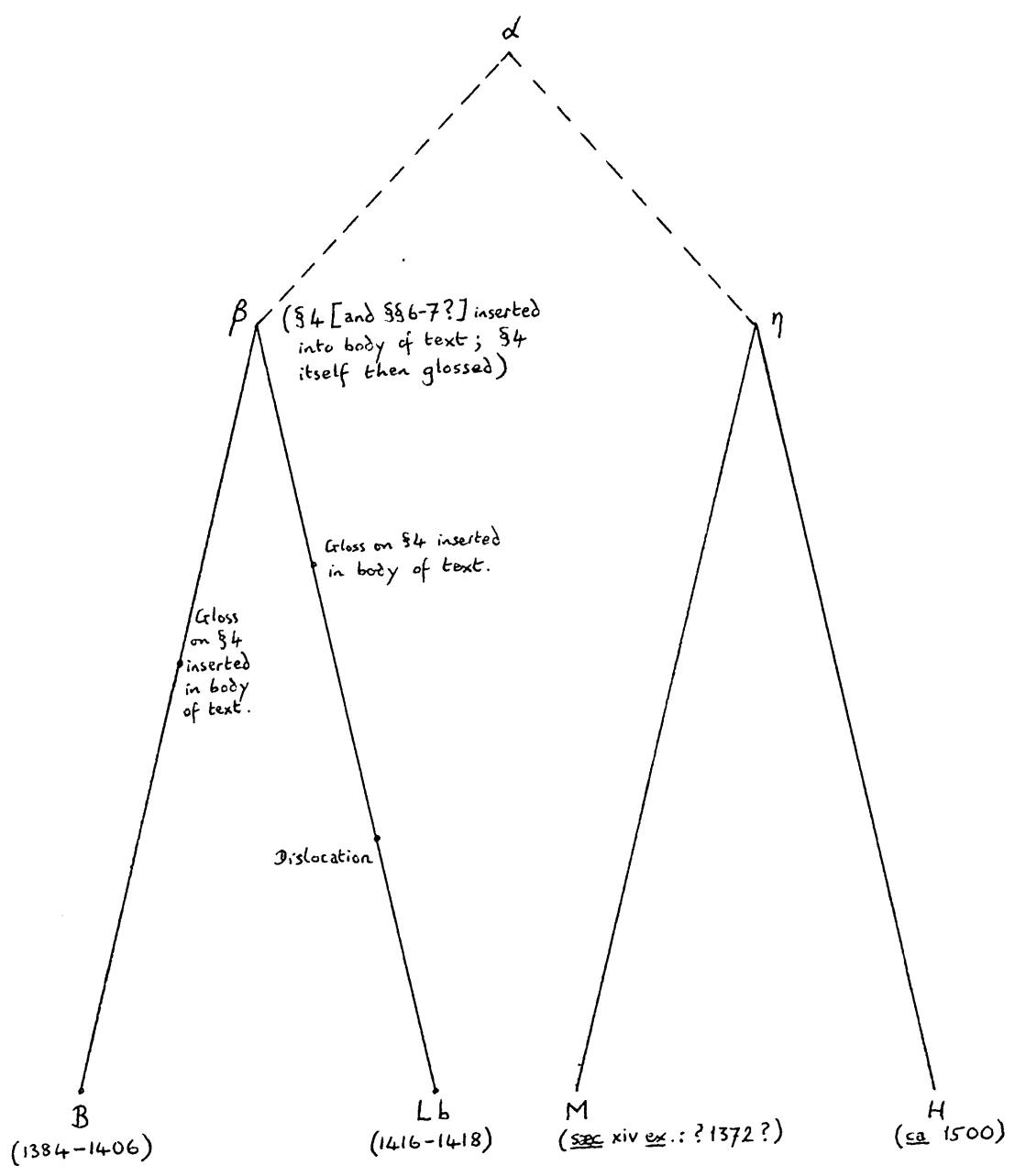


Fig. VI. The complete witnesses to the text of Lebor Bretnach

What can be said as to the respective merits of 'Version III' (BLbU) and 'Version II' (HM)? The common features of HM were conveniently pointed out by Van Hamel, who reckoned them to be deviations from the text of the archetype.¹ He drew this conclusion in spite of evidence that these deviations are often superior features: for example, in § 26, where LaB (lacuna in Lb) run two genealogies together, HM have two separate pedigrees, albeit still somewhat confused;² in § 39, for the Epifort of BLbU, H has Rethar Gabail no Ebisfert;³ it is easier to see the Latin words and phrases noted by Van Hamel, with their Irish glosses, as original readings which have been superseded by the vernacular glosses, rather than late insertions; in one case (§ 39) HM reproduce exactly a word in the Latin original where BLbU have no Irish equivalent — 'taifniger (H; taifnicear M) Sax(s)ain coa Longaib mulie(i)britir'.⁴ Other examples could be produced. Certainly, there are also cases of grammatical modernisation common to HM and therefore in their exemplar,⁵ but such modernisation could be carried out by a scribe without any alterations of content being effected.

'Version III' (BLbU) on the other hand, suffers from three substantial interpolations (§§ 4, 6-7, 24-25) and one major omission (§§ 44-46) by comparison with the Latin tradition and with the text of 'Version II' (HM). This version certainly has a long history, for we see it reflected in the eleventh-century U. This early text concludes

1. Van Hamel, pp. xii-xiv.

2. Van Hamel, p. 43, n. 64.

3. Van Hamel, p. 63, n. 60.

4. Van Hamel, p. 63, n. 58.

5. Van Hamel, p. xiii.

at § 43 but, as it is highly fragmentary, we cannot say whether §§ 4, 6-7, and 24-25 had already been foisted into the text; in view of the instability of § 4 (it occurs in different positions in La and Lb), it seems unlikely that it and §§ 6-7, at least, would have appeared in U.

It is most noteworthy that U shares a major point of agreement with 'Version II' (HM). At the end of § 42 HMU agree in reading is usce do loch insin, while BLb have 'is usce (usci B) fo thalmain (lar B) 7 liaither (lithir B) gainem (ganeamh B) mara andsin (amnsin B)'; Lb alone, in accordance with its usual characteristic of having the longest text, adds '7 lecfead daib sechaind cose can cumair 7 can faisneis indisin coleicc'.¹

The reconstruction in fig. VI of the relationship of Lb and B does not admit of any doubt. On the assumption that an exemplar of B has lost §§ 44-46, and that U is therefore related more closely to B than to Lb, the relationship between U and HM is totally inexplicable (save by contamination, which is not credible as an explanation of a single textual feature). We must accept that the agreement of HMU is likely to establish the reading of the archetype (in § 42: see last paragraph), but at the same time recognise that the loss of §§ 44-46 is very old and goes back to a stage (not later than the eleventh century) which B and U share in common. The necessary result of these deductions is the recognition that the appearance of §§ 44-46 in Lb is not due to a natural progression from the archetype, and must be due to contamination by another version. There is a further piece of evidence to support this: at the end of § 43, B reads Finit don Brethnochas, signalling the end of its copy of Lebor Bretnach; in Lb too, at the end of § 43, we read Finit in spite of the fact that the text

1. Van Hamel, p. xvi.

continues with §§ 44-46.¹

If contamination occurred, it must have been with a text of 'Version II' (as represented now by HM), for this version alone seems to have contained §§ 44-46. There is, in fact, some compelling evidence for the operation of contamination in the opposite direction: that is, the influence of 'Version III' upon 'Version II'. Although Van Hamel faithfully recorded the details in his apparatus, he has totally overlooked their significance. At least three marginal notes are found in M which, on examination, turn out to be readings from 'Version III' which are not otherwise found in 'Version II'. These are two sentences in § 3 on the geography of Ireland,² the sentence Ilium is e rocumdaig Trae in § 9,³ and the psalm-verse 'Suscitans de puluere egeinum et de stercore erigens pauperem' in § 28.⁴ There may be others that I have overlooked. These cannot have been taken directly from either B or Lb, but they have certainly been drawn from a text of that version.

The most likely conclusion, therefore, is that M (or an ancestor more recent than η) and an ancestor of Lb (more recent than β) were collated together; the text of 'Version II' supplied §§ 44-46, while the copy of 'Version III' supplied the collations now found in the margins of M. A determined search may well produce further evidence. M itself could have been one of the texts collated, for L is at least a quarter of a century later in date; a firm conclusion on this point may be aided by a close palaeographical scrutiny of M.

1. Cf. Van Hamel, p. xv, who makes the point rather clumsily.

2. Van Hamel, p. 4, n. 21.

3. Van Hamel, p. 17, n. 33.

4. Van Hamel, p. 47, n. 128.

The precise interrelationships of η (the common ancestor of the closely-related copies H and M), E, and O are difficult to establish in the absence of the text of Lebor Bretnach from these two witnesses. On the evidence of the two succeeding texts, however, we may be fairly confident that none of the extant witnesses derives from another. The full extent of the text of the translation of Bede in O is not found in H and M, nor therefore in η . O must accordingly derive from an ancestor of η . Of E we can say only that its text of the Pictish king-list is not a copy of that in η .¹

H and M share the ascription of the translation to Gilla Coemáin which must therefore have been in η ,² but which occurs in no other surviving witness. We cannot date η , but it need have been written no earlier than 1350. In view of the apparent superiority of 'Version II', represented by HM, over 'Version III', how much authority should be awarded to this ascription? Its absence from Versions I and III is important, but not necessarily significant. More important are the chronological considerations. We know Gilla Coemáin to have been working in 1071-72, for we have works by him written in those years.³ The date of the original scribes of U, the oldest text of Lebor Bretnach but by no means its best representative, has been pushed by recent research well back towards 1050. Although it is not impossible to accommodate all these factors within an argument for Gilla Coemáin's authorship, they make the ascription look rather less than certain.

An argument that 'Version II' is in general the superior text

1. Cf. M. O. Anderson, Kings and Kingship in Early Scotland (Edinburgh, 1973), p. 78.
2. Van Hamel, p. 1; cf. pp. viii-ix.
3. Heinrich Zimmer, Nennius Vindictus (Berlin, 1893), p. 13f., quoted above at p. 466, n. 4.

does not of course mean that any particular item in it, unsupported by the evidence of other versions, goes back to the archetype. This is especially true in this case where the two surviving witnesses are of late date and are closely related. We shall do well, at the moment, to regard the attribution to Gilla Coemáin as probably a late ascription, but to keep an open mind in case further evidence is forthcoming.

It remains to consider La, for which Van Hamel made such far-reaching claims. He saw in its short form (it contains only §§ 2-5, 8-11, 14-23, and 26) not an abbreviation but a very primitive form of the text whose preservation, in Irish guise, had great implications for the study of the origin of the Historia Brittonum.¹ The text lacks the Nennian prologue (§ 1), the interpolations §§ 6-7 and 24-25, part (§§ 12-13) of the account of the colonisation of Ireland, and everything from the beginning of the account of Saint Germanus to the end of the work (§§ 27-46); its versions of §§ 2 and 3 are severely truncated.² Van Hamel considered this very brevity to be a guarantee of the originality of the text; we may recall that the same mistake was made with regard to the Latin text of the Chartres manuscript.

It is difficult to respond to a categorical assertion of the priority of this version save with an equally firm denial. However, there are two pieces of evidence which support such a denial. The first is the presence of § 4 in La; this section, otherwise found only in 'Version III' (LbB), is certainly an interpolation into the text of Lebor Bretnach; its different positions in 'Version I' and 'Version II' are to be explained by its having been entered in the margin in their common

1. Van Hamel, pp. xi-xii, xxiv-xxvi, xxviii-xxxiv.

2. Van Hamel, pp. 2-5.

source (λ), after which different scribes will have entered it in different positions. Further support for this view of La as a derivative of 'Version III' may be found in the consistent verbal agreement of La with the readings of 'Version III' as against 'Version II'.

We may begin a summary of this discussion of the textual history of Lebor Bretnach with a final stemma.

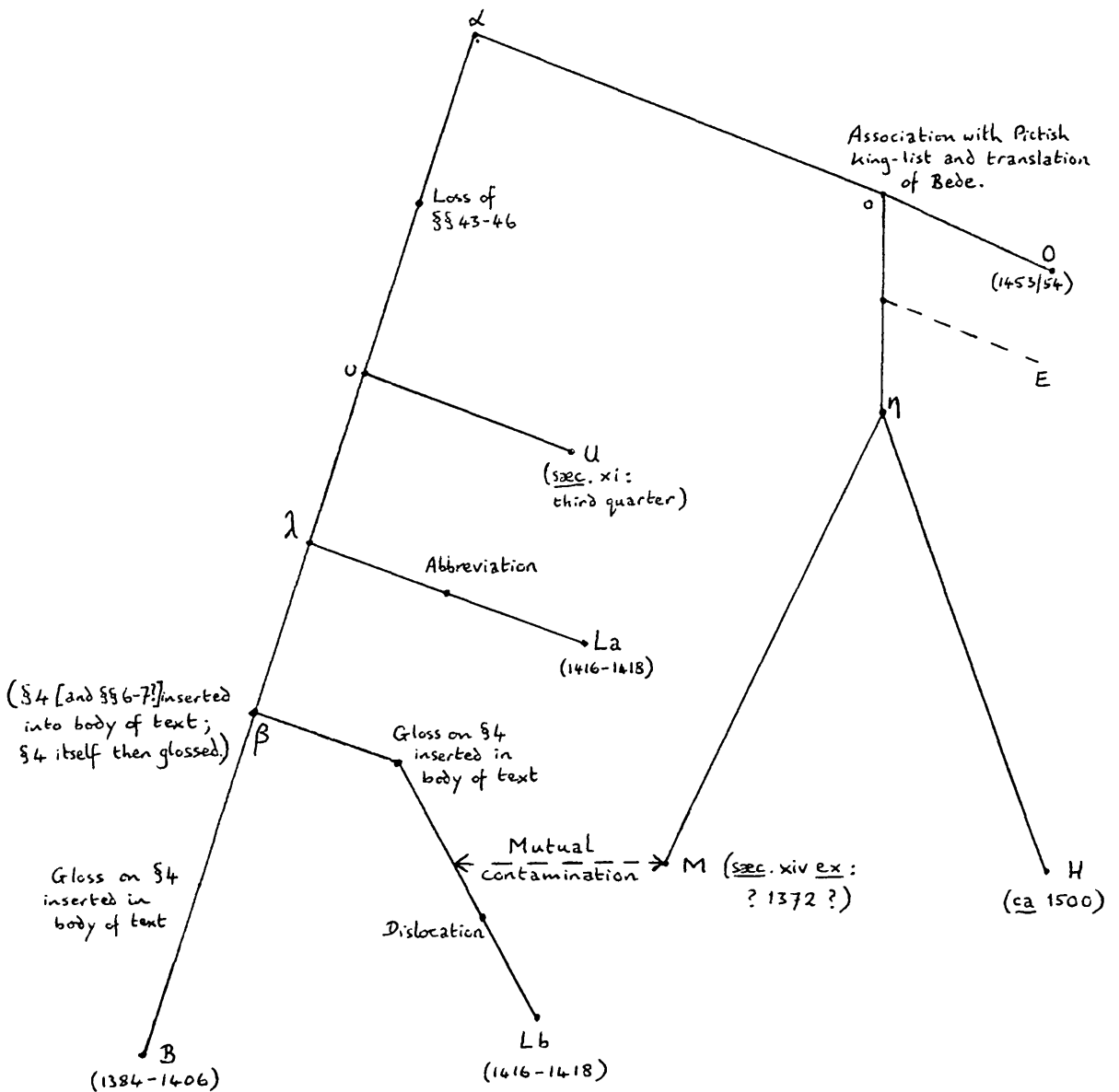


Fig. VII. The textual history of Lebor Bretnach

The original translation, made during the eleventh century (and perhaps about the middle), derives from the so-called 'Nennian' recension of the Latin text, which can itself hardly have been written at a very much earlier date. For details of the Latin text and its history, see above. Copies of the Irish translation must have multiplied very rapidly, for the fragment in U (probably of the middle or third quarter of the eleventh century) indicates that two families of the text already existed by that date. The version represented by the extant witnesses BLaLbU is characterised by the loss of §§ 43-46 (which must have occurred at the earliest possible date), and the development of a series of special characteristics, mostly verbal but including additional sentences in §§ 2 and 3, the interpolation (at some undatable point) of §§ 24-25, and the eventual absorption of §§ 4, 6, and 7. La represents a drastic abbreviation of a copy (λ) of this version.

The whole original text continued to be transmitted as a unity, but it fell into the company, at a point not later than the first half of the fourteenth century, of a Pictish-Scottish king-list and a partial translation of Bede's Ecclesiastical History. An attribution of the translation to Gilla Coemáin, the 'synthetic' historian of the later eleventh century, had become attached to the work no later than the middle of the fourteenth century. This attribution could even have been transmitted direct from the archetype but, if so, its absence from the other side of the textual tradition is very curious. The authorship of Gilla Coemáin must be viewed with a certain scepticism, particularly in view of the early date of the derivative text in U, but no certain decision is yet possible.

The extant witnesses to this side of the tradition are the closely-related M and H; the presence of their companion-texts in two other (lost) witnesses, E and O, makes possible some judgment (albeit of

a somewhat speculative nature) as to the place of EO in the tradition of the work.

Contamination between the two sides of the tradition took place when a recent ancestor of Lb was collated with M (or a text intermediate between η and M). The ancestor of Lb gained §§ 44-46, lost from this side of the tradition since the eleventh century; M gained at least three small passages which formed part of the distinctive deviations from its own textual family. The activity which this contamination represents may also help to account for the presence side by side in one manuscript of the two texts La and Lb: it seems likely that a scholar had gathered together all the available texts of Lebor Bretnach; one was perhaps available only long enough for its most distinctive feature to be acquired; the other was recopied together with the ancestor of Lb and thus came, mediately or immediately, into the Book of Lecan.

It has often been said, even in recent years, that the time has not yet come for the critical edition of an Irish text. Lebor Bretnach is the ideal text to disprove this unfortunate maxim. It enjoys a rich textual tradition which can in large measure be reconstructed by traditional critical methods. I hope that this preliminary survey has shown that the archetype must be reconstructed by basing the text on MSS. H and M, controlling these by the readings of BLaLbU. The edition of a vernacular text which is subjected to major orthographical revision by almost every scribe may require certain practical divergences from classical editorial conventions (such as the need for two apparatuses, one for substantial and grammatical variants, the other for purely orthographic variants), but the principles must remain the same. The fact that Van Hamel's attempt was a failure was due to his disregard for the essential principles of textual criticism

(for instance, he repeatedly changes the manuscript on which he is basing his text, producing a most unhappy conflation); his failure is not an indication of the inapplicability of the method in an Irish context.

VI

THE
' G I L D A S I A N '
R E C E N S I O N
O F T H E
H I S T O R I A B R I T T O N U M

SIGLA

- A London, College of Arms, MS. Arundel 30.
- B Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS. Bodley 163.
- C Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, MS. 139.
- D Durham, Cathedral Library, MS. B.2.35.
- E Évreux, Bibliothèque Municipale, MS. 41.
- F Cambridge, University Library, MS. Ff.I.27 (Part 2)
- G London, British Library, MS. Cotton Caligula A.8.
- H Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum, MS. BL 2.
- I Cambridge, University Library, MS. Ii.6.11
- J London, British Library, MS. Cotton Iulius D.5.
- K Liège, University Library, MS. 369 C.
- L Leiden, University Library, MS. BPL 20.
- M Cambridge, University Library, MS. Mm.5.29.
- N London, British Library, MS. Cotton Nero D.8.
- P Lincoln, Cathedral Library, MS. 98.
- R Rouen, Bibliothèque Municipale, MS. U 74 (1177)
- S Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, MS. latin 5232.
- T London, British Library, MS. Royal 13.D.5.
- V Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, MS. latin 15009.
- W Aberystwyth, National Library of Wales, MS. Llanstephan
175 B.
- X Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, MS. latin 6274.
- Y Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, MS. 363.
- Z Rennes, Archives départementales d'Ille et Vilaine,
MS. I.F.1003.

INTRODUCTORY REMARKS

This, the 'Gildasian', recension of the Historia Brittonum was the 'vulgate' text of the work in the period from the twelfth century to the close of the middle ages. It was the version of the Historia which was used by most of the authors who quoted from the Historia during that period. There survive some twenty-three more or less complete manuscript-copies of this recension, together with a series of items containing quotations from or noting 'sightings' of other copies. One complete copy has been destroyed, and another lost, since as recently as 1730. In such a large group of manuscripts of a text which seems positively to have invited recensional activity, it was inevitable that marked divergences should appear: the textual tradition shows the development, by about the middle of the twelfth century, of three quite distinct subgroups; these subgroups may themselves be further subdivided on textual evidence. The earliest surviving manuscript of the recension belongs arguably to the year 1108; it cannot be later in date than the first quarter of the twelfth century. The recension seems likely to be Anglo-Norman work of ca 1100: the dates of the extant witnesses do not contradict this view; and the mediæval distribution of the copies corresponds - with a few outliers - to the area of the Anglo-Norman and Angevin empire. Each subgroup belongs largely to a given area: one to midland England, the area between the Thames-Severn and Humber-Dee lines; a second to northern England; and the third to France, chiefly Normandy.

What, then, were the principal features of this widely

distributed 'vulgate' form of the Historia Brittonum? Six major features stand out. (1) The attribution to Gildas is unique to this recension. It undoubtedly derives from a knowledge of the fact that Gildas was the only early British 'historian' identifiable by name and that he wrote the work De excidio Britanniae, but from ignorance of the text of Gildas's work - by no means a widely read or widely circulated text in the middle ages.¹ We may compare this bogus attribution with the false ascription of the other works to Gildas in the mediaeval period; the earliest comparable example is found in south-western England in the tenth century where works of Isidore and Hrabanus Maurus are found ascribed to Gildas!² (2) The list of the provinces of Asia, Africa, and Europe is unique, among recensions of the Historia Brittonum, to this version, being inserted between the equivalent of Harl. §§ 13 and 14. Its source is by no means certain, for although such lists may be found in late antique authors, they also circulated independently: for an example in an English manuscript, see Appendix VII below. (3) The chapter Brittones a Bruto is lacking (Harl. §16), as it is believed to be lacking also from the 'Nennian' recension. (4) The whole body of the English genealogies, Northern History, and following computistical matter found in the 'Harleian' recension (Harl. §§ 53-66) is entirely wanting.

1. The glossator who, in MS. B (see below), suffixes 'Minor' to 'Gilda' implies more direct knowledge of the sixth-century text.

2. Exeter, Cathedral Library, MS. 3507; a copy of this now incomplete manuscript may be found in London, British Library, MS. Cotton Vitellius A.12.

(5) Among the mirabilia two passages of Harl. §§72, 73 had already been lost by scribal error in the archetype of all the extant manuscripts of the recension.¹ (6) Among the mirabilia, Harl. §81 is placed after Harl. §85, no doubt for the stylistic effect of having the text end with the words '... in extremis finibus cosmi'. This could only have been done by one who was ignorant of the locations involved, for this rearrangement sandwiches the Anglesey and Irish mirabilia between two sets of Welsh marvels.

It was, therefore, a much shorter text than the original 'Harleian' version; it was no longer a miscellaneous anonymous tract but the work of a known author (an author, moreover, who was named in Bede's Ecclesiastical History). With these major alterations came a whole series of minor textual changes: scribal corruptions; alterations for historical reasons; but - above all - linguistic or stylistic revision to make the text at once more intelligible and more acceptable to its Anglo-Norman readers.

The source of the recension is nonetheless unmistakably the 'Harleian' version. The interpolated Harl. §12 is found; the data in §1 are those of the Harleian text; none of the features characteristic of the other recensions is found; and verbal agreement with Harl. is, throughout the recension, consistently high. However, none of the extant manuscripts of Harl. can have been the direct source of the archetype of this recension: for a start, only H is ^{perhaps} sufficiently old for that; further, Gild. contains a small number of forms of

1. See above p. 452, n.2.

Welsh names in a better state of preservation than does Harl.¹ and a few textual items (found also in other recensions) which have arguably been lost from Harl..² At the same time, it does contain some of the scribal errors which are a feature of the extant manuscripts of Harl. (for example, the date A.D. 831 in §1, and the dislocation of text in §40).

In spite of the popularity and widespread diffusion of this recension, I have taken the decision not to provide here any edition of the 'Gildasian' text. Its exceedingly close relationship to Harl. (and the consequent lack of any need to investigate an extensive textual 'prehistory'); the fact that it constitutes the base-text for the Sawley recension, printed below in section VII; the vast, and not especially profitable, bulk of critical apparatus that would be necessary; the relative unimportance of the content of this recension - all these factors have decided me against offering a text of Gild. as part of this thesis. Its text can, in any event, be easily deduced from that of the Sawley recension.

I propose instead to give a survey of the textual tradition as seen through all the surviving witnesses, be they complete or fragmentary. This will, I hope, give a clear picture of when and where the 'Gildasian' recension was being read and copied, and of the nature of the various subgroups within this recension.

1. These have invariably been noted in the apparatus to the 'Harleian' text.

2. For a discussion of these, see above, p. 453, n.1.

THE MANUSCRIPTS

I propose to describe each manuscript in turn, within the subgroup to which it belongs, in an order which at once is roughly chronological and corresponds to the order in which the copies developed from one another. Where a modern transcript of a surviving mediaeval manuscript needs to be described, that is done immediately following the description of the original; as will be seen, almost all the transcripts pertain to the first subgroup.

This first subgroup bears the rubric Incipit gesta Brittonum a Gilda sapiente composita. This is one of its chief distinguishing factors. Its distribution is mainly within midland England, MSS. D and the destroyed Cotton Vitellius E.1 constituting a small outlying tradition north of the Humber. There is also a late, and chiefly continental, element within the subgroup which has received some additions from the 'Vatican' recension; it has been shown above, in discussing that recension, that this too probably had an English origin. The manuscripts of this subgroup seem to be associated chiefly with Benedictine abbeys and cathedral priories, but also with Augustinian houses. There are more surviving witnesses to this subgroup than to either of the others.

B: OXFORD, BODLEIAN LIBRARY, MS. BODLEY 163 (S.C. 2016)
(Mommsen, Spec. 11; Hardy, 783; Petrie, K; noted, but not used, by Stevenson.)

Fos ii + 251. This is a codex comprising two distinct

manuscripts.¹

- A. fos 1-227, 250-251. Bede's Ecclesiastical History; Ædilwulf, De Abbatibus; notes from Orosius and Jerome; varia. Ruled for 22 long lines per page. Date: the first quarter of the eleventh century;² there are Old English additions of the middle of the eleventh century; fos 1, 6, 7 are replacement-leaves of the first quarter of the twelfth century.
- B. fos 228-249. Historia Brittonum; pseudo-Methodius, Revelation; chronological tract. Date: the first quarter of the twelfth century.³ Ruled for 23 long lines per page. This section bears quire-signatures I-III in the middle of the lower margin of the first recto of each quire.⁴

The origin of neither section is known for sure. The texts of Bede and Ædilwulf appear to be copied from the manuscript now divided between Winchester, Cathedral Library, MS. 1 and

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1. The Summary Catalogue of Western Manuscripts in the Bodleian Library at Oxford (by F. Madan, et al.), ii. 164-5, curiously fails to recognise any distinction in date between these two sections. This failure has bedevilled subsequent discussion of the manuscript down to the present; the latest example is R. Derolez, in Liber Floridus Colloquium (Ghent, 1973), ed. Albert Derolez, p. 70, probably following B. Colgrave and R.A.B. Mynors, Bede's Ecclesiastical History of the English People (Oxford, 1969), p. li.
 2. N.R. Ker, Catalogue of Manuscripts containing Anglo-Saxon (Oxford, 1957), p. 358 (no. 304).
 3. Ker, ibid.; Sum. Cat., ii.164.
 4. This somewhat unusual practice could profitably be compared with other twelfth-century Peterborough manuscripts: this might provide some evidence on the origin of section B. But cf. p. 552, below.

British Library, Cotton Tiberius D.4, Vol. 2, fos 158-166, which also dates from the early eleventh century.¹ That volume was probably already at Winchester in the fourteenth century but its early history is unknown, though a connexion with Glastonbury has been suggested.² Palaeographical evidence now seems to support a Winchester origin. The Glastonbury suggestion is interesting in connexion with the fact that a twelfth-century addition on fo 209r of the Bodleian manuscript (at the end of the text of Bede) refers to relics at Glastonbury abbey. This manuscript may therefore have been at Glastonbury before it came to Peterborough, not later than the first quarter of the twelfth century, where it received replacement leaves (fos 1, 6, 7) and additions on fos 250v, 251 - notably a library-catalogue on fo 251r.

The separate manuscript which now constitutes fos 228-249 cannot have joined the volume at a much later date, for the table on fo ii^{verso} which enumerates the present contents of the codex is written in a hand of the early twelfth century. Section B is datable on palaeographical grounds to the first quarter of the twelfth century; its contents help to define its date more precisely. The computistical tract, ascribed in a marginal (and probably additional) note to Bede, which occupies fos 243r-245r, suggests 1108 (not 1105, as the authors of the Summary Catalogue state³) to be its date of composition,

1. See, for example, Colgrave and Mynors, op. cit., p. li.

2. C. Plummer (ed.), Venerabilis Baedae Opera Historica (Oxford, 1896), i, pp. cx-cxi, reports the suggestion, but passes no judgment on it.

3. Vol. 2, p. 164. Colgrave and Mynors seem also to believe that the date is 1108, not 1105: see their description of Cambridge, Sidney Sussex College, MS. 4.5.17 (102); ed. cit., p. lx.

while the pedigrees on fos 248v-249r give Robert II (1093-1111) as the latest count of Flanders¹ (but name his two sons, Baldwin and William) and Louis VI as the king of France (1108-1137). The year 1108 therefore seems a very plausible date for the writing of the manuscript, if these various tracts are original to this manuscript or if they have been kept up to date. (However, the example of MS. M - see below - does not inspire confidence.)

The provenance of this volume is Peterborough, but it is clear that section A at least did not originate there. There is no evidence prior to the library-catalogue, written in a hand of the first quarter of the twelfth century on fo 251r, for the presence of this volume at Peterborough.² Indeed, the addition on fo 209r may suggest that it was at Glastonbury at the opening of the twelfth century. As for section B, perhaps written in 1108, the most likely point of origin is Peterborough itself but there is no certain evidence of this; by the time the table of contents was written (and this cannot have been at a very much later date) the volume was much as we have it now. The writing of the table of contents does not seem to be noticeably later than the addition of the

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1. Not Baldwin VII (1111-1119), as the Summary Catalogue, ii. 165, states.
 2. I agree with the view expressed by R Pauli, Neues Archiv der Gesellschaft für ältere deutsche Geschichtskunde, 2(1877), pp. 432-433, that it most probably came from one of the larger monasteries of southern England, and might have been sent to replace a volume destroyed in the Peterborough fire of 1116. A different view is urged by T.A.M. Bishop, 'The Copenhagen Gospel Book', Nordisk Tidskrift för Bok- och Biblioteksväsen, 54 (1967), pp. 33-41, who argues that our volume was written at Peterborough; but his evidence, as he himself realised, was flimsy in the extreme.

library-catalogue on fo 251r.

A scribble on fo 250v, Anno domini .m.ccc.lix. obiit frater S[] de burgo sancti petri', indicates its probable presence at Peterborough in 1359, while the name 'Humfridus Natures' is found written in a hand of the beginning of the sixteenth century on fo 249v. The latter is known as a monk of Peterborough in 1534, Rector of Paston (1548-53), and the recipient of a pension as of Peterborough in 1553. On fo 250r is the unknown name 'Henricus Storkes' (or 'Stowkes').¹

The mediaeval library-catalogues of Peterborough are unhelpful in the extreme. That in our manuscript notes an 'Historia Anglorum' which may be the text of Bede in this volume; it does not tell us what else was bound with it. The unofficial catalogue of the fifteenth century in the Matricularium of the abbey library normally lists only subsidiary items in the abbey's manuscript-volume; an identification of our codex with K.iii., 'Edilnulphus de Monachis', has been suggested, which is plausible save for the failure to mention all the texts of section B, certainly long bound with section A by this time.²

The codex was seen in the third quarter of the sixteenth century by Archbishop Parker or one of his assistants; a copy of the Historia Brittonum (save for the mirabilia) made for

1. Plummer, op. cit., i, p. cxix.

2. M.R. James, Lists of MSS. formerly in Peterborough Abbey Library (Oxford, 1926); see esp. p.16

him now survives as C.C.C.C.MS.101, pp.169-185.¹ Our volume was given to the Bodleian by John Barneston in 1605; its present binding is of that date. This volume was much resorted to, for its text of the Historia Brittonum, by scholars and antiquaries of the seventeenth century, foremost among them Archbishop Ussher. A number of transcripts and sets of collations testify to this activity (on which, see further below).

The history of this codex, and of section B in particular, therefore presents a series of problems. A context for the arrival of section A at Peterborough may perhaps be suggested. The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, (s.a. 1116 E) tells us of a disastrous fire at Peterborough; we are not told specifically of the fate of the library (cf. the case of Gloucester in 1121 - Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, s.a. 1122 E - where it is stated that a few books survived) but there is good reason to believe that a very substantial part of it perished.² The exemplar of MS. E of the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle was itself transferred to Peterborough at this time (1121) and the house was no doubt busily procuring manuscripts to keep or copy. A testimony to the extent of the devastation may be the fact that, of some thirty-eight manuscripts now identified by Ker as Peterborough

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1. It is not a copy of the text in C.C.C.C. 363, as stated by M.R. James, A Descriptive Catalogue of the Manuscripts in the Library of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge (Cambridge, 1909-12), i. 191.
 2. For an opposing view, see T.A.M. Bishop, art. cit., pp.39-41, and his English Caroline Minuscule (Oxford, 1971), p.21 (no.23)

books, only two antedate the twelfth century.¹ One is section A of our manuscript, which probably did not come there till the early twelfth century; the other is C.C.C.C. MS. 160, Bede on the Catholic Epistles, also of the eleventh century, whose presence at Peterborough cannot be satisfactorily dated at all, save to say that it was there by the fourteenth century.² Section B of our codex would therefore, on this line of reasoning, be a manuscript procured for the abbey after the fire of 1116, or one copied there from an exemplar obtained from elsewhere.

Textually, this manuscript of the Historia Brittonum also presents problems. It is the oldest witness both to the subgroup to which it belongs and to the 'Gildasian' version as a whole; in fact it stands textually at the head of its subgroup. However, it has received series of alterations at a very early stage, which are reflected to different extents in the two copies which, it can be demonstrated, are taken directly from this manuscript. Among the changes made in the Oxford manuscript is the addition of the word 'Minor' above Gylde in the contents-list of fo ii^{verso}, and of Gilda minor above the rubric on fo 228r; this presumably implies a knowledge of the existence of the De excidio Britanniae of Gildas. The text bears the rubric Incipiunt Gesta Brittonum; a Gilda sapiente composita, but Incipiunt stands on an erasure which presumably (on the evidence of the other manuscripts of the

1. N.R. Ker, Medieval Libraries of Great Britain (2nd edn, London, 1964), pp. 150-152.

2. M.R. James, Descriptive Catalogue, i.358.

group) conceals an original Incipit. The text occupies fos 228r-243r. There is no colophon at the end of the work. With the aid of the two copies (our MSS. D and M), three strata of alterations and additions may be identified in this text of the Historia Brittonum. The first are those made to our manuscript before either of the surviving copies was executed. These are considerable in number and comprise the overwhelming majority of alterations to the original text. They are reflected by both the copies. Then there are those, few in number, which are reflected only in M and appear to be somewhat later. Finally, a very few changes are reflected by neither copy; they are to be placed after the date when M was written.

It is tempting to speculate about the status of the first stratum of alterations to our manuscript. B stands at the head of the surviving tradition of the Gildasian recension of the Historia Brittonum. On the basis of the 'Gildasian' manuscripts it is therefore impossible to probe behind this first stratum of alterations in B. The original readings of the manuscript are therefore only detectable in these cases (as opposed to the alterations assigned to the second and third strata, where the copies give the original readings) when they have been deleted simply by underpointing or where the erasures are not sufficiently thorough to prevent one from reading what the original scribe wrote. In a good many cases the original word or letter is lost for ever.

At this stage one should recall the evidence gathered by Sir Roger Mynors that the text of Bede's Historia Ecclesiastica in our codex may stand at the head of the English 'vulgate'

text of that work in the twelfth century.¹ In the light of the evidence of the Historia Brittonum, we may well feel that this was indeed so and that this codex played a most important textual rôle in twelfth-century historical studies.

Indeed, so many, and so early in the tradition of the 'Gildasian' recension of the Historia Brittonum, are the changes that there is perhaps room for the conjecture that these are the work of the redactor who was responsible for preparing this recension of the work. He would have prepared his recension on the basis of a text of the original 'Harleian' version. We know that version to have been circulating freely in Kent, and we may recall that in 1121 Peterborough obtained from St. Augustine's, Canterbury, the copy of the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle which was the exemplar of 'E'.² It is worth noting further that the initial of the Peterborough Chronicle ('E') is by the same hand as that on fo 1r of Bodley 163, one of the early-twelfth-century replacement leaves inserted in the eleventh-century section of the codex.³ The redactor's new text was copied in the scriptorium of the house to which he belonged (the text in B is by more than one scribe), but before making it available as a source for transcription he

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1. Colgrave & Mynors, op. cit., p.li It is worth noticing, too, how items from both parts of Bodley 163 turn up together elsewhere: ilwulf(section A) and the computus of 1108 (section B) in CUL Ff.I.27 (Part 1) from Sawley abbey; Bede (section A) and the 1108 computus in Cambridge, Sidney Sussex College, MS .5.17 (102) written in the fifteenth century at Bury St. Edmunds.
 2. C. Plummer and J. Earle (ed.), Two of the Saxon Chronicles Parallel, ii (Oxford, 1899), pp. xlviii-lii.
 3. The resemblance was first noted in the Summary Catalogue, ii.164; see further Colgrave & Mynors, op. cit., p.li.

would have given it a final revision, represented by the first stratum of alterations in our manuscript. All this seems to make it rather unlikely that the volume was written in 1108, as the associated texts appear to suggest: we should perhaps assign it rather to the decade 1116x ca 1125.

Given the importance of this copy of the text in the tradition of the recension, it is an extraordinary fact that no previous editor has paid any attention to this witness.

We may turn now to the antiquarian derivatives of this manuscript. The earliest has already been mentioned above: Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, MS. 101, pp.169-185. This was written for Archbishop Parker and must belong roughly to the third quarter of the sixteenth century. It indicates that Parker, or members of his circle, had access to the volume between the Dissolution and its arrival at the Bodleian Library in 1605. This copy omits the mirabilia entirely. The earliest scholar to have seen and used Bodley 163 in Oxford is likely to have been Archbishop Ussher, in whose edition in Dublin, Trinity College, MS. 574 (E.3.20), pp.550-575, it was MS. 'P'; he also collated it against his copy of the 'Prise' text (see Appendix I, below) on pp.526-543 of the same volume.¹ From the mid-seventeenth century we have two other testimonies to the use of B. A copy of that date² may be found in Aberystwyth, National Library of Wales, MS. 5034 B

1. The statement by Joseph Stevenson, Nennii Historia Britonum (London, 1838), p.xxx, that Bodley 163 was once owned by Ussher must be rejected as erroneous.

2. This correction of the date (16th century) given by the Handlist of Manuscripts in the National Library of Wales, ii.65, is due to Mr. Daniel Huws.

(Bourdillon 34); its history can be traced back no further than the Sotheby sale of John Nicholls's library on 8 May, 1828, when it was sold as lot 861 to P. Nelson for 1s. 6d. Of much the same date is the manuscript of the Camden-Selden 'Ninnius' (see section VII, below) whose exemplar had been collated with Bodley 163: this is Aberystwyth, N.L.W., MS. 7011D (Nefydd 1), pp.245-284 (173-212); the exemplar had apparently belonged to John Selden (ob. 1654). The Nefydd copy has numerous derivatives, noted in section VII below. Finally we may mention Aberystwyth, N.L.W., MS. 2020 B (Panton 52), pp.161-165, of the eighteenth century, which contains a copy of the opening chapters (of the text in MS. B) in the hand of Evan Evans (1731-1789).

D: DURHAM, CATHEDRAL LIBRARY, MS. B.2.35.

(Mommsen, D; Hardy, 784; Petrie, C; Stevenson, N.)

Fos. 190, comprising five separate manuscript-volumes.¹

Approx. 37.2 x 25.6 cm.

A. fos 1-35: Brute, or Chronicle of England, to 1347, written in a fourteenth-century hand. Not bound with the present volume before the fifteenth century.

B. fos 36-150: Miscellaneous texts, the bulk (fos 38v-119r) containing Bede's Historia Ecclesiastica in a hand of the later eleventh century (and given to Durham at that date by Bishop William). The remainder of this section is taken up by twelfth-century additions.

1. The codex is described, not altogether satisfactorily, by R.A.B. Mynors, Durham Cathedral Manuscripts to the End of the Twelfth Century (Durham, 1937), pp.41-42 (no. 47).

C. fos 151-155: Index to Bede's History; early fifteenth century.

D. fos 156-191: Chronicle of Martinus Polunus to 1284, and Liber Prouincialis. Written in the early fourteenth century, but not yet bound with the present volume in 1395, according to the library-catalogue of that year.

E. fos 192-198: List of Durham relics, plate, etc., made in 1383 and written on several small leaves probably bound with the volume in modern times.

Section B, the most complex of the whole volume, is the original late-eleventh-century nucleus and its twelfth-century accretions. The collation of this section (fos 36-150/pp. 67-280) is as follows.¹

Two singletons (fos 36-37) (pp.67-70)

I⁸ (fos 38-45) (pp.71-86)

II⁸ (fos 46-53) (pp.87-102)

III⁸ (fos 54-61) (pp.103-118)

IIII⁸ (fos 62-69) (pp.119-134)

V¹⁴ (3,4,9,10 canc.) (fos 70-79) (pp.135-154)

VI⁸ (fos 80-87) (pp.155-170)

VII⁸ (fos 88-95) (pp.171-186)

VIII⁸ (fos 96-101, 111-112) (pp.187-202)

VIIII⁸ (fos 113-120) (pp.203-218)

X⁴ (fos 121-124) (pp.219-226)

XI⁸ (7 canc.) (fos 125-131) (pp.227-240)

1. It disagrees with that of Mynors in a good many particulars.

Two singletons¹ (fos 132-133) (pp.241-244)

XII⁶ (+1 after 1)² (fos 134-135, 135*, 136-139) (pp.245-256)

XIII¹² (fos 140-148, 148*, 149-150) (pp.257-280)

With this collation may be compared a list of the contents³, with details of the date at which each text was entered in the volume.

- (1) fos 36v-38r (pp.68-71): Gilbert of Limerick
sæc. xii/xiii?
- (2) fos 38v-119r (pp.72-215): Bede, Historia Ecclesiastica
sæc. xi ex.
- (3) fos 119r-123v (pp.215-224): Life of Bede.
sæc. xii in.
- (4) fo 123v (p.224): Spurious letter of Pope Sergius, taken
'ex epistolis sancti Aldhelmi', written at the bottom of
column 1 in a very crude irregular hand.
sæc. xiii in. (??)
- (5) fos 123v-129r (pp.224-235): Bede, Historia Abbatum.
sæc. xii in.
- (6) fo 129r (col. 2) (p.235): Eulogium Nennii
an. 1166.
- (7) fos 129v-136r (pp.236-249): Historia Brittonum
sæc. xii¹ (2nd quarter?)
- (8) fo 136r (right-hand margin (p.249): Chronological data,
establishing the date as 1166.
an. 1166.
- (9) fos 136v-137r (pp.250-251): Genealogies of the Kings of
Britain, Eneas to Caduualadrus.
sæc. xii/xiii?
- (10) fos 137v-138v (pp.252-254): Life of Gildas by Caradog.
an. 1166.
- (11) fos 138v-139v (pp.254-256): Genealogies of the Kings of
Israel, Assyria, Persians and Medes, Chaldea.
sæc. xii/xiii?
- (12) fos 140r-149v (pp.257-278): Liber de primo aduentu
Saxonum, in the edition of 1188; an account of the

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1. fo 133 (pp.243/4) is very poor quality parchment; the writing is now difficult to read, and it has been more or less unsuccessfully touched up by a much later scribe.
 2. Fo 135 is a tiny inserted slip; the pagination ignores it.
 3. Fos 36r (p.67) and 150r/v (pp.279/80) are blank.

bishops of Durham (148r-149v) ends with a list down to William II (1143-1152), after which there is a heavy erasure. There is also an account of the election of his successor, Hugh de Puiset. sæc. xii/xiii?

The general development of this section is therefore clear. A volume of nine quires, the copy of Bede's Ecclesiastical history, was written (not at Durham) in the late eleventh century¹. At Durham, in the first quarter of the twelfth century, a life of Bede and his History of the Abbots were added, necessitating the addition of another two quires.² Probably in the second quarter of the century, the Historia Brittonum (here originally ascribed to Gildas) was added³; this is a copy of our MS. B which must therefore have been sent north for the purpose from Peterborough. In the process of copying this text (a task which the scribe botched, resulting in his having to add two further leaves, one of a very poor quality), a twelfth quire was needed. In 1166, the copy of the Historia Brittonum received a massive series of collations and additions (including the Eulogium Nennii) from the Sawley manuscript C.C.C.C. 139 (our C, on which see below); the Life of Gildas was also entered at this time.⁴ The date

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1. It was ruled for two columns of 39 lines each, with a written space of 28.7 x 18.6cm.
 2. The quiring may suggest that even these were added in two separate stages.
 3. It was ruled for two columns of 40-42 lines each, with a written space of 29.6 x 18.3 cm.
 4. For full details, see D.N.Dumville, 'The Corpus Christi "Nennius"', Bulletin of the Board of Celtic Studies, 25 (1972-74), pp.369-380, esp. 372-5. The Vita Gilde is written in D in two columns of 45-46 lines each.

was recorded for posterity by the computistical data entered in the margin of fo 136r by one of the glossing hands.¹ And finally, at the end of the twelfth or beginning of the thirteenth century (not before 1188), the remaining texts (and the thirteenth quire) were added: Gilbert of Limerick on fos 36v-38r; the lists of kings sandwiched the Vita Gilde entered in 1166; and the Liber de primo aduentu occupied the whole of the new quire. The spurious letter of Pope Sergius, taken from William of Malmesbury's Gesta Pontificum, was perhaps the last addition to be made, though probably at much the same time as the other post-1188 material; in C.C.C.C. MS. 66 (p.98) a duplicate copy of the prologue of Gilbert of Limerick (missing from the Durham text) is entered by a remarkably similar hand.²

The particular development of the Historia Brittonum can now be dealt with. Collation shows this to be a copy of MS. B, made at an earlier stage of that manuscript's history than the copy in M. It does, however, incorporate all the first stratum of alterations in B. Given the date (1116x ca 1125) which we have assigned to B, the copy in D belongs probably to the second quarter of the twelfth century, which is also acceptable palaeographically. D bears the rubric Incipit Gesta Britonum a Gilda sapiente composita; a now erased colophon in red ink, mentioning Gildas but otherwise indecipherable, stands on fo 136r. In the year 1166, as noted above, the text was collated (almost certainly at Durham itself) with the present CCCC MS. 139 and a large amount of additional matter was inserted and many alterations effected.

1. Printed by Dumville, art. cit., pp.379-380.

2. If this does show the same scribe at work, one is tempted to wonder if the second copy of Gilbert's prologue was

In a number of cases, therefore, the original reading of D is unascertainable.

A copy of this now conflated text, and of much other matter in B.2.35, was made at Durham in 1381 by the professional scribe Guillaume du Stiphel: the volume is now British Library, MS. Burney 310. It is of no use whatever in the critical restoration of the text.

No doubt it was the very northerly geographical location of the Durham codex which caused it to be overlooked by most of the sixteenth- and seventeenth-century antiquaries. An honourable exception was Archbishop Ussher: in the list of manuscripts which he used for his text of the Historia Brittonum, he includes among those ascribed to 'Nennius' (Dublin, Trinity College, MS. 574, p.576)

'D. Codex, qui ad Dunelmensium monachorum Bibliothecam pertinebat, a Domino Augustino Linsello mihi communicatus; quo et Jo. Balaeum aliquando usum ex quibusdam manu illius ibi ascriptis apparet.'

He then continues with a careful description which makes it plain that he is speaking of Durham B.2.35. The sole point of difficulty relates to his identification of John Bale's hand in this codex; I have been unable to discover any example of Bale's highly distinctive script there. Knowing what we do of Ussher's activities it seems most likely that he actually borrowed this manuscript via Dr. Lindsell (ob. 1634) from Durham; but it remains possible that the latter made a transcript for him which has since perished.

2.(cont'd) entered in CCCC 66 by mistake for Durham B.2.35, where it is wanting; for other aspects of the relations between these two codices at this date, see section VII below.

—: LONDON, BRITISH LIBRARY MS. COTTON VITELLIUS E.1.

This volume was severely damaged, and much of it destroyed, by the 1731 fire in the Cottonian library. Some eighty-two folios, in whole or in part, have survived and been restored; most of them contain parts of a text of Bede's Historia Ecclesiastica in English script of the twelfth century. Two folios have found their way into MS. Cotton Vitellius E.7. where they are folios 1 and 2; they belong respectively after fos 25 and 32 of Vitellius E.1. And five small fragments are kept (unbound) as Cotton Misc. Burnt Fragments, Bundle I (12); they are available only by special permission of the Keeper of Manuscripts. I have inspected all the surviving remains of this book and find that no fragment whatever of the text of the Historia Brittonum now remains.

For full details of the contents of the volume one must have recourse to the pre-1731 catalogues of the Cottonian Library. Its provenance, the North Yorkshire Augustinian house of Guisborough, was deduced by N.R.Ker¹ from a seventeenth-century note in Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS. lat.misc. c.52, fo 216;² this is confirmed by Archbishop Ussher who used its copy of the Historia Brittonum, to which his is the sole textual witness.

1. Medieval Libraries of Great Britain (2nd edn, London, 1964), p.94, n.4.

2. This is a translation of Bede's Historia Abbatum, made from a text contained in a Durham manuscript and collated 'cum altero monasterii S. Mariæ de Gisseburn in Bibliotheca Cottonianâ'.

Thomas Smith's 1696 catalogue of the Cottonian Library contains the following list of the contents of Vitellius E.1:¹

1. Bedae Ecclesiasticae historiae Anglorum quinque libri.
2. Epistola de transitu venerabilis Bedae Presbyteri & Girvensis Monachi.
3. Enumeratio librorum Bedae.
4. Vita venerabilis Bedae Presbyteri.
5. Sergii P. epistola ad Ceolfriadum Abbatem, ut Bedam mittat Romam.
6. Vitae SS. Abbatum monasterii in Wiramutha & Girvun, viz. Benedicti, Ceolfriidi, Eastermini, Sigfridi, & Aerhwetberti, à Beda compositae.
7. Gesta Britonum, a Gilda sapiente composita.
8. Nomina episcoporum Lindisfarnensis et Dunelmensis Ecclesiae, ab Aidano ad Hugonem.
9. Orationes duae ad S. Cuthbertum.
10. Donatio R. Egfridi.
11. Liber de vita, miraculis, et transitu S. Cuthberti, Lindisfarnensis Episcopi.
12. Reliquiae, quae in Dunelmensi continentur Ecclesia.
13. Visio S. Oswaldi, cum esset paratus ad bellum contra Cuthlonem Regem, cum quibusdam miraculis ejusdem.
14. De ampulla dei revelata per B. Mariam Virginem S. Thomae Cantuariensi, qua ungendi erant reges Angliae.

1. Catalogus Librorum Manuscriptorum Bibliothecae Cottonianae (London, 1696), p.95.

In view of item 8, the volume cannot be of earlier date than the second half of the twelfth century. Items 13 and 14 are unlikely to be earlier than the last quarter of the century, but they may have been additions. The palaeographical evidence would not contradict a date in the second half of the century.

Given these contents, one is inclined to suspect some sort of connexion with MS. D, though a direct relationship of exemplar and copy is most unlikely for the whole volume (especially given the date of the Guisborough manuscript and the history of the Durham codex). A Durham exemplar or ancestor seems certain, however. The evidence of the text of Bede's Ecclesiastical History provides a complicating factor: Sir Roger Mynors writes of its badly damaged copy, 'this at least seems to be clear, that it was not a member of our Durham group'.¹

Archbishop Ussher provides the only certain textual details of the copy of the Historia Brittonum in the Guisborough volume. It was his MS. 'L', and his collations from it agree rather well - as far as they go - with D. This is what one might expect, but the evidence from the Bedan text counsels caution; we should probably do well to await further evidence.

The post-Dissolution history of the volume is fairly straightforward. It came into the possession of Sir Henry Savile of Banke² (who acquired many volumes from northern monastic libraries) and passed with much of his collection to Sir Robert Cotton before 1621. While in the latter's possession

1. Colgrave and Mynors, op. cit., p.lx.

2. A.G. Watson, The Manuscripts of Henry Savile of Banke (London, 1969), p.19.

it was used by Ussher who writes of it (Dublin, Trinity College, MS. 574, p.577):

'L. Gesta Brittonum a Gilda sapiente composita.

Liber spectans quondam ad Bibliothecam S. Mariae
de Gisseburn, nunc in Bibliotheca Cottoniana
habetur.'

His text of this work, on pp.550-575 of the same volume, contains a quantity of collations referred to 'L'. There is one other possible source of information about this copy of our text. British Library MS. Cotton Tiberius E.8 contains on fos 229v-236r a transcript, dating from the later sixteenth century, of our MS. N (on which see below), Cotton Nero D.8. An annotating hand, which is said to be that of John Leland,¹ heads the text 'Titulus cod. maioris St.'. This annotator has also written 'Titulus minoris cod. St.: Incipiunt gesta Britonum a Gilda sapiente composita'. The plain implication is that John Stowe (1525-1605), who had owned Nero D.8, also had another, smaller copy of the work. The annotator gives variant readings from this. Thomas Gale, preparing an edition of the work in the late seventeenth century, used Cotton Tiberius E.8 (his MS. 'B'); his 'C' he described as follows (Cambridge, Trinity College, MS. 0.5.37):²

'C notat librum Cottonianum Minorem cujus variæ
lectiones in B comprehenduntur. Eius autem
titulus est: Incipiunt Gesta Britonum a Gilda
Sapiente composita.'

1. By Ussher: T.C.D. MS. 574, p.577, item K.

2. On this manuscript, see section VII below.

If Gale's deduction is correct (and, as Stevenson notes, his apparatus does contain readings which the latter had not noticed elsewhere and which might, he conjectured, belong to a burnt Cottonian copy¹), the 'liber minor' must be Vitellius E.1, for it alone could fit the description. However, we may not be entitled to make the same judgement about the history of the 'minor cod. St.' as we can about the 'cod. maior St.' (Nero D.8); it may not have come to Cotton and, in any case, we have little real reason to doubt that there was a more or less direct progression Guisborough-Savile-Cotton in the history of Vitellius E.1. The matter must not be decided prematurely on the often hasty and inaccurate judgement of Thomas Gale; again we must await further evidence.

Another branch of the tradition, also deriving directly from B, is a much larger affair and becomes the standard form of the text found in the monasteries and cathedral priories of midland England. Its principal member is our MS. M.

M: CAMBRIDGE, UNIVERSITY LIBRARY, MS.Mm.5.29 (2434).

(Mommsen, Spec. 4;² Hardy, 785=810; Petrie,L;³ not used by Stevenson.)

Fos 159, numbered as 2-160. Approx. 27.5x17.5cm.

1. Nennii Historia Britonum (London, 1838), pp.xxxi-xxxii.
2. Mommsen makes two rather extraordinary errors with regard to this manuscript, assigning to its text two additions which are in fact found only in the Rouen MS. U 74 (our R, on which see below): see his p.147, n.1, and p.149,n.1.
3. Petrie and Hardy both mistakenly assign the shelf-mark 'Mm.I.29' to this volume.

Date: the (middle or) second half of the twelfth century.

Origin and mediaeval provenance unknown.

Written space: 19-19.5 (occasionally up to 21cm) x 10.5-13cm.

Ruled for 33 long lines per page.

Contents: Dares Phrygius; Sibylline prophecies; Geoffrey of Monmouth; the Historia Brittonum; computistical tract of the year 1108; pseudo-Methodius, Revelation; genealogy of the Counts of Flanders; list of the kings of France; extract from Henry of Huntingdon; Alexander texts; description of the Holy Places; sermon on the history of the Cross before Christ.

The Historia Brittonum, headed Incipit Gesta Britonum a Gilda sapiente composita, occurs on fos 107v-118v. It is a (probably direct) copy from our MS. B. It is followed by the four texts which also follow in B. Although its place of origin is unknown, this is a Midland English manuscript; as a copy of B, it could conceivably have been written at Peterborough but there is no evidence for this. It was copied from B after a good number of alterations and additions had been made to that manuscript, all of which it incorporates. After the date of this transcription, a few more alterations were made to B which have not been incorporated in M. As in B, there is no colophon to our text.

The chronological data in the computistical text^{are those} which appeared to supply a possible date of 1108 for MS. B; nor have the details of the Counts of Flanders or the Kings of France been updated from 1108. This indicates the dangers of method involved in using such criteria for dating purposes.

It is in the present manuscript that the extract from Henry of Huntingdon's *History* which plays a significant diagnostic rôle in the text-tradition of this subgroup of 'Gildasian' manuscripts first appears. The Rolls Series edition of Henry's work¹ provides such a scanty apparatus that it is not possible for us to determine from which edition of his *History* this extract was taken. We cannot on this basis be more precise than to say that our manuscript is no earlier than the years 1129 x 1133 when Henry's work was first published. The extract begins at I.1 and continues to the words semper in asperrimis (I.13)² where it breaks off in mid-page; this occupies fos 123v-128r, the next few pages being blank; another text does not begin until fo 130r.

The copy of Geoffrey of Monmouth in this manuscript also presents problems. Geoffrey's *Historia Regum Britannie* was available by the late 1130s (our MS.L, below, is arguably the oldest surviving copy), but is soon attested in variant versions. Our manuscript is a copy, and textually an important one, of what has come to be known as the 'Second Variant Version'³. I do not wish to prejudge the outcome of the discussion about the relationship of this version to the 'vulgate' text of the work, but if this is a variant version rather than an author's draft then this copy can hardly be earlier than the second half of the twelfth century and may not belong to an early part of that half-century.

Returning to the *Historia Brittonum*, we may say that M

1. Thomas Arnold (ed.), *Henrici Archidiaconi Huntendunensis Historia Anglorum* (London, 1879).

2. Ed. cit., pp.5-17.

3. See H.D. Emanuel, *Medium Ævum*, 35 (1966), pp.103-110.

offers a slightly later view of the state of its exemplar (MS. B) than does the copy in MS. D. Some extra alterations and additions have been made to B in the intervening years, but they are comparatively few. MS. M makes a very small number of its own innovations, but they are quite insignificant save as textual pointers.

The manuscript came to the Cambridge University Library in the eighteenth century with the collection of George Moore, bishop of Ely. The sources of his library have not been investigated. The loss of the first leaf and of an unknown number of leaves at the end of the volume has no doubt robbed us of much information about the history of this book. The sole post-Dissolution inscription of any note is on fo 128v where we twice find 'Liber Guilihelmus Saunderus' and an erased 'Liber Sanders'. The only other name I have noted is that of a 'mester Wallis' on the upper margin of fo 132r. The only piece of evidence for a possible mediaeval provenance for this volume occurs in a gloss on fo 130r, when Ely is mentioned in the text:

Hic episcopatus sumptus est de episcopatu lincoln^s
tempore regis henrici primi, agente Ricardo
eiusdem loci tunc abbate.

We may only conjecture that this interest in Ely (taken together with the modern Ely provenance) may suggest that the manuscript's mediaeval provenance also was Ely. The volume was written by several scribes of whom one names himself as 'Ernulfus'. A search in other surviving Ely manuscripts will plainly be the next step.

Both M and the next manuscript to be considered have

escaped the importunities of the sixteenth- and seventeenth-century antiquarian copyists. Indeed, P, which follows, has been unknown to all previous editors of the Historia Brittonum.

P: LINCOLN, CATHEDRAL LIBRARY, MS. 98 (A.4.6).

(Unknown to previous editors.)

Fos 185. Approx. 28.5 x 18.5cm. Ruled for two columns of 29 lines each.

Date: the thirteenth century (perhaps the first half). Origin and mediaeval provenance unknown.

Apart from a few minor items at the end (fos 167-169), the contents of this volume are identical with that of MS. M; but fos 170-185, two additional quires, are occupied with new material in secondary hands of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries¹. The copy of Geoffrey of Monmouth in this manuscript was pronounced by Jacob Hammer² to be a copy of MS. M; collation shows this to be true also of the Historia Brittonum (on fos 106r-116v).³ It is not known where this manuscript was written; nor do we know when it came to Lincoln Cathedral, save that this was after the Dissolution. The ownership-inscription 'Iste liber pertinet ad Thomam Thamberley' on fo 185v,

1. For a description, see Reginald Maxwell Woolley, Catalogue of the Manuscripts of Lincoln Cathedral Chapter Library (London, 1927), pp.63-65.

2. 'Some additional manuscripts of Geoffrey of Monmouth's Historia Regum Britanniae', Modern Language Quarterly, 3 (1942), pp.235-242.

3. The rubric, as reported by the 1927 Catalogue, should not be allowed to challenge this conclusion. Like M it read 'Incipit Gesta britonum a gilda sapiente composita', but a later annotator has added a suprascript -un- to the first word to produce Incipiunt.

perhaps of the sixteenth century, may be of help if that person can be identified. The text of the Historia Brittonum bears a few annotations in an early modern hand.

We must infer from the surviving witnesses a now lost copy of MS. M in which the Historia Brittonum was joined with the aforementioned excerpt from Henry of Huntingdon. This is an arrangement seen in four extant manuscripts. It cannot derive from P because a secondary derivative survives (our MS. T) which is also of the first half of the thirteenth century. However, only one such manuscript now contains the full extract down to the words semper in asperrimis in I.13; that is our MS. W.

W: ABERYSTWYTH, NATIONAL LIBRARY OF WALES, MS. LLANSTEPHAN 175 B.

(Noted by Mommsen, p.132, as MS. Conybere olim Dering, but not used; Hardy, 799; Petrie, T; not used by Stevenson.)¹

Fos 69 (paginated as 1-138), comprising two separate manuscript volumes. Approx. 18.7 x 14cm.

Date: the fourteenth century. Origin unknown; mediaeval provenance inferred to be the Augustinian house of Bourne (Lincolnshire).

A. pp.1-52. The Historia Brittonum in the 'Gildasian' recension, but without title or ascription to Gildas (pp.1-37),

1. There is a summary notice of this volume by J. Gwenogvryn Evans, Report on Manuscripts in the Welsh Language, ii (London, 1902-10), p.767.

followed immediately

(being distinguished by no more than an ornamented initial) by Henry of Huntingdon I.1-13 (pp.37-52). This section is ruled for twenty-eight long lines per page. It is annotated by an early modern hand.

B. pp.53-138. A compiled 'Brut'-type chronicle, extending to the reign of Edward II (ob. 1327). It is continued, on pp.132-138 by a fifteenth-century hand, to the reign of Henry VI (ob. 1461).

Section A contains the sole surviving copy of this recension to have no title. However, we know from the activities of two early modern scholars of two other occurrences, almost a century apart, of similar volumes. John Leland (ob. 1552) found at Bourne in Lincolnshire a copy of a text which he excerpted in his Collectanea¹ under the heading 'Ex chronico incerti autoris sed antiqui de rebus Britannicis...'; his twenty-five excerpts show it beyond question to be a copy of the 'Gildasian' recension of the Historia Brittonum. In the early seventeenth century Archbishop Ussher used for his edition (in T.C.D. MS. 574, pp.550-575) of the Historia Brittonum, a copy which he described as follows:

'M. Aliud exemplar Ms in 4^o in eadem bibliotheca [sc. Cottoniana], nullum titulum praefixum habens'.

This is not, as might be expected from the similar descriptions of the two following witnesses (his MSS. 'N', 'O'), a witness to the 'Harleian' recension; the readings which

1. Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS. Top. gen. c.2 (S.C. 3118) pp.44-45: Collectanea, ii.45-47 (cf. iii.31-32).

Ussher quotes establish that beyond any doubt. Are there any grounds for believing that these witnesses are related to our MS. W? Three factors are outstanding: (i) the manuscript and the two early witnesses are the only testimony to a 'Gildasian' text without a title; (ii) the quarto size of Ussher's MS. M agrees with that of the extant manuscript; (iii) there is textual agreement between the two partial witnesses and our MS. W. Further support for this suspicion comes from what little is known of the early history of MS. W. It exists in a leather binding stamped on both sides with the legend 'EDVARDVS. DERING. MILES. ET. BARONETTVS.' Edward Dering (1598-1644) was a young contemporary of Sir Robert Cotton, the owner of the manuscript consulted by Ussher. We know that Cotton received manuscripts from Dering¹, and that Cotton was in the habit of making gifts of manuscripts to friends and of making exchanges of manuscripts with other collectors; also, volumes were borrowed from the Cottonian library and never returned. There is a lot of conjecture here, but the conjectures are cemented by the textual agreement. I conclude that the sequence was as follows: the manuscript was found at (and probably removed from) Bourne by Leland; it came subsequently into the possession of Sir Robert Cotton; when it was in his library it was used by Archbishop Ussher; but at some point before Dering's death in 1644 it passed into his

1. See, for example, C.E. Wright, 'Sir Edward Dering: a seventeenth-century antiquary and his "Saxon" charters', in Cyril Fox and B. Dickins (ed.), The Early Cultures of North-West Europe (H.M. Chadwick Memorial Studies) (Cambridge, 1950), pp.369-393.

ownership. A hiatus of two centuries follows until it reappears in the collection of the Earl of Ashburnham, first as MS. 172, then as MS. 104. In the Ashburnham Appendix (as 'Ff. 73'), it was sold as lot 53 in the sale of 1 May 1899, presumably passing to Sir John Williams with whose library it came to the National Library of Wales.

Another derivative of MS. M is our MS. T, belonging to the first half of the thirteenth century. Like W, it is followed directly by the extract from Henry of Huntingdon, but this has been cut back to the end of I.11, as in two later manuscripts. Its descent from M must therefore be independent of W.

T: LONDON, BRITISH LIBRARY, MS. ROYAL 13.D.5.

(Mommsen, Spec.6; Hardy, 791; Petrie, S; Stevenson, H.)¹

Fos 203. Approx. 38.2 x 27.2cm. 2° fo: inferebant.

Written space: 27.3 x 17.3cm. Ruled for two columns of 54 lines each.

Date: the first half of the thirteenth century (after 1206).

Origin and mediaeval provenance: St. Albans abbey.

This volume contains chiefly Geoffrey of Monmouth (called 'Historia britonum' by the contents-list on fo i verso) and works by William of Malmesbury. Our text (called 'Historia Gilde' by the contents-list) occurs on fos 38r-43r, intro-

1. There is a full description by G.F. Warner and J.P. Gilson, British Museum Catalogue of Western Manuscripts in the Old Royal and King's Collections (London, 1921), ii.110.

duced by the rubric 'Incipiunt Gesta Britonum a Gilda Sapiente composita'; it is followed immediately by Henry of Huntingdon, I.1-11, on fos 43r-45r. The manuscript belonged in the middle ages to the Benedictine abbey of St. Albans (Hertfordshire): the pressmark 'de almariolo B primus liber in primo gradu' is found on fo 1v; and three fifteenth-century notes state the abbey's ownership - 'Hic est liber Sancti Albani de libraria conuentus' occurs on fos 1r and 45r, while on fo 37v (in black script) is the note 'Hic est liber qui per quorundam negligenciam fuerat deperditus. Sed per industriam uenerabilis nostri in Christo patris et domini domni Iohannis Abbatis sexti huic monasterio erat restitutus et assignatus Librarie Conuentus.' Abbot John VI (1420-40 and 1452-64) is John of Whethamstede, the noted scholar, author of the Granarium de uiris illustribus; his interest in this book is worth noting. (We shall have occasion to refer to him again, in connexion with our MS. Y.)

The manuscript also originated at St. Albans. Some of the rubrics, and various marginal notes, are to be ascribed to the hand of the celebrated historian Matthew Paris (ca 1200-1259).¹ Palaeographical evidence would assign the writing of the volume to the first half of the thirteenth century; 1206 is the absolute terminus post, for that is the date of the vision of Thurkill, reported by the text² on fos

1. R. Vaughan, 'The handwriting of Matthew Paris', Transactions of the Cambridge Bibliographical Society, 1 (1949-53), pp.390-392.

2. The Vision is being edited from this and two other manuscripts by Professor P.G. Schmidt.

45r-50v. But in view of the participation of Matthew Paris, this volume is probably a product of the second quarter of the thirteenth century. The text of the Historia Brittonum has many section-headings and probably original marginal notes; these are all unique to this copy. And on fo 152r are found the genealogy of the Counts of Flanders to Robert II and the list of the Kings of France to Louis VI, also seen in our MSS. M and P.

This volume enjoyed a certain amount of popularity with the sixteenth-century antiquaries. Polydore Vergil annotated our text during the first half of the century (whether before or after the Dissolution is unknown); it was twice collated by or for Sir John Prise (in the mid-1540s and in 1550); and a copy, now British Library Royal 13.B.15, was made for Lord Lumley in the second half of the century.¹ For the very complicated history of our manuscript during the period 1537-1609, see Appendix I below.

Another pair of manuscripts stands in a close, but as yet imprecisely defined, relationship to MS. T. They originate at the Suffolk abbey of Bury St. Edmunds; one is a copy of the other.

1. From this copy, another transcript was made in the nineteenth century by the Revd John Haddon Hindley: it is now British Library MS. Additional 6919, fos 8v-57r.

A: LONDON, COLLEGE OF ARMS, MS. ARUNDEL 30.

(Mommsen, Spec. 10; Hardy, 798; Petrie, W; Stevenson, P.)¹

Fos 216, of which some 19 are palimpsest. I have been unable to inspect this volume.

Date: ca 1300. Origin and mediaeval provenance, the Benedictine abbey of Bury St. Edmunds.

The major part of this volume is taken up by the Bury St. Edmunds Chronicle (fos 97r-204r)²; our text, headed 'Incipiunt Gesta Britonum a Gilda sapiente composita', occupies fos 11r-21r and is followed immediately by Henry of Huntingdon, I.1-11.

The text of the Historia Brittonum was very soon collated with a complete copy of the 'Vatican' text in the margins of our manuscript (see section IV above)³. Finally, it is worth noting that the partial copy of the Bury chronicle in C.C.C.C. MS. 92, fos 175v-203r, is copied direct from the College of Arms volume⁴; the Cambridge manuscript was of Peterborough origin - the wheel has come full circle from Bodley 163!

The modern history of this codex is not entirely clear. The volume is heavily annotated throughout in the unforgettable hand of John Bale (ob. 1563); it can hardly be doubted

1. There is a very full description of the contents of this volume by William Henry Black, Catalogue of the Arundel Manuscripts in the Library of the College of Arms (London, 1829), pp.44-57.
2. See Antonia Gransden (ed.), The Chronicle of Bury St. Edmunds, 1212-1301 (Edinburgh/London, 1964), pp.xxxviii-xlii.
3. These collations are MS. Ba in the apparatus of the 'Vatican' recension.
4. Gransden, ed. cit., p.xliv.

that he owned the volume. However, in Bale's Index (pp. 94, 200, 293) what can only be this volume is described as being in the possession of a 'magister Bacon' who was located 'apud Cartusios' or 'prope Carthusianus'; we may suspect that this Bacon was Bale's source of the volume. Dr. Gransden has conjectured, on plausible but not entirely convincing evidence, that the Bacon in question was Sir Nicholas Bacon (1509-79), Lord Keeper of the Great Seal.¹ On several pages in Arundel 30 are found the orange-red chalk markings so characteristic of Archbishop Parker (ob. 1575); was this one of the volumes that passed from Bale to Parker?² The hands of John Stow (1525-1605) and Sir Simonds D'Ewes (1602-50) are also found here.³ At some stage the book was acquired by Lord William Howard of Naworth (1563-1640), whose library was acquired by Thomas Howard (1586-1646), second Earl of Arundel; part of the latter's library came to the College of Arms in 1678⁴.

F: CAMBRIDGE, CORPUS CHRISTI COLLEGE, MS. 66^A + UNIVERSITY LIBRARY MS. Ff.I.27, pp.253-642, 41-72.

(Mommsen, Spec. 7; Hardy, listed under no.777; Petrie, V;

1. Ed. cit., p.xxxix, n.1. This has been accepted and repeated by May McKisack, Medieval History in the Tudor Age (Oxford, 1971), p.60.

2. Gransden, ed. cit., p.xxxix, n.2.

3. Ibid., n.3.

4. Ed. cit., p.xxxix and n.4.

Stevenson, L2.)

Fos 242 + 211. Approx. 29.5 x 20 cm.

Ruled for two columns of 38/39 lines each.

Date: the first half of the fourteenth century. Origin and mediaeval provenance, the Benedictine abbey of Bury St. Edmunds. As will be seen, this volume is now in some disorder. For a full description of the process leading to the present situation, see section VII below.¹ Suffice it to say that the present separation and disordering was carried out by Archbishop Parker in 1574 when he presented Ff.I.27 to the University Library. The correct position of Ff.I.27, pp.41-72, is demonstrated by the erased but legible mediaeval green-ink foliation 423-438, which indicates that it belongs after the present pp.641/2 (fo '422').

The text is written throughout in a Gothic bookhand.

The Historia Brittonum (which occupies pp.41-64) is immediately followed by Henry of Huntingdon, I.1-11 (on pp.64-71); it is a direct copy of our MS. A, and is introduced by the rubric 'Incipiant Gesta Brithonum a Gilda sapiente composita'. The 'Vatican' collations (MS. Bb in the apparatus to section IV, above) are written by the scribe of the text; in other words, this is a straight copy of all the textual material in MS. A. The collations are introduced by 'Alia littera' or 'Aliter'.²

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1. MS. 66^A is a comparatively recent creation. It was formerly bound as part 2 of MS. 66, in which condition it is described by M.R.James, Descriptive Catalogue, i.137-145.
 2. For a brief note on marginalia headed 'Aliter'; see N.R. Ker, English Manuscripts in the Century after the Norman Conquest (Oxford, 1960), p.53.

There are also a few glosses and alterations in a fourteenth-century Anglicana hand, as well as a very few late glosses in a fifteenth-century hand.

CCCC 66^A bears, in a hand of ca 1400, an ex-libris inscription 'Liber de communitate monachorum Sancti Edmundi in quo subscripta continentur', which is followed by a (now truncated) contents-table. It also bears the Bury pressmark 'J.90'. The history of the volume in the generation between the Dissolution and its arrival in Parker's hands is unknown; obviously, there must be a suspicion that the well-placed Sir Nicholas Bacon (1509-79) was the source of this book, as he is conjectured to have been Bale's source of MS. A.¹

The volume was used by Ussher: it is his MS. 'J' in his list in T.C.D. MS. 574, p.577. And it was copied by or for Sir Simonds D'Ewes in the first quarter of the seventeenth century in British Library MS. Harley 624, fos 53v-64v (with the extract from Henry on fos 64v-67v).²

We turn now to a very distinct set of three manuscripts which, though they belong to this subgroup, nonetheless diverge from it in one substantial respect. They embody three additions from the 'Vatican' recension of the Historia; for full details, I refer to section IV above. The original manuscript in which this 'conflation' occurred either no longer survives or awaits discovery. Given the date of MS. X,

1. Cf. p. 541, n.1, above.

2. A.G. Watson, The Library of Sir Simonds D'Ewes (London, 1966), p.160 (item A465).

this hyparchetype must belong to the twelfth century; the type of 'Vatican' text used suggests that it was created in England, as does the use of this particular subgroup of the 'Gildasian' recension.

X: PARIS, BIBLIOTHÈQUE NATIONALE, MS. LATIN 6274.

(Mommsen, Spec. 8; Hardy, 786;^{Petrie,} N; not used by Stevenson)

Fos 59 (paginated as 1-116, with an unnumbered slip between pp.80 and 81).

Ruled for 19 long lines per page.

Date: perhaps the early thirteenth century. Origin and mediaeval provenance unknown.

Nothing whatever is known of the mediaeval history of this book. The sole hope might lie in the prophetic material on p.113: 'Hec sunt uerba que dixit monachus cisterciensis ordinis, frater robertus de sancta barba'. The greater part of the volume (pp.1-80) is taken up with British material: the Historia Brittonum, the Prophecies of Merlin from Geoffrey's History, with a partial marginal commentary (pp.61-76), and part of Aelred's Genealogia Regum Anglorum (pp.76-80 + unnumbered slip). It also contains an account of the seven wonders of the world (pp.81-84), Sybilline prophecies (pp. 84-105), a discourse on penance with prayers (pp.105-113, 114-116). The manuscript breaks off, part apparently having been lost after p. 116.

The Historia Brittonum is headed 'Incipit gesta britonum a gilda sapiente edita' (p.1). It ends on p.61 without colophon. It presents a normal 'Gildasian' text save for the three 'Vatican' insertions noted above.

The text of the Historia bears two series of annotations in French, the earlier of which refers constantly to Sir John Prise's Hystoriae Brytannicae Defensio (published in 1573). Other antiquarian activity belongs to a rather later date. X seems to be the only Continental manuscript of the Historia Brittonum to be known to English scholars; two early-eighteenth-century copies survive. The first is Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS. Carte 113 (S.C. 10558), fos 34r-68v, part of a massive collection of seventeenth- and eighteenth-century transcripts.¹ Carte himself was in France in 1722-1728, and this copy no doubt dates from this period. All the modern marginalia of MS. X are reproduced here. The other copy is Aberystwyth, National Library of Wales, MS. Additional 243D (Williams 445), pp.9-56; pp.56-74 contain transcripts of the next two items in X.² Page 9 has a note dated 1729: 'Hoc fuit descriptum ex manuscripto Baluzii in Bibliotheca regis Galliae numero 852 et exactissime collata cum MS. abbreviationum difficillimarum plena'. Page 1 of MS. X does indeed bear the shelf-mark 'Baluz 852'. It seems likely that the N.L.W. copy was the one formerly in the possession of Sir Thomas Duffus Hardy, to which he refers in his Descriptive Catalogue;³ Sir John Williams, its penultimate owner, was collecting at the end of

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1. A Summary Catalogue of Western Manuscripts in the Bodleian Library at Oxford, iii (Oxford, 1895), p.132.
 2. The manuscript is described by John H. Davies, The National Library of Wales Catalogue of Manuscripts, Volume I, Additional Manuscripts in the Collections of Sir John Williams (Aberystwyth, 1921), p.172.
 3. Descriptive Catalogue of the Manuscript Materials of British History, I.1 (London, 1862), p.325, s.n. 786.

the nineteenth century. In this copy the marginalia have been rendered into a mixture of English and Latin.

Y: CAMBRIDGE, CORPUS CHRISTI COLLEGE, MS. 363.

(Noted but not used by Mommsen; Hardy, 800; unknown to Petrie and Stevenson.)¹

Fos 13. Approx. 25 x 18.5 cm. Ruled for 35 long lines per page.

Origin and mediaeval provenance unknown.

Date: fos 1-2, the early sixteenth century; fos 3-13, sæc. xv/xvi.

This is a curious little volume of a single quire, with two prefixed leaves written in a rather later script. These two folios contain a text beginning 'Gildas uir grandis auctoritatis in historiis...'; this is a quote from John of Whethamstede (on whom, see MS. T above), whose original text may be found in British Library MS Cotton Nero C.6, fos 105r-106v.² The text of the Historia on fos 3r-13r is introduced by the rubric 'Hic incipit liber Gilde sapientis de gestis Britannorum'. This work is written in an English hand of the late fifteenth or early sixteenth century.³ There is an erased inscription, probably an ex-libris, at the head of fo 3r; unfortunately it is irrecoverable.

A possible witness to the brief pre-Dissolution history

1. The volume is described by M.R. James, op. cit., ii.195.

2. On him see A.B. Emden, Biographical Register of the University of Oxford, iii (Oxford, 1959), s.v. Whethamstede.

3. James, op. cit., ii.195, felt the later date to be the more likely.

of this manuscript may be found in John Bale's Index (pp. 94, 298). At Balliol College, Oxford,¹ he would appear to have seen a volume answering exactly to the contents of our MS. Y. The mysterious notes on British libraries in Rome, B.A.V., MS. Reginensis lat. 2099, fo 307r, also list this volume at Balliol;² their date is not absolutely certain, but they probably do not postdate 1500 by a great deal. Finally, the volume came into Parker's hands, and passed with his library to Corpus Christi College, Cambridge.

The text, like that of X, is 'Gildasian' with the three 'Vatican' insertions; it is otherwise unremarkable.

Z: RENNES, ARCHIVES DÉPARTEMENTALES D'ILLE ET VILAINE, MS. I.F.1003.

(Unknown to previous editors.)³

Fos 103, paginated as 1-206. Approx. 29 x 20.5 cm.

This is a paper manuscript of the fifteenth century (perhaps the third quarter: see below). I owe my knowledge of this fascinating volume to the great kindness of M. Gwenaél Le Duc of Rennes, who generously sent me photocopies of the relevant portions of the manuscript. On pp.183-186 and 191-192 occurs a transcript of the Historia Brittonum (no title has been

1. See R.A.B. Mynors, Catalogue of the Manuscripts of Balliol College, Oxford (Oxford, 1963), p.384.
2. Fo 307r, col. 1: Ghilde sapientis de gestis britonum, listed under the heading (fo 306v, col.2) 'In collegio baleoli'. I owe my knowledge of this to the kindness of Dr. N.R. Ker.
3. MS. 74 in the Catalogue général des manuscrits des bibliothèques publiques de France, Départements, Vol. 51 (Paris, 1956), p.204, where it is assigned to the sixteenth century.

copied here), complete as far as the beginning of the miracles of St. Germanus; it ends with the words scribenda decreui (p.192). A small fragment of the text is repeated at the head of the otherwise blank p.201. The volume is written throughout (though there are many blank pages) in a small and very difficult cursive hand with many capricious suspensions and abbreviations.

This manuscript came to its present location with the papers of Arthur de La Borderie, the Breton historian of the nineteenth century. The circumstances in which La Borderie procured it are unknown. The volume contains no original title or indication of authorship or origin; it has a very tight binding of the nineteenth century. The pagination dates from the seventeenth century. All the following information about this manuscript I owe to M. Le Duc who is preparing its contents for publication.

Its entire content relates to Breton history, and consists of excerpts from a host of otherwise lost texts. Among the works it contains are the Chronicle of Saint-Brieuc, the Vita Goeznouii and other saints' lives, various annals and charters, and some tenth-century epitaphs. The latest date in the manuscript is 1463. We must conclude that this is a series of extracts made from manuscripts in the ecclesiastical libraries of Brittany by an historian who knew exactly what he was looking for and who copied only what he thought valuable or interesting. This alone will explain the discernment and accuracy with which the extracts and abbreviations have been made, the extreme abbreviation of names and dates, the

very irregular writing which gives the impression of a notebook, and the fact that some latin texts have not been copied but translated directly into French. An hypothesis of a stupid copyist is incredible; we have to do with a scholar's compilation.

Many of the texts contained in this volume appear to have been used previously only by the Breton historian Pierre Le Baud; Breton historians have since been looking for these in vain. Le Baud was a canon of La Madeleine of Vitré, and it seems that everything in this volume was copied in ecclesiastical libraries and archives. Le Baud's first essay in history was written in 1480 (Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, MS. français supp. 8266). Subsequently he became a counsellor to Duchess Anne of Brittany, ^{who gave him (4.8.1498) a mandate to inspect the civil archives of Brittany.} About 1502-1503 he wrote his famous Histoire de Bretagne (published in Paris in 1638 as a folio volume), and he died on 19 September 1505.

If this manuscript is his work, as seems very likely indeed, it will certainly antedate 1498. It must of course postdate 1463, the date of the latest item copied into the volume. It is just possible that it antedates 1480.

We must turn now to the text of the Historia Brittonum, which it contains. It must have been copied from a (presumably complete) manuscript in a Breton library; no other copy of the 'Gildasian' recension is now known which can be shown to have been in Brittany. This text is another representative of the type which includes the insertions from the 'Vatican' recension. Apart from its lack of title in this transcript, which follows the compiler's usual practice and is therefore not significant, the text is unremarkable.

We have now surveyed all the extant manuscripts of the first subgroup of the 'Gildasian' recension, that which normally travels under the title 'Incipi(un)t Gesta Brittonum a Gilda sapiente composita'. Excepting Cotton Vitellius E.1, they number eleven - one half of the total number of 'Gildasian' manuscripts. At three points we have seen contamination: the three manuscripts (X,Y,Z) which testify to a degree of contamination from the 'Vatican' recension in the (later) twelfth century; the two Bury manuscripts (A,F) which witness to a collation with a complete copy of the 'Vatican' version ca 1300; and the activity at Durham in 1166 when MS. D was collated with C, a text of the second subgroup of the 'Gildasian' recension which had itself been thoroughly conflated with and contaminated by a copy of the 'Nennian' recension. There is one other example of this type of contamination which requires notice. The copy of the work formerly in Hereford, Cathedral Library, MS. P.5.1, probably written in 1161/62, perhaps at Battle abbey (Sussex), bore the title 'Incipiunt Gesta Brittonum a Gilda sapientia composita'; it was a conflation, already thoroughly executed before the writing of the manuscript, of the 'Harleian' and 'Gildasian' recensions. Its underlying 'Gildasian' text must have belonged to the first subgroup. For full details of this conflate recension, see Appendix I, below. As will have been observed, the distribution is wholly English, save in the case of that type which has been interpolated by items from the 'Vatican' version.

We must turn now to the second subgroup of this recension. It comprises five manuscripts, all but one of which can be shown to be of north English origin. Two, and possibly three, of these are Cistercian workmanship. Save in one case (MS.H), they are distinguished by the title 'Incipit res gesta Brittonum a Gilda sapiente composita'. Of the five, two have not previously been used by editors of the Historia Brittonum. The common characteristics which differentiate this subgroup from the other two are of a minor textual nature: small rewritings, additions, omissions, and variant readings. A particularly characteristic one occurs at the point where in all the surviving 'Harleian' and 'Gildasian' manuscripts the phrase 'ut ab illicita coniunctione se separaret' is misplaced (Harl. § 40); here the manuscripts of the second 'Gildasian' subgroup insert the duplicate sentence 'At ille usque ad regionem que a nomine suo acceperat nomen, scilicet Guorthigirnianum, miserabiliter aufugit'.¹ Another feature is the loss of the words 'in tercio ab Uuileua lapide' from the account of the death of Maximus.

K: LIÈGE, UNIVERSITY LIBRARY, MS. 369 C.

(Unknown to previous editors.)

Fos 145, comprising two complementary manuscripts.

Ruled for 31 long lines per page.

Date: the second half of the twelfth, or the beginning of the

1. I call this a duplicate because it is found again after the following sentence ('Sanctus uero Germanus Guorthigirno predicabat ut ad Deum se conuerteret') in its proper place.

thirteenth, century.

Mediaeval provenance and presumed origin: the Yorkshire Cistercian abbey of Kirkstall.

Although this codex was described in the 1875 Liège catalogue, full knowledge of its existence and contents is due to the work of Professor S.T.R.O. d'Ardenne, who has published four papers about the volume.¹ She has identified two separate but complementary manuscripts within the fourteenth-century binding; that was probably the date at which the two were united.

A. fos 1r-73r: a complete copy of Eutropius, Breuiarium Historiae Romanae.

fos 73v-74r: summary of Roman emperors, giving regnal years.

fos 130r-142r: the Historia Brittonum, headed 'Incipit Res Gesta Brittonum a Gilda sapiente composita'.

fos 143r-145v: unfinished copy of Geoffrey of Monmouth, Prophetia Merlini.

B. fos 75r-87v: History of Roman emperors, from Octavian to A.D. 1110.

fos 88r-99v: the Liber de primo aduentu Saxonum.

fos 100r-129r: an abridged version of William of Jumièges, De ducum Normannorum Gestis, made by someone interested in English history.

The quire-signatures (which occur on the first recto of each quire: cf. MS. B, above) were the chief factor in separating the two manuscripts from one another. The volume bore on fo.1r,

1. For details of these, see the Bibliography.

in a thirteenth-century hand, a now erased ex-libris which, with the aid of other evidence, has been reconstructed as 'Liber Sancte Marie de Kirkstal'. The copy of the Historia Brittonum has been annotated and corrected by an English scribe of the late thirteenth century; and the volume contains other annotations by English hands of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. A note on the end flyleaf has, however, suggested a (Cistercian) context in which it may have been transmitted to Belgium. It is not known how the manuscript came to Liège University Library.

As regards the two textual criteria specially mentioned above, we may note some interesting facts. On fo 134r, rather more than half a line has been left blank by the scribe in the account of Maximus's death; we must presume that either his exemplar or another (but recent) ancestor was damaged or illegible at this point and the scribe left a blank, hoping to fill it from another copy. And on fo 138r the duplicate sentence 'At ille ... aufugit' has been written in the upper margin, being marked with signes de renvoi for insertion at the place where it occurs in all the other manuscripts of this subgroup. However, the signes de renvoi were subsequently erased (though they are still just visible), as if someone has realised that the same sentence occurred two lines later, leaving the insertion high and dry at the head of the page where it has the appearance of a running title. It would appear that this addition (which, as will be seen cannot be original to MS. K) was inherited thus from its exemplar; MS. K therefore stands very close to the head of

the subgroup. It was demonstrated some years ago by J. de Caluwé-Dor¹ that MS. K derived from the same exemplar as MS. C, to which we must now turn.

C: CAMBRIDGE, CORPUS CHRISTI COLLEGE, MS. 139.

(Mommsen, C; Hardy, 789; Petrie, B; Stevenson, K.)²

Fos 182(numbered i-ii, 1-100, 103-182). Approx. 30.5 x 21.3 cm.

Full details of the other physical features (which are very complicated) have been published in BBCS, 25 (1972-74), pp.369ff.

Date: 1164. Origin and mediaeval provenance: the Cistercian abbey of Sawley.

I have already written extensively about this manuscript, both in this thesis (sections V, VII; appendix IX) and elsewhere,³ and do not propose to repeat myself at this point. I shall be concerned here solely with the 'Gildasian' base-text in this manuscript, as it was written in 1164 on fos 169r-178v. It must have had the characteristic title, for we now read 'Sancti spiritus assit nobis gratia. Incipit res gesta a NENNIO sapiente composita' (fo 169r); the res gesta of this new title must derive from that of the original. In its

1. 'L'importance de la version liégoise (Bibl. Univ. ms. 369c, ff. 130-142) dans la tradition manuscrite de l'Historia Brittonum', in Mélanges offerts à Rita Lejeune (Gembloux, 1969), pp.5-12. For other comments on this paper, see D.N. Dumville, BBCS, 25 (1972-74), p.374,n.4.

2. Described by M.R. James, Descriptive Catalogue, i.317-323.

3. 'The Corpus Christi "Nennius"', BBCS, 25 (1972-74), pp. 369-380. See also the various references to other scholars' works, cited in that article.

original, unaltered form its life was short, for all the collations from the 'Nennian' recension had been entered here by 1166.

Of the two textual criteria noted above, it had on fo 172r, col. 2, the same gap as was found in MS. K in the account of the death of Maximus (this gap was soon filled by C¹). The additional sentence 'At ille ... aufugit' was present as part of the text on fo 175v, col. 2; it was subsequently erased, but is still just legible. The original text agrees throughout with the peculiarities of K; there can be no doubt that Mme de Caluwé-Dor was correct in believing them to derive from the same exemplar as K. In its incorporation of the additional sentence into the text it had gone one stage further than K in the direction of the other copies in this subgroup. It is unlikely that C had any 'Gildasian' progeny, so short was its life in unmodified form. The subsequent history of C belongs rather to the 'Sawley' recension of the Historia Brittonum.

We must therefore turn to MS. G, the nearest in date to C and K, and a manuscript whose copy of the Liber de primo aduentu Professor d'Ardenne has shown to be closely related to that in the Liège codex.

G: LONDON, BRITISH LIBRARY, MS. COTTON CALIGULA A.8, fos 28-58.
(Mommson, P; Hardy, 779; Petrie, H; Stevenson, D.)
Fos 30 (fo 54 is a small inserted paper slip). Approx.
22.5 x 16.3 cm.

Written space: 16.6-17.4 x 11.3 cm. Ruled for 26/27 long lines per page.

Origin and mediaeval provenance unknown.

The contents of this interesting, but fragmentary, volume are a drastic abbreviation of the Historia Regum followed by the Liber de primo aduentu (fos 28r-43r), a tract on the seven wonders of the world (fos 43v-44r), and the Historia Brittonum (fos 44r-58v), introduced by the rubric 'Incipit res gesta brittonum a gylda sapiente composita' and breaking off imperfectly in the mirabilia at the words 'aciem oculorum eius amisit' et ante mensem ...' owing to the loss of the rest of the manuscript. Fo 58v is rather dirty and stained, no doubt having served for some while as the back cover of the manuscript. In textual matters it conforms to the two criteria noted above, but no space is left in the manuscript for the restoration of the missing part of the account of Maximus's death; and the additional sentence is thoroughly incorporated into the text.

The date and place of the origin of this manuscript are a difficult matter. On the evidence of the bishop-lists in the copy of the Liber de primo aduentu, Mynors assigned this volume to Durham and, by an inexplicable process of reasoning, gave it the date 1153x1166.¹ I reject both these conclusions. What can be said of this volume?

The sole textual dating criteria are provided by the text of the Liber de primo aduentu which incorporates episcopal

1. R.A.B. Mynors, Durham Cathedral Manuscripts to the End of the Twelfth Century (Durham, 1937), p.8.

lists for the sees of Canterbury, York, and Durham; the choice of Durham to enjoy archiepiscopal company is dictated by the fact that the tract was written there, probably in the earlier 1130s. The last bishop in the Durham list is William II (1143-1152). The York list continues to 'Henricus Morduc' (1147-1151; ob.1153); his predecessor was then restored until his own death in 1154. The last Canterbury incumbent named in the primary hand is William or Corbeil (1123-1136). Secondary hands add Theobald of Canterbury (1138/9 x 1161) and Roger of York (1154-1181). A later hand adds Thomas Becket (1162-1170) and a notice of his death to the Canterbury list.

What does this confused position tell us? It might suggest that the book was written north of the Humber in the period 1147 x 1152 or, if not the book itself, then the exemplar of which it is a copy. The additions induce total confusion, for the hands are different. Are these contemporary additions? Does the failure to maintain the Durham list indicate that the volume had come south? Plainly, terra firma is not to be sought here, and we must turn to other evidence.

The handwriting, which is that of a single scribe, points to a date later rather than earlier in the twelfth century, but that of itself does little to resolve the difficulty. If there is a decisive factor, it is that of the ornament of the manuscript. The initials in this book are of the 'split-petal' type found only in north English manuscripts. Other examples have been noted in Durham, Cathedral Library, MS. Hunter 101, probably an autograph copy of Reginald of Durham's Libellus de admirandis beati Cuthberti uirtutibus (written

after 1172); in Durham, Cathedral Library, MS.B.2.35, fos 140-149, written after 1188 and probably at Durham¹; and in Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, MS. 66 + University Library, MS. Ff.I.27, pp.1-40, 73-252, written at Sawley after 1202.² This ornamental style was peculiar to northern England; and, if these manuscripts be the standard by which to judge, it was current from the last quarter (or possibly the last third) of the twelfth century.

We can be sure, therefore, that our MS. G is of northern workmanship, but it cannot be assigned to Durham (though that centre should not be completely excluded) and a date of 1147 x 1152 seems most unlikely. We should rather say that this is a north English book of the late twelfth century, not attempting to be more precise than the evidence allows at the moment.

The manuscript had come south, however, by the early sixteenth century. It was seen by Polydore Vergil (in England from 1502 to 1550), whose area of operations apparently extended no further than Lincolnshire (nor further west than Hereford). Polydore left a note at the bottom of fo 44r denying Gildas's authorship. Bale is our next witness to the history of the manuscript: it is covered with his annotations, and fo 54 is even a little slip of paper inserted by him. He has collated it with the marginalia in our MS. A (College of Arms Arundel 30, which he had from 'magister Bacon') and thus introduced a host of 'Vatican'-type readings on to the margins

1. See the description, above, of MS. D.

2. BBCS, 25 (1972-74), pp.376-378.

of the volume; nor is he shy of introducing variants and alterations into the body of the text. He also added various notes of his own, including one referring to his theory of a 'Gildas Hibernicus'; this has proved invaluable in untangling the history of the volume.¹ Bale himself, in others of his writings, has given us information about its history. In his Index (pp.94, 469), compiled 1549 x 1557, he identifies it as being in the possession of one Nicolas Brigam, (ob. 1558). In a letter to Archbishop Parker he testifies to the fineness of Brigam's collection and notes that a copy of 'Gildas' was among those in the possession of his executors.² He must have obtained MS. G from them, as he did at least one other manuscript.³ We lose sight of the volume after Bale's death in 1563 until it reappears in the Cottonian collection in 1600. The evidence is the inscription of Cotton's name with that date on fo 28r; this suggests that Cotton never obtained more than the present fos 28-58, which he bound with a collection of three other unrelated manuscripts. This copy does not appear to have been known to Archbishop Ussher, but it was used by Gale; it was his 'A' in his text in T.C.C. MS. O.5.37, and he mentions it - referring to Polydore's note - in the preface to his 1691 edition.

MS. G enjoys a host of minor textual peculiarities, which are not found in any of the other witnesses to this subgroup. To these may be added the use of many small marginal sub-

1. This is how he refers to it in his Index Britanniae Scriptorum, passim.

2. May McKisack, Mediaeval History in the Tudor Age (Oxford, 1971), p.68.

3. McKisack, op. cit, p.20.

titles; although this technique is characteristic of manuscripts of the third subgroup, these particular rubrics are found in no other surviving copy. MS. G therefore represents, at the moment, an isolated branch of the tradition. It almost certainly descends, however, from the same exemplar as C and K.

J: LONDON, BRITISH LIBRARY, MS. COTTON IULIUS D.5, f^{os} 2-13.
(Mommensen, Spec.3; Hardy, 797; Petrie, I; Stevenson, R.)

F^{os} 12, separately mounted owing to damage in the 1731 fire. Dimensions of mounted leaves: approx. 17 x 12.3 cm. Written space: 16.1 x 10.8 cm. Ruled for 30-38 long lines per page. Origin and mediaeval provenance unknown.

F^{os} 2-13 constitute the sorry remnant of an English manuscript in Anglicana script of the first half of the fourteenth century.

Our text occupies the entire fragment. It begins on fo 2v with the rubric, 'Incipit res gesta brittonum a gilda sapiente composita', and concludes on fo 13v with a simple 'Explicit'. Following this, however, is an erased (and irrecoverable) inscription. On the two special textual criteria it agrees with G (and H), but otherwise is nearer to the readings of C and K.

Nothing is known of the history of this manuscript before it came to Cotton and was bound with unrelated material. It was not used by Ussher, but was MS. 'D' in Gale's text in TCC MS. O.5.37.

H: CAMBRIDGE, FITZWILLIAM MUSEUM, MS. BL 2.

(Not used by, or known to, previous editors, though Stevenson refers to it: see below.)¹

Fos i + 90 (fos 89-90 are flyleaves). Approx. 31.5 x 22 cm.
Written space: 23.6 x 15.3 cm. Ruled for 42 long lines per page.

Date: the late fourteenth century. Origin and mediaeval provenance unknown.²

This manuscript gives the impression of being Cistercian work, but various factors militate against this. On fo 86r (upper margin) is the scribal note, 'Tho: Wollsey me scripsit jussu Jacobi Rudstone': a succession of notes throughout the volume testifies to the subsequent ownership of one Walter Rudstone (fos 14r, 27r, 28r, 59v, 66r, 84r). In the last of these, indeed, we read 'Walter Rudstone pretium huius libri non ignarus est'. The book evidently remained in the Rudstone family into the early seventeenth century.

The binding is apparently contemporary with the writing of the manuscript. The volume is north English work, and remained in the north until the present century. Numerous

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1. I owe my knowledge of the present location of the manuscript to Dr. N.R. Ker. It is briefly described by P.M. Giles, Transactions of the Cambridge Bibliographical Society, 6 (1972-76), p.87.
 2. The belief that this is a manuscript from the Cistercian abbey of Fountains apparently begins with the report of the Royal Commission on Historical Manuscripts, vi (London, 1877), p.355; this is repeated in Colgrave and Mynors, op. cit., p.liv. Dr. Ker tells me, and my own examination confirms this, that the volume contains no evidence suggesting a Fountains provenance.

other names occur in hands of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. The texts are glossed by a hand of the fifteenth century, and there are extensive annotations to the text of Bede in an early modern hand. A former pastedown, now fo 90, is a paper copy of a document written in the 41st year of Queen Elizabeth (Nov. 1598–Nov. 1599); it contains the name of William Ingilby; another such document remains as a pastedown at the front of the volume. It is not known how early the volume came into the possession of the Ingilby family of Ripley Castle (Yorkshire), but they certainly owned it by 1722 when it is referred to in John Smith's edition of Bede's History.¹ This volume appeared in a Sotheby sale-catalogue for 21 October, 1920, as lot 13, among many volumes owned by Sir William H. Ingilby; it cannot, however, have been sold, for it is still found in Ingilby's possession in the mid-1930s.² It was acquired, not earlier than the Second World War, by the late H.L. Bradfer-Lawrence of Ripon; it is still the possession of his son, who has deposited almost his whole collection in the Fitzwilliam Museum.

The manuscript contains Bede's Ecclesiastical History,

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1. (Cambridge, 1722), p.168, n.6, on Hist. Eccl. iv.23. Joseph Stevenson, Nennii Historia Brittonum (London, 1838), p.xxx, lists among his witnesses which 'have not seemed to demand a fuller investigation' 'the collations taken by Smith... from a manuscript formerly belonging to Ingleby of Ripley'; this seems to imply more than the single notice in the 1722 edition, but I have been unable to discover any further evidence.
 2. As is testified by E. van K. Dobbie, The MSS of Caedmon's Hymn and Bede's Death-Song (New York, 1937), p.89. A similar circumstance occurs in relation to MS. BL 6, which was lot 36 in the same sale, but was still in the possession of Ingilby at the time of publication of V.H. Galbraith (ed.), The Anonimalle Chronicle, 1333 to 1381 (Manchester, 1927).

followed by Cuthbert's letter on Bede's death (fos 1r-79r); the Historia Brittonum in its 'Gildasian' recension (fos 79v-86r); a note on Merlin, otherwise found in certain manuscripts of Geoffrey of Monmouth (fo 86r);¹ Vaticinium Sybille (fos 86v-88r).

The text of the Historia Brittonum begins with the unique title 'Incipit historia de gestis britonum composita a gilda historiographo veterano'. It concludes with the colophon 'Explicit britonum historia a gylde sapiente composita'. The title 'Historia Brittonum' is otherwise found only in manuscripts of the 'Vatican' recension and of the 'Harleian'-'Gildasian' conflate described in Appendix II. In respect of the two textual criteria named at the outset, H agrees with G and J. It incorporates a very curious feature into the text: on fo 84v, immediately before the Arthurian section, 'Hic terminabatur gildas secundum. librum Ridiualensem' is written in rather larger script than the rest of the text. For Ridiualensem I can produce no explanation without emendation: the obvious possibility is to read Rieualensem, 'Rievaulx', in view of the northern and Cistercian links of the text. I can offer no exact parallel here - and certainly no information about a Rievaulx(?) copy of the Historia Brittonum which stopped at this point - but a comparable note in a manuscript of the third 'Gildasian' subgroup deserves to be called in evidence. Our MS. N (Cotton Nero D.8: see below) is annotated in the

1. See J. Hammer, 'Some additional manuscripts of Geoffrey of Monmouth's Historia Regum Britanniae', Modern Language Quarterly, 3 (1942), pp.235-242.

hand of John Leland. At the end of the Patrician section, only a few lines before the beginning of the Arthuriana, he added the marginal note (fo 69v) 'Hic expliciunt gesta britonum a gilda sapiente composita'. (The only comparable surviving mediaeval copy of the work is MS. I, to which I shall turn in a moment.) We must have to do here with one mediaeval copy of this recension (or possibly two) which stopped either at the end of the Patrick material or after the brief chapter which links it to the Arthuriana. In either event, no such copy is extant. Nor is it clear why the text of H should have a note incorporated in it to the effect that another copy stopped short.

The second subgroup, then, is a north English affair with strong Cistercian affiliations. The common exemplar, now lost, of MSS. C and K may have been the hyparchetype of this subgroup; if it was not, it stood very close to it. We should place the origin of this branch of the text in the years around the middle of the twelfth century; there must also be a strong suspicion that it took its origin in one of the new Cistercian houses of Northern England. It is also the second most long-lived subgroup, for it survived into the second half of the fourteenth century: the first saw out the middle ages; the third was no longer productive after 1250, a situation which one is tempted to equate with the collapse of English power in Normandy in the first half of the thirteenth century.

But, before passing on to the third subgroup, one other manuscript requires consideration. This contains a conflated text which depends in part on the second subgroup (and which also suffers interpolations from the text of Henry of Huntingdon).

I: CAMBRIDGE, UNIVERSITY LIBRARY, MS. Ii.6.11 (1890).

(Mommson, Spec. 5; Hardy, 793=812; Petrie, M; noted, but not used, by Stevenson.)

Fos 123 (numbered i-ii, 1-46, 49-88, 91-123, 125-126). Approx. 16.7 x 12 cm.

Written space: 12.5-13 x 8-8.5 cm. Ruled for 2 columns of 28-39 lines.

Date: the thirteenth century. Origin and mediaeval provenance unknown.

This duodecimo volume, decorated in red, green, and blue, is written in a Gothic semi-cursive script of the thirteenth century. Nothing is known of its mediaeval history. It is a collection of theological material, in the middle of which the Historia Brittonum sits rather uneasily (fos 65r-72v). The consistent coincidence of text and quiring means that our text begins a new quire, the ninth of the volume. Its opening chapters are all introduced by elaborate, if crude, initials. The six-ages sections are headed simply De etatibus mundi; we have to wait for the main title, 'Incipit quedam historia a gilda sapiente composita. qualiter angli inhabitant', until after this introductory computistical material. Some four sections are interpolated from Henry of Huntingdon into the

early part of the work. They deal with British geography. Most notably, however, the text finishes early, within the Patrician section. After the words 'in quinto Logiere regis anno exorsus est predicare fidem Dei', the scribe begins a new line and writes 'Expliciunt gesta britonum a gilda sapiente composita'. The remainder of fo 72v is blank, as is the remainder of the quire (fos 73-74), although ruled and ready to receive more text. These factors, taken together with the continuing presence - rather than the excision - of fos 73 and 74, create a certain amount of confusion. The presence of the closing rubric, almost certainly drawn from an exemplar, suggests the deliberate abbreviation of the text by the scribe; the decision would seem to have been taken at a late stage in view of the fact that the rest of the quire was prepared for the reception of text.¹ On the other hand, two factors may suggest a mutilated exemplar. First, the failure to excise the unused fos 73 and 74, contrary to practice elsewhere in the volume, may suggest that it was intended to seek out a complete copy and finish the transcription with its aid, a task which was never achieved. Secondly, there is evidence elsewhere in the volume of the use of a mutilated exemplar: on fo 98r, col. 1, the colophon to a sermon of Achard of Saint-Victor reads (in red ink) 'Dimidia pars deficit huius sermonis' and the remainder of the folio is blank. No certain decision is

1. What is more, quire IX is a gathering of ten leaves, one of only two in the volume which exceed the size of a quaternion. It is hardly conceivable that a quire of this size would have been used unless that quantity of text was anticipated.

preferable here at present, but I incline to the view that the scribe has deliberately abbreviated, bringing the closing rubric from the end of his exemplar.

The text has a great deal in common with our second subgroup of 'Gildasian' texts, but clearly represents a conflation with a representative of another subgroup. The opening rubric might suggest the third, the closing rubric the first; at present, insufficient textual criteria do not allow us to pronounce one way or the other. This conflated version has no derivatives.

Little is known of the subsequent history of the volume. It is annotated by a cursive hand of the fifteenth or sixteenth century. On fo ii recto we find the name 'Burham Raymonds', and on fo 1r the number '909' at the head of the page. The volume came to the Cambridge University Library in the eighteenth century with the collection of George Moore, bishop of Ely.

We pass now to the third subgroup, which is almost exclusively continental in its distribution. It is very closely related to the first subgroup, being certainly distinguishable only by its title and minor textual criteria. It certainly derives from the first subgroup, and does not appear likely to have originated before the 1130s. Its principal witness is our MS. L.

L: LEIDEN, UNIVERSITY LIBRARY, MS. BPL 20.

(Unknown to previous editors.)¹

Fos i + 106, comprising two separate, but complementary, manuscript-volumes.

Approx. 26.5 x 16 cm. Ruled for two columns of 47 lines per page.

Date: the first half and middle of the twelfth century.

Origin believed to be the Benedictine monastery of Bec (Normandy).

The two constituent volumes comprise fos 2-59 (of the first half of the twelfth century) and fos 60-106 (not before 1135).

They are distinguishable by their separate series of quire-signatures: the former employs letters, the latter numerals.

These quire-signatures indicate that the earlier volume has lost its first two quires.² These volumes are Norman productions, and the initials are strong evidence for a Bec origin.³

Fo 1, of whose upper half a great part has been eaten away, appears to be an addition of the mid-twelfth century. It bears on its verso an extensive contents-list, which in its

1. The codex is described in Bibliotheca Universitatis Leidensis, Codices Manuscripti, III, Codices Bibliothecae Publicae Latini (Leiden, 1912), pp.14-15. Apart from the 1716 catalogue, the first full description was published by J. Zacher, Serapeo, 4 (1843), pp.30ff., 44ff.. The only explicit mention known to me of its copy of the Historia Brittonum is that in T. Chotzen and E.D. Jones, 'The Leyden Manuscript of Leges Wallicae', BCS, 12 (1946-48), pp.86-88.
2. The two manuscripts were first distinguished by Léopold Delisle, Mélanges de paléographie et de bibliographie (Paris, 1880), pp.172-190, esp. 175-6. A Bec provenance was first suggested by J. Zacher (ed.), Julii Valerii Epitome (1867), and confirmed by Delisle.
3. F. Avril, École Française de Rome: Mélanges d'archéologie et d'histoire, 77 (1965), p.211.

wording agrees exactly with that of the Bec library-catalogue of the same date.¹ The contents of the first manuscript are an acephalous copy of William of Jumièges, Historia Normannorum; Einhard's Life of Charlemagne; the Epitome of Iulius Valerius; the bogus 'Letter of Alexander to Aristotle'; Historia regum Francorum monasterii Sancti Dionysii; and a genealogy of the counts of Flanders, written not before 1127. The second volume contains the 'vulgate' text of Geoffrey of Monmouth (fos 60r-101v), the Historia Brittonum in its 'Gildasian' version (fos 101v-106r), and an excerpt from Ordericus Vitalis (fo 106r/v).

The publication of Geoffrey's 'History' provides the sole terminus post for the writing of fos 60-106. This has always, since the time of Leopold Delisle,² been identified with the copy which Henry of Huntingdon found at Bec early in 1139, and has accordingly been taken to be the earliest and best representative of Geoffrey's work. On this view the manuscript must have been executed in 1138 or very shortly before. This hypothesis does not seem to me to be susceptible of proof. But the volume cannot be very much later than this date, for it was certainly written at Bec no later than the mid-twelfth century.

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1. Item 120 in the catalogue, published from Avranches, Bibl. mun., MS. 159, fos 1v-3r, by H. Omont, Catalogue général des manuscrits des bibliothèques publiques de France, Départements ii (Paris, 1888), pp.385-399. The catalogue, which suggests that a further copy of our text may have been at Bec at this date (see below, under MS. R), is studied by G. Nortier, Revue Mabillon, 47 (1957), pp.57-83.
 2. Bibliothèque de l'École des Chartes, 71 (1910), p.511.

The later history of the codex is obscure. It appears to have been used by Robert de Torigni, the famous scholar who was a monk of Bec and then (1154-1186) abbot of Mont-Saint-Michel. While Robert was abbot, the manuscript which is now Paris, Bibl. Nat., latin 6042 was written there; one of its sources is our MS. L.¹ Annotations in his hand are said to have been identified in the copy of William of Jumièges in the Leiden manuscript.² On fo 1v, above the Bec contents-list is a much later ex-libris inscription (I have been unable to give any degree of precision to its dating). It is mutilated by the loss of part of the leaf and now reads:

Liber de m[³

staunton̄.⁴

This may be the inscription of a religious house at a place called Staunton/Stannton or []staunton/[]stannton; in this case the m- would likely be the first letter of monasterio. Such a place-name seems English, but the hand of the inscription does not seem English to me. Alternatively, this may be a personal ownership-inscription.

It is not known when the volume came to Leiden. It is described in the catalogue of 1716. I owe to Dr. P.F.J. Obbema, Keeper of Western Manuscripts, the information that

1. Léopold Delisle (ed.), Chronique de Robert de Torigni (Caen, 1872-73), i, p.lv. A large French manuscript-tradition of William of Jumièges also derives from our MS. L.

2. See the 1912 catalogue, pp.14-15.

3. Or in[

4. Other possible readings are stannton̄, stainiton̄.

a manuscript-note~~in~~ in one of the University Library's own catalogues states that it was bought in 1670 at an auction of the books and manuscripts of J. Golius; his view is that 'this statement must be incorrect'.¹ One other item deserves to be noted: on fo 105v, at the end of the twenty-eight ciuitates in our text, a hand of the later sixteenth or the seventeenth century has written 'Gildas Quartus', referring to the theories of John Bale about the four Gildases. The hand does not seem to me to be English.²

The text of the Historia Brittonum is introduced by the extensive title, 'Incipiunt Excerptiones De Libro Gilde Sapientis quem composuit De primis habitatoribus Brittannie que nunc Anglia Dicitur et De Excidio eius'. This is the title characteristic of the third subgroup of this recension. We may compare the title given by the contents-list on fo 1v and by the Bec library-catalogue: 'Item exceptiones ex libro Gilde sapientis historiographi britonum quem composuit de uastatione sue gentis et de mirabilibus britanie'. The closing rubric reads (106r): 'Finit liber Sancti Gilde sapientis de primis habitatoribus brittannie et de excidio eius'. The text has been carelessly written but very efficiently corrected. It has a series of rubrics which is characteristic of this subgroup, and eight of the twenty-eight ciuitates are glossed with 'up-to-date' identifications; the latter are

1. Personal communication of May 18, 1972.

2. It may be seen in the plate published by G.I. Lieftinck, Manuscripts datées des Pays-Bas (1963) p.69 (no.160).

not certainly entered by the text-hand, whereas the sub-titles probably are.

E: ÉVREUX, BIBLIOTHÈQUE MUNICIPALE, MS. 41.

(Noted, but not used, by Mommsen; otherwise unknown.)¹

Fos 152. Approx. 22 x 15 cm.

Ruled for 30 long lines per page. Date: the thirteenth century (probably the first half).

Origin unknown; mediaeval provenance (sæc. xv): the abbey of Lyre (Normandy).

This thirteenth-century volume is, with the exception of the Historia Brittonum (fos 138r-150r) which concludes the volume, a collection of theological tracts. We know nothing of the early history of the volume, save to say that it is probably a French (and perhaps a Norman) production. Its provenance is the Norman Benedictine abbey of Lyre.² We know that it was there when Étienne du Pré was abbot (1400-1414), for his name is found in it. But this is itself sufficient to make us doubt that the volume originated at Lyre, for Abbot Étienne was responsible for enriching the abbey's library. He left a note (now lost) in the present Rouen, Bibl. mun., MS. 1124 (the 'Jewish Antiquities' of Josephus), recording its purchase; his signature (de Prato) is found on a flyleaf. In two thirteenth-century volumes from Lyre, ours and Évreux

1. Henri Omont describes this volume in Catalogue général des manuscrits des bibliothèques publiques de France, Départements, ii (Paris, 1888), pp. 424-426.

2. For a study of the abbey's library, see G. Nortier, Revue Mabillon, 48 (1958), pp.1-19.

MS. 39, we find the same signature: at the very least, Étienne was especially interested in these volumes; he may well have been responsible for purchasing them for his abbey.¹

The text of the Historia Brittonum generally agrees with that of MS. L. It opens with the same title, and has the 'identifications' of eight ciuitates, but it lacks the new rubrics except for that which introduces the mirabilia (fo 148r); it lacks also the colophon. Names have generally become rather corrupt in this copy.

N: LONDON, BRITISH LIBRARY, MS. COTTON NERO D.8, fos 3-175.

(Hommensen, Q; Hardy, 790; Petrie, G; Stevenson, E.)

Fos 173 (numbered 3-175), comprising two separate, but companion, manuscript-volumes. Approx. 35 x 25 cm.

Written space: 26.8 x 18.2 cm. Ruled for two columns of 39 lines each.

Date: the first half of the thirteenth century. Origin and mediaeval provenance unknown.

These two companion volumes, each written by a single (but different) scribe, are the productions of the same English scriptorium. Two additions appear on fo 175r, the first perhaps of the mid-thirteenth century, the second of the late fourteenth century: both hands are English, as are those of the various marginal annotations of the fifteenth to seventeenth centuries.²

1. For what precedes I am heavily indebted to Nortier, art. cit., p.8.

2. The preceding account owes a great deal to the help of Mr. J.P. Hudson, Assistant Keeper in the Department of Manuscripts.

The first volume (fos 3-71) is distinguished from the second by the separate series of quire-signatures enjoyed by each. It contains Geoffrey of Monmouth (fos 3r-63r), to which our text is added as a twelfth book! The second volume contains Dudo's Historia Normannorum, part of William of Jumièges, the Life of Alexander and his letter to Aristotle, and the list of Bede's works (from Hist. Eccl. v.24). The similarity to the contents of MS. L is noteworthy.

The text of the Historia Brittonum stands closely with that of MS. L in all particulars, to the extent that it would appear to be a copy of it. This, taken together with the evident Norman bias of the contents of the second volume, makes one look for a Norman exemplar. If that exemplar was MS. L, then the history of N requires MS. L to have travelled to England before ca 1250 (and perhaps well before); the ex-libris in L would then be of probably English origin. But we cannot be certain that N descends immediately, rather than mediately, from L.

This copy of the work was used by Archbishop Ussher in the Cottonian library, to which the two constituent volumes must have come together; when they were united with the present fos 176-344 and 345-347 is unknown, but this was very likely Cotton's responsibility. This text is 'K' in Ussher's edition: in his description of the volume (T.C.D. MS. 574) he says

'Liber fuit Johannis Stowae civis Londonensis,
nunc vero D. Roberti Cottonii. Et habet variantes
lectiones J. Lelandi (ni fallor) manu ad marginem
adscriptam.'

We may be fairly confident that Cotton had the codex from Stowe (1525-1605). It was in Stowe's possession, we may be certain, when the transcript now in Cotton Tiberius E.8 was made (see below). The volume is indeed annotated by Leland, (ob. 1552), though we do not know if he ever owned it: the note of chief interest is that (already discussed above under MS. H) at the end of the Patrician section, 'Hic expliciunt gesta britonum a gilda sapiente composita' (fo 69v); it would be of the greatest interest to know Leland's source of this remark. He was evidently comparing it with another copy of the work. Another user of this volume was John Bale (ob. 1563); uncharacteristically, he left no mark on the manuscript, but there survives in his autograph a complete transcript, with an elaborate index, of this copy of the Historia Brittonum. We may doubt that he ever owned the volume.

Basel, University Library, MS. E.3.7 is Bale's autograph transcript of MS. N; it occupies pp.1-16; p.17 bears two extracts from a Life of St Wulstan of Worcester and two from a Life of St. Winwaloe; the index to the Historia Brittonum begins on p.19. It was presumably executed before the accession of Queen Mary when Bale fled from the British Isles; he doubtless left his transcript in Basel when he returned to Britain in 1559.¹ It came to the Basel University Library after being in the library of the Basel humanist family

1. For Bale's activities in Basel, see Manfred E. Welti, Der Basler Buchdruck und Britannien (Basel, 1964).

Amerbach.¹ The inclusion in the transcript (p.13) of the aforementioned note of Leland's shows that Bale copied it after Leland had annotated the text. We may, at a guess, ascribe this transcript to a date not earlier than ca 1540, nor later than 1553.

London, British Library, Cotton Tiberius E.8, a volume of transcripts by John Stowe, belongs to the second half of the sixteenth century. It runs to some 281 folios, containing a copy of Stowe's own manuscript (our N) of the Historia Brittonum on fos 230~~r~~-236r. This folio paper manuscript has been badly damaged by the 1731 fire. In addition to copying the main text, it copies also Leland's annotations. An annotating hand writes beside the title (230r): 'Titulus cod. maioris. St.' It adds: 'Titulus minoris cod. St. Incipiunt gesta Britonum a Gilda sapiente composita'. This distinctly implies that Stowe owned another, smaller volume containing a copy of the Historia Brittonum. We do not know what this volume was or if it still survives: I have discussed above the possibility that it was Cotton Vitellius E.1, but that does not seem an especially likely candidate. There the matter must be left. Tiberius E.8 (not Nero D.8, as stated by Hardy) was used by Gale for his edition: in TCC MS O.5.37, his 'B' is the main text, and his 'C' refers to the variant readings given by the annotator.

1. I owe this information to the kindness of Dr. Max Burckhardt, Konservator der Handschriften, Basel University Library (personal communication of 10.11.1971).

R: ROUEN, BIBLIOTHÈQUE MUNICIPALE, MS. U 74 (1177).

(Noted, but not used, by Mommsen; Hardy, 795; Petrie, R; unknown to Stevenson.)¹

Fos 302. Approx. 32.4 x 23 cm.

Date: the late twelfth or early thirteenth century.

Mediaeval provenance, and presumed origin, the Benedictine abbey of Jumièges (Normandy).²

This huge volume, which I know only from the catalogue-description and from photographs of the folios containing the text of the Historia Brittonum, contains a series of texts dealing with British history. It is either a codex containing two manuscripts, and dividing after fo 172, or else a complete copy of two separate manuscripts. This is strongly suggested by an entry in the mid-twelfth-century Bec library-catalogue,³ describing a volume with the following contents: three works by Bede, (2) Historia Ecclesiastica, (3) De temporibus, (4) De naturis rerum; (5) 'Liber Gilde sapientis de excidio Britannie'; (1) 'Vita Sancti Neoti, que in capite ponitur'. Apart from the Life of St Neot (printed in the seventeenth century from a now lost Bec manuscript, presumably this one) which stood at the head of the volume, this entry could describe the second half of our MS. R (save for

1. Henri Omont describes this volume in Catalogue général des manuscrits des bibliothèques publiques de France, Départements, i (Paris, 1886), pp.295-297.

2. Its mediaeval library is studied by G. Nortier, Revue Mabillon, 48 (1958), pp.99-127.

3. Item 80 in the catalogue; for details, see above, p.569, n.1.

the three pages of excerpts from Henry of Huntingdon following Bede's History). I conclude that this entry described the exemplar of fos 173-299 of the Rouen manuscript.

Two other considerations indicate a distinction between fos 1-172 and 173-299 of MS. R. Part one contains (fos 59-61) extracts from Bede's History, though the whole work¹ is found on fos 173-275; likewise, part two has extracts from Henry of Huntingdon (fos 276-278) while the whole work is on fos 62-166. These coincidences would have been unlikely if the volume or its exemplar was a unity.

Fos 1-172 must also, however, have had a Bec origin or exemplar. The copy of Henry's History is of a type known to derive from a particular, lost Bec copy of the work; it is continued by extracts, for the years 1147-1157, from Robert of Torigni's Chronicle; and these additions conclude with an extract, for 1157-1160, from an anonymous Bec continuation of Robert's Chronicle.

Bec seems to have operated, no doubt particularly under Robert's influence, as the centre for the dissemination of texts, particularly historical works, in twelfth-century Normandy. We have seen this already in the case of MS. E, which probably derives from L; similarly, R derives from the other lost Bec copy.

R has certain peculiarities which no doubt derive from the lost Bec copy. The title reads: 'Incipit liber gilde sapientis de primis habitatoribus britannie. que nunc dicitur

1. It belongs to the peculiarly English c-text of the work: see Colgrave and Mynors, *op. cit.*, p. lxi.

anglia. et de excidio eius' (fo 289r); on fo 289r/v, as part of the text, is a section unique in manuscripts of this text, beginning 'Sic ordinatur genealogia Enee et Priami qui expugnatur in Troia';¹ it contains none of the rubrics first found in L; none of the ciuitates is glossed with an 'identification'; there is no colophon.

The text of R clearly represents a more primitive stage than that of L. But two factors remain in doubt: which title is the newer? What relation to the question of the title does the new genealogical section bear? I feel unable to speculate on the first point at the moment, for there are too many intangibles involved. As to the second, this section must be an addition; unless it remained obviously so (for example, as a marginale) in the exemplar of L, it could not have been identified as such and removed during transcription; it is therefore most improbable that its being absent from L could be responsible for the title 'Exceptiones'.

1. It is given in Petrie's edition, p.54, n.30, but not reproduced by Mommsen. I give it here, direct from the manuscript.

'Sic ordinatur genealogia Enee et Priami qui expugnatur in Troia. Iupiter Saturni filius, Celii filius, uir magni ingenii, in Creta fuit insula, et habuit duas uxores, Maiam scilicet et Electram, Athlantis filias, a quo Mons Athlas nominatur. Genuit Iupiter Mercurium ex Maya, et Dardanum ex Electra. Mercurius itaque ipse omnium Grecorum est origo. Dardanus uero origo Troianorum fuit. Fuit autem apud Iouem amor maior Maye et filii. Dardanus namque, ex responso Deorum, locum mutans ab Italia, per Traciam Sano dilatus est, quam Samotraciam nominauit. Ex quo natus est Erictonius, qui isdem regnauit locis. Et ex Erictonio Tros, qui in iusticia et pietate laudabilis fuit; isque ut memoriam nominis sui faceret eternam, urbem Troiam suo nomine appellari iussit. Tros duos filios habuit, Ilium et Assaracum, a quo Ilio Ilium dictum est, id est Troya. Ilii hic Laomedon filius fuit. Ex Laomedonte Priamus natus est qui expugnatus est in Troya. Assaracus

We must provisionally conclude, therefore, either that L's title is a development (of that now witnessed by R) due to other factors or that the title as seen in R is an innovation by a scribe or editor who saw no need to admit to not having the complete copy of a famous but exceedingly rare text (Gildas's De Excidio).

The following two manuscripts I have not seen at all, and report details only at second hand. They may not even belong with the third subgroup, but I give them here for the sake of convenience, because the catalogue-entries appear to give some slight warrant for this, and because they are of continental provenance.

V: PARIS, BIBLIOTHÈQUE NATIONALE, MS. LATIN 15009.

(Mommsen, Spec. 9; Hardy, 788; Petrie, Q; not known to Stevenson)¹

Fos 257(?), perhaps comprising two separate manuscript-volumes.

(Cont'd) uero genuit Capis, Capis Anchisen, Anchises Eneam procreauit, Eneas Aschanium, Aschanius Siluium, Siluius Brutum, a quo Britones dicuntur et originem ducunt. Genealogia utrorumque ita retrorsum reuoluitur. Priamus filius Laomedontis, filii Ili, filii Trois, filii Erictoni, filii Dardani, filii Iouis, filii Saturni, filii Celii. Item Brutus filius Siluii, filii Aschanii, filii Enee, filii Anchise, filii Capin, filii Assarici, filii Trois, filii Erictoni, filii Dardani, filii Iouis, filii Saturni, filii Celii.'

1. A summary description of the contents is given in the Bibliothèque de l'École des Chartes, 30 [6th Series] (1869), p.65.

Date(s): the twelfth and thirteenth century. Origin unknown, but mediaeval provenance the abbey of Saint-Victor, Paris. Fols 42-47 contain annals extending to 1190, fols 187-204 a work by Bernardus Silvestris (fl. 1150). Most of what has been published about this volume derives from Hardy's account. He says that this volume was 'apparently the production of a north of England scriptorium'; one may be forgiven for being sceptical about this. The six-ages computus in this manuscript is apparently unique among copies of the pure 'Gildasian' text in having been altered to read 'ab Adam uero usque ad passionem Domini nostri Iesu Christi .v^m.cc.xcvii., a Christo usque ad secundum annum regis Henrici secundi Anglorum anni peracti sunt .m.clvi.' This may be the date of the extant manuscript, but it perhaps seems more likely to be that of its exemplar. The immediate provenance is Saint-Victor, Paris; the manuscript came to the Bibliothèque Nationale as no.567 among the Saint-Victor collection. Our text, which occupies fols 160v-186v, is apparently headed De Anglia secundum Gildam sapientem.

S: PARIS, BIBLIOTHÈQUE NATIONALE, MS. LATIN 5232.

(Noted, but not used, by Mommsen;¹ Hardy, 794; Petrie, P; unknown to Stevenson.)

Origin unknown, but mediaeval provenance Savigny.

Date: the late twelfth century.²

1. Mommsen, ed. cit., p.122, provides what little information I have about the text in this manuscript.

2. This is the date given by Colgrave and Mynors, op. cit., p.lxiv.

The eighteenth-century catalogue of the Royal Library, to which this volume came with the Colbert collection, gives the contents of the volume as follows:

(1) Bede, Historia Ecclesiastica; (2) 'Gildae sapientis liber de gentis Britonum origine'; (3) Henry of Huntingdon's Epistola ad Warinum; (4) 'Roberti de Monte fragmentum de immutatione ordinis monachorum'; three works of Bede, (5) de tabernaculo, (6) de templo Salomonis, and (7) expositio super canticum Abacuc prophetae.

Mommsen conjectured that this copy derived from our MS. G: if the title given by the catalogue, and my own suspicions as to the date of G, are correct, this is rather unlikely. A leaf has been excised near the beginning of the text, with the consequent loss of (Harl.) §§3-12 (part). And there is a curious confusion at the end of the work: the text ends with (Harl.) § 77, but (Harl.) § 82 is also present, albeit with a curious variation in the closing sentence.

Plainly, little more can be said until the text has been fully collated. The manuscript is evidently in a state of some disrepair, for the copy of Bede's History is also imperfect. Mynors has, however, added one very interesting and possible significant fact: the volume comes from Savigny. Now Savigny and its dependent houses affiliated to the Cistercian order in 1148; if this copy is related to G and the second 'Gildasian' subgroup, the fact of Savigny's being a Cistercian house will doubtless explain its presence there and the means of its acquisition.

Thus concludes the survey of the individual manuscripts of the 'Gildasian' recension. The three subgroups are in decreasing order as to the number of witnesses representing each; each has a particular geographical area to which it is peculiar, with a minimal amount of the inevitable overlap. Collation and contamination between subgroups is fairly uncommon, but collation with other recensions rather less so, the 'Harleian', 'Nennian', and 'Vatican' versions all having some effect.

The large number of copies of this recension testifies to the fact that from the twelfth century onwards it had become the 'vulgate' or received text of the Historia Brittonum. It is no surprise that we can trace the development of three families of manuscripts; the full manuscript-tradition gives us an unusually good opportunity to study this process. At the head of the first subgroup, and consequently of the whole tradition of the recension, stands B, a witness all but overlooked by modern editors; the most important witness to the second group is K, only recently brought to light; and the important representatives of the third subgroup are L, used by - indeed, known to - no previous editor, and R, collated only by Petrie in 1848. Small wonder, then, that Mommsen's account of the recension and his apparatus of readings¹ are both a shambles.

1. From his CDGLPQ: C is a text contaminated by other recensions and heavy revision, which Mommsen did not understand; D, too, is contaminated, but less seriously so; his 'G' and 'L' are conflate recensions, worthless as far as the 'Gildasian' text is concerned; 'P' (our G) is not wholly representative of its subgroup; 'Q' (our N) is a late derivative in its subgroup.

By, or soon after, 1150 all three subgroups were in existence; before 1100, it is doubtful if a single copy of the recension existed. This half-century must have seen massive multiplication of copies of this work and exceedingly rapid dissemination of those copies. The same must have been true, but within a very limited area of south-east England, of the 'Harleian' recension; this is evident not only from the direct witnesses to that recension but also from the 'Gildasian' version. This was not merely derived from the 'Harleian' recension, but from a copy exhibiting many of the corrupt features apparent in the extant copies. However, in some respects the source-text was better than the surviving copies: it preserves some Celtic names in better shape and retains a few very small sections of text lost by the common ancestor of the surviving 'Harleian' witnesses. It is therefore a useful weapon, as will have been seen in the apparatus to the 'Harleian' recension, in the editing of that version.

Several secondary tasks are important and remain outstanding. The various disjecta membra must be collected and studied intensively: (1) the marginal collations from a 'Gildasian' text in Harl. MS. C;¹ (2) the extracts made by William Worcestre from the lost copy in Oxford, Merton College,

1. See above, p. 136

MS. C.1.16;¹ (3) Worcestre's extracts from the manuscript at Saffron Walden;² the collations from Stowe's 'smaller codex' in Cotton Tiberius E.8;³ (4) the careful establishment, if possible and with the aid of the Bedan text, of the exact place of Cotton Vitellius E.1 in the tradition;⁴ (5) the affiliation of (a) the 'Gildasian' element in the conflate text in Oxford, St. John's College, MS. 99, and (b) the later collations in the same;⁵ (6) the same two processes for the text formerly in Hereford, Cathedral Library, MS. P.5.1.⁶

The mediaeval library-catalogues, chiefly of the twelfth to sixteenth centuries, must be ransacked for references to copies of our text. This alone will help to give a fuller picture of the distribution of the work. Any other references

1. John H. Harvey (ed. & tr.), William Worcestre, Itineraries (Oxford, 1969), pp.278-279. The manuscript is no.241 in the catalogue of H.O. Coxe, Catalogus Codicum Manuscriptorum qui in Collegiis Aulisque Oxoniensibus hodie adservantur (Oxford, 1852), i, Merton p.94; Coxe gives a full list of the original contents, drawn from an early contents-table in the book. Out of an original thirteen items, only 1-4 remain. See F.M. Powicke, The Mediaeval Books of Merton College (Oxford, 1931), p.235 (no.1208). It belongs to the early twelfth century. The title given to the copy of our text (item 12) was 'Liber Gilde sapientis de excidio Britannie et quedam pulchra miracula'; one is reminded of MS. R, above. After Worcestre, three other scholars saw this volume. Leland (De scriptoribus Britannicis, p.54) refers to it as containing 'Gildas historiographus'. It is included in Bale's Index (p.482) because of the (now lost) Life of King William which was its item 9. And it is MS. 137 in Thomas James, Ecloga Oxonio-Cantabrigiensis (London, 1600).

2. Harvey, op. cit., pp.42-47.

3. See above, p.576.

4. See above, pp.525-529.

5. See Appendix II, below.

6. See Appendix I, below.

of an antiquarian nature, from the lists in Rome, B.A.V., MS. Reginensis lat. 2099 (ca 1500)¹ to the 1730 sighting of a copy at Drummond Castle in Scotland,² must be followed up.

Finally, citations in other authors must be identified and followed up. William of Malmesbury (1125), Henry of Huntingdon (1129 x 1133), and Geoffrey of Monmouth (1135 x 1138) know our work as 'Gildas': the decade 1125 x 1135 may have been the period of the recension's greatest expansion, making it the common property of Anglo-Norman authors. If MS. B is the original, it probably had no more than a decade of life behind it; a detailed study of the quotations from these early users of the text may offer further evidence on the origin and early history of the recension.

All this is work for the future. What I hope I have achieved in this chapter is a reasonably comprehensive survey of the major remains of this most popular recension of the Historia Brittonum.

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1. This source, already used on p. 547 above, also notes a Ghilde historia at New College, Oxford (fo 307r).
 2. See above, p. 506. The source is a letter of Thomas Innes, quoted in the report of the Royal Commission on Historical Manuscripts, i (London, 1874), p. 118. The text was apparently bound with a copy of Geoffrey of Monmouth.

VII

THE
'SAWLEY'
RECENSION
OF THE
HISTORIA BRITTONUM

INTRODUCTORY REMARKS

Comparatively few introductory remarks are required for the text of the Sawley recension. This is due to a number of circumstances: the three chief elements comprising the Sawley text are discussed in detail elsewhere in this work. The 'Gildasian' recension, which provides the base-text, is discussed in section VI above; the 'Nennian' recension, collations from which in one of the Sawley manuscripts provide the sole direct evidence for its existence in Latin, is considered in detail in section V above; and the substantial series of additions which transformed the work into a new recension are printed and analysed in Appendix IX below. Further, we do not have to investigate in minute detail the prehistory of the recension, as has been essential with all the other recensions; in our two Sawley manuscripts we have the evidence for the beginning, the middle, and the end of the process by which the recension was created. And the manuscripts themselves show us when, where, and in what manner of intellectual milieu the recension originated.

The text created at Sawley, by the activities of the half-century following 1164, represents the fullest mediaeval development of the Historia Brittonum. As will be shown below, the Sawley recension had almost no influence as a text during the middle ages; it came into its own at the Dissolution, when MS. C (C. C. C. C. 139: see below) passed into the hands of a series of important scholars and came to stand at the head of a vast tradition of paper manuscripts copied by or for scholars and antiquaries who needed to use the text and who (until 1691) had access to no printed edition. The mischievous assumptions created by almost two centuries of dependence upon embellished copies of this recension (and by a further century and a

half of reliance on an edition which itself depended on this tradition) remain to bedevil the study of the Historia Brittonum today. It is therefore as well that the mediaeval original of the Sawley text, the version of the Historia Brittonum which from ca 1535 until the mid-nineteenth century was known as the work of 'Nennius', should be printed here with an apparatus which will allow both the developed text and the very processes of development to be seen clearly for the first time.

The various elements which comprise the recension have, as noted above, been examined in their proper places. Two, however, require brief comment here since they are at once the last major accretions to the Sawley text and appropriate representatives of the whole process of textual 'improvement' which was being carried through for many major historical texts at Sawley. The preface to the whole work is a Sawley fabrication. By a clever use of the resources of a latinity far better than the original ninth-century author of the Historia was able to command and by the employment of a few items from the prologue of 'Ninnius' and from the body of the text, its Sawley author was able to produce a respectable preface wholly in line with the requirements of twelfth-century historiographical practice. The capitula which follow the prologue of 'Ninnius' are an attempt - and one which is found for almost all the texts in F - to give the impression of a well-ordered and carefully-prepared historical work, as well as to facilitate reference. Finally, the chronological data which appear only in F, before the body of the text, are a fraud designed to support the assertion of the preface that the whole work belonged to the year 858.

The textual and historiographical work executed at Sawley, for which our two manuscripts are the direct evidence, had both a

credit- and a debit-side, as I have suggested at the end of Appendix IX. It was directed to the exegesis and enlargement, by means of whatever sources were available, of all the fifty texts found in the two surviving manuscripts. But for the Sawley scholars, many, or most, of these texts would have survived fragmentarily or not at all; in the case of the Historia Brittonum, the written sources which supplied the additions are not otherwise known. But our text is the only one, by virtue of its surviving in two Sawley copies, whose history may be thoroughly unravelled by palaeographical techniques. The unravelling of the other texts in these manuscripts must proceed phrase by phrase, using all the techniques of textual, linguistic, literary, historical, and palaeographical enquiry.

We can actually see the Historia Brittonum growing in its Sawley setting, and it is tempting to ask at what stage the process of growth became a conscious determination to produce a new version. Two factors are important here. If my identification of two hands in C (C¹ and C⁷) as belonging to the same scribe is accurate, then that same scribe was active throughout the whole process of 'amelioration' of this text; this would suggest, especially as C⁷ is the hand of the editor who prepares the text in C for its final copying into F, that a single mind was behind the whole development of this recension. The other factor is the evidence provided by the manuscripts and the texts taken as a whole. All have been subjected to the same process, to a greater or lesser degree; this is as true of the texts copied in 1164 as of those in the early-thirteenth-century MS. F. Such consistency of treatment, already established as a principle before 1164, must indicate that it was intended from the first to create an expanded and 'ameliorated' version of the Historia. Whether the Sawley scholars can ever have had a clear plan as to what would be added, or whether

this was developed on a purely ad hoc basis, is hardly ascertainable, however.

It is difficult to say why Sawley, as a minor Cistercian house, should have been in a position to obtain such a wide variety of rare texts. But we should not make the mistake of writing Sawley off as a backwater and then trying, as one recent scholar has done,¹ to find reasons for denying that our manuscripts originated at Sawley.

Founded in 1148 by a group of Cistercian monks from Newminster in Northumberland (itself a daughter-house of Fountains Abbey), Sawley Abbey seems to have been a small and fairly poor monastery throughout its history, but was nonetheless part of the great Cistercian family of North English monasteries which had been created during the hectic twenty years or so after the establishment of Fountains. No doubt most of the stones of the abbey have by now been used in the present hamlet and its predecessors, not to mention the drystone walling of the surrounding fields, but enough remains to show the general ground-plan of the church and adjacent buildings. They lie on flat ground above flood-level, with an excellent view north-east up the Aire gap, but are separated from the more westerly part of that road by a commanding hill, south and west of the abbey site, which is nonetheless sufficiently distant to turn the area into a sheltered sun-trap. The abbey thus lay in a nook of the hills, but with very easy and short communications to two main routes, one from Chester to Carlisle accessible at Ribchester, the other through the Aire gap in the Pennines to the Yorkshire plain. When the country was even more wooded than it is now, military enterprises or raids, without

1. L. G. D. Baker, 'Scissors and paste', in Studies in Church History, Volume 11, ed. L. G. D. Baker (Oxford, 1975).

considerable local knowledge, would not readily come upon it; equally certainly none could escape observation from the hills around it. The excellent choice of site may well account for the absence of events in the history of the abbey and for the early establishment of a school of textual and historical studies, observing the past - as the present could be watched - without involvement.

THE MANUSCRIPTS

C: Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, MS. 139.

I do not propose to give here a detailed description of this manuscript for, insofar as matters directly related to the Historia Brittonum are concerned, they have been considered in detail in my previously published study, 'The Corpus Christi "Nennius"', Bulletin of the Board of Celtic Studies, 25 (1972-74), pp. 369-380. There I identified and described the activity of ten mediaeval scribes additional to those who wrote the original manuscript. Broadly speaking, these subsequent annotators fall into three groups: (i) three who were responsible for a collation of the base-text against a copy of the now lost Latin 'Nennian' recension during the period 1164x1166; (ii) some five who were active ca 1200, largely adding extra material from other lost Celtic-Latin sources, but including one scribe who appears to have been preparing the text for transcription into the fair copy now seen in MS. F; and (iii) miscellaneous later annotators of little note. The activities of the first group are considered in section V above; the second group is investigated in Appendix IX below. The palaeographical features of their activity are examined in the article referred to above.

The copy of the 'Gildasian' recension which forms the base-text in our manuscript was written, together with the rest of the volume, in 1164. Within half a century the manuscript looked almost as it does now, being replete with alterations and additions. The manuscript belonged to, and almost certainly originated at, the Cistercian abbey of Sawley; all the activity mentioned above occurred at that same house. The work on the Historia Brittonum, complicated

and extensive though it be, represents only a small part of the activity of Sawley scribes and scholars in the second half of the twelfth century and the beginning of the thirteenth. This activity is witnessed by two extraordinary manuscripts, the sole surviving remains of the Sawley library of this period, namely our MSS. C and F. A substantial monograph would be needed to do full justice to all their textual and historiographical endeavours. But of some fifty texts contained in these two volumes, the Historia Brittonum is the only one found in both; accordingly, it is the only one for which we can actually see the physical evidence of the massive series of alterations and additions to which most of the texts in these Sawley volumes had been subjected.

For a full summary of the physical make-up of the manuscript, I refer to the description of it among the witnesses to the 'Gildasian' recension (section VI).

D: Durham, Cathedral Library, MS. B. 2. 35.

For a full description of this manuscript, I refer again to the survey of the manuscript-witnesses to the 'Gildasian' recension. The value of the Durham manuscript in the present context is that it received in the year 1166 (the date is guaranteed by the evidence of a computus copied into D at the same time¹) the results of a full collation with MS. C. The effect was to preserve in D in petrified form the extent of the alterations effected in C by that date. This evidence was of greatest textual and palaeographical value in confirming that hands C¹, C², and C³ had all completed their work by 1166, thus narrowing their

1. Published by me in BBCS, 25 (1972-74), pp. 379-380.

activity to a three-year period. And in certain cases their work suffered subsequent modification in C; accordingly, in a number of places, D remains the sole witness to the state of C in 1166.

The collations entered in D from C have been drawn not just from the additions and alterations by C¹, C², and C³ but from the base-text itself; for C's original text belonged to a subgroup of the 'Gildasian' recension different from that represented by D's base-text, and therefore preserved many different readings. The collations in D (referred to collectively as D² in this edition) are entered by a number of different hands, but they are all of the same type; the manpower-resources of the Durham scriptorium were no doubt applied to the task in order to complete it speedily. The Vita Gilde of Caradog of Llancarfan was also copied from C into D at this date.

D also shows further, but later, contact with Sawley. It contains three texts, entered in a late-twelfth-century script, which may have been copied from the exemplar of F: (i) Gilbert of Limerick's De statu ecclesie; (ii) lists and genealogies [a] of the kings of Britain from Eneas to Cadwaladr, based on Geoffrey of Monmouth, and [b] of the kings of Israel, Assyria, the Persians and Medes, and Chaldea; (iii) an 1188 edition of the Liber de primo aduentu Saxonum. It is noteworthy that these texts stood together as a block in F (fos. 35-58 of the early foliation).

The history of D concludes with the composite fair copy made from it in 1381 at Durham by the professional scribe Guillaume du Stiphel, a Breton. The resulting volume is now BL Burney 310. It is of no textual value whatsoever.

F: Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, MS. 66, + Cambridge, University Library, MS. Ff.I.27, pp. 1-40/73-252.

Fos. 58 + 110 (separately paginated as 1-114 [21-22 occur twice] and 1-40, 73-252).

Dimensions: approx. 29.5 x 20 cm.

Ruled for two columns of 33-37 lines per page.

Written space: 23-24 x 15-16 cm. (but Ff.I.27, pp. 237-252, defy these statistics).

Origin and mediaeval provenance: the Cistercian abbey of Sawley.

Date: the beginning of the thirteenth century.

Any attempt to describe this manuscript must begin with a survey of its modern history. CUL MS. Ff.I.27 comprises two separate manuscript-books, namely that with which we are here concerned (pp. 1-40, 73-252), and another written in the first half of the fourteenth century at Bury St Edmunds (pp. 253-642, 41-72). When M. R. James catalogued the manuscripts of Corpus Christi College in 1909-12, MS. 66 likewise comprised two parts: pp. 1-114 were of the same origin as pp. 1-40, 73-252 of the University Library book; pp. 115 ff. belonged with pp. 253-642, 41-72 of Ff.I.27.¹ However, a quarter-century ago, the College authorities rightly saw fit to separate the two distinct parts, with the result that the former pp. 115 ff. now comprise MS. 66^A. How had these two codices come to be constructed in this extraordinary fashion? The University Library volume had been presented in 1574 by Archbishop Matthew Parker together with a number of other books. And

1. See M. R. James, A Descriptive Catalogue of the Manuscripts in the Library of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge (Cambridge, 1909-12), i. 137-145, but his account on p. 145 is not entirely satisfactory.

Parker was of course the owner of MS. 66 (including 66^A); it came to Corpus Christi College with his bequest. It would seem that when he thought of making his 1574 gift, he divided two unrelated manuscripts each into two parts, put one part of one with one part of the other, and then bound up two composite volumes. Each of the two volumes is paginated in the orange-red crayon which is the characteristic of Parker and his circle; he must certainly be held responsible for the post-1574 form of the two volumes, including the interpolation of the Bury St Edmunds section (pp. 41-72) into the middle of the Sawley part of Ff. I. 27. There, the interpolation is obvious; alterations in the order of quires are less noticeable when they occur within one manuscript of a single origin. Particularly in the Sawley book, the coincidence of text and quiring is so closely consistent as to make any reorganisation quite simple to effect.

Matters are, indeed, yet more complicated than at first appears to be the case. A previously unnoticed feature of the Sawley manuscript is an early modern ink foliation, occurring in the bottom right-hand corner of each recto. It was entered before the last major clipping of the leaves and, on these grounds alone, most probably antedates 1574. This foliation occurs only in the sections, of the two Parkerian volumes, which comprise the Sawley manuscript. This fact, too, points to a pre-1574 date for this foliation. But the final, conclusive evidence for its early date lies in the fact that this foliation shows a rather different order for the gatherings of this manuscript from that in which they are now arranged. We must reconstruct as follows: CCCC 66, pp. 1-98 (= fos. 1-50, pp. 21/22 being duplicated); Ff. I. 27, pp. 237-252 (= fos. 51-58); CCCC 66, pp. 99-114 (= fos. 59-66); Ff. I. 27, pp. 1-40, 73-120 (= fos. 67-107, three folios being unnumbered, no doubt by an oversight); Ff. I. 27,

pp. 203-220 (= fos. 108-116); Ff. I. 27, pp. 121-202 (= fos. 117-157); Ff. I. 27, pp. 221-236 (= fos. 158-165).

When the manuscripts were divided in 1574, CCCC 66, p. 1, thereby became the contents page of a different volume. Its fifteenth-century table of contents was partially erased to conceal the fact that half of the original volume was no longer present. What could not be successfully concealed, however, was the fact that Gilbert of Limerick and the '*Compendiosa cronica de regibus Francorum et Anglorum*' (now Ff. I. 27, pp. 237-252) had in mediaeval times preceded the theological material now occupying CCCC 66, pp. 99-114.

The Historia Brittonum originally sat, therefore, roughly at the middle of a volume containing chiefly historical texts. Almost every one of these texts has been tampered with in some way, but this volume offers no physical evidence of that interference; this is a book containing nothing but fair copies. Most of the texts begin with elaborate series of capitula which appear to have been constructed specially for the occasion. (In CCCC 139, this feature is found only with the Vita Gilde, the last text in the volume.) Some texts, of which the Historia Brittonum is a prime example, have acquired elaborate authorial prefaces which also appear to have been composed specially for inclusion in our manuscript.

The Historia Brittonum enjoys a unique position, among the fifty texts contained in the two Sawley manuscripts, in so far as it alone occurs in both volumes. Since F can be seen to be a direct copy of C, and C is replete with alterations and additions, we are enabled to observe the whole process leading to the creation of a Sawley 'version' of a preexisting text.

I have shown elsewhere¹ that internal textual evidence

1. BCS, 25 (1972-74), pp. 369-380.

requires us to accept for this volume the early-thirteenth-century date suggested by nineteenth-century scholars rather than the late-twelfth-century one which has gained currency in more recent years. The ex-libris inscription (Liber Sancte Marie de Salleia) which occurs at the head of CCCC 66, p. 2, is of the same date as the text, and it is not to be doubted that the volume originated at that house. The two Sawley volumes, C and F, were still together in the fifteenth century, and presumably still at Sawley, when one scribe entered a table of contents in each book. Thereafter their ways parted for a while until they both came into the possession of Archbishop Parker. Nothing is known of the history of F in the intervening period.

A few remarks are needed here on the relationship between the texts of the Historia Brittonum in C and F. There is no doubt, as Mommsen realised,¹ that F is a direct copy of C. However, certain differences require comment. The most notable is the appearance in F of the preface and capitula (as well as the diagram of the world and the interpolated 'Vatican' section Brittones a Bruto dicti which surrounds it). Another distinctive difference is in the chapter-numbering: in the copying two dislocations occurred, with the result that F's text has eighty-seven chapters against C's eighty-five (ignoring, in both, the preliminary matter). Finally, the fact that C⁸ was active in both manuscripts at the same time has meant certain minor differences between the texts of the two volumes; apart from this and the points noted above, F may be reckoned as an accurate fair copy of C and its accretions.

1. Chronica Minora, iii. 125.

It is a general rule that texts in the Sawley volumes show no further development and seem to have exercised no identifiable influence on later writers. The Historia Brittonum is hardly an exception to this rule. Two small items are all that can be identified to demonstrate later knowledge of the Sawley recension. A Scottish text in Paris, Bibl. Nat., MS. latin 4126 (of the third quarter of the fourteenth century, and written by or for a native of the West Riding of Yorkshire) quotes from this version, though there is no evidence to show which of C or F was used; the text belongs to the period 1165 x 1214, but this quote could have been inserted at a later stage.¹ A certain borrowing from F may be found in MS. O, where the prologue and a few occasional readings have been borrowed into a preexisting text of the Historia Brittonum during the first half of the thirteenth century.²

The most notable progeny of the Sawley texts belongs to modern times. Since the Sawley recension presented the fullest text (lacking only the Old English genealogies and northern historical material found in the 'Harleian' recension), scholars of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, in particular, believed this version to be the most authoritative representative of the work of 'Nennius'. It was this view that motivated the editio princeps of 1691. It is a curious fact, however, that behind most of these early modern antiquarian transcripts stands primarily the text of C, not that of F. The only one to derive directly and simply from F is London, British Library, MS. Harley 624, fos. 36^r-53^r, written by or for Sir Simonds

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1. See M. O. Anderson, Kings and Kingship in Early Scotland (Edinburgh, 1973), pp. 235 ff. (esp. 237, 243 f.).
 2. See the following description of MS. O, and also Appendix II.

D'Ewes in the first quarter of the seventeenth century.¹

O: Oxford, St. John's College, MS. 99.

A full description of this manuscript and its text will be found in Appendix II, below. The volume belongs to the second half of the twelfth century, but its text of the Historia Brittonum (now incomplete owing to the loss of the remainder of the manuscript) received a few additions and alterations, from a text of the Sawley recension, in the first half of the thirteenth century. The base-text was itself of a hybrid 'Harleian' - 'Gildasian' type, but the conflation had been achieved before the writing of the extant manuscript. Its provenance is Jervaulx, but in the ex-libris the Ioreualle stands in rasura; Bridlington has been conjectured to be its place of origin. The main 'Sawley' addition obtained by O was the 'Nennian' prologue; collation indicates that it drew its text from F, not from C. Apart from this section, the Sawley material comprises but a few collations, entered in rasura on one or two occasions and otherwise in the margin.

1. A. G. Watson, The Library of Sir Simonds D'Ewes (London, 1966), p. 160 (no. A 465).

The modern transcripts.

As I noted above, almost all of the antiquarian transcripts depend on C rather than F. These fall into some five groups.

- (a) We know that Thomas Soulemont, the owner of C before 1541, made a copy of this manuscript for John Leland. Leland's excerpts and comments appear in his Collectanea: Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS. Top. gen. c. 2 (s. c. 3118), pp. 44, 46-47.¹
- (b) Archbishop Parker, the final private owner of C, was responsible, as might be expected, for the production of a number of transcripts of C. The copy which was most faithful to its original, in terms of lay-out, has now been lost. It passed from Parker to his son John and from him to the Cottonian Library. It was there when Archbishop Ussher used it (in the second quarter of the seventeenth century), and he has left us a useful description.² Since Ussher's time it has disappeared from the Cottonian library. His description of it follows.

B. Aliud apographum, recenti manu descriptum, quod olim ejusdem Matthaei Cantuariensis fuerat, nunc uero in Bibliotheca Domini Roberti Cottoni habetur; cum Gervasii Tilburiensis de necessariis Scaccarii observantiis Dialogo colligatum.

This volume may be identified in John Parker's library-catalogue in Lambeth Palace MS. 737. (Another volume containing the Historia Brittonum, Cotton Vitellius F.9, made this very same journey from John Parker to Cotton.³) The circumstances of its eventual departure from

1. Printed in Collectanea, iv. 45, 47-49.

2. Dublin, Trinity College, MS. 574 (E. 3. 20), p. 576.

3. See Appendix I, below.

the Cottonian Library,¹ and the present whereabouts (if it yet survives) of this distinctive volume are both unknown to me.

There are two other Parkerian transcripts. Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, MS. 101, pp. 7-42, contains another copy, while that in BL Royal 13.B.7² is a copy from CCCC 101. The Corpus manuscript remained with Parker, but the Royal book came into the collection of Lord Lumley (ob. 1609) whence it passed to the Royal Library. Finally, BL Additional 4787, fo. 111^v, contains the 'Nennian' prologue copied by Sir James Ware from Royal 13.B.7; some other readings altered in Add. 4787 have been drawn from the Royal manuscript.

(c) Archbishop's Ussher's 'MS. C' is perhaps another lost volume which represents a further element of this body of antiquarian transcripts.

C. Apographum Domini Gulielmi Fulconis ex codice antiquo ms^o descriptum, cui insertae sunt Samuelis Britanni annotationes, quas in [] inclusas et linea subtusducta notatas inuenies.³

The total absence in Ussher's text⁴ (which depends on eleven manuscript-witnesses) of readings referred to 'C' seems to indicate that 'C' constituted the base on which his variorum text was built. William Fulke was Master of Pembroke Hall, Cambridge (1578-89); he seems to have enjoyed a wide variety of interests. If the text was

1. Where it was no. 287 in the 1621 catalogue (BL Harley 6018: fo. 113^r). It was lent to 'Mr. Vincent' and seemingly never returned.
2. Stevenson's idea that this was a very close relation of BL Burney 310 (a view reiterated by Mommsen, ed. cit., iii. 124) is totally erroneous: Nennii Historia Britonum (London, 1838), p. xxv.
3. T. C. D. 574, p. 576.
4. T. C. D. 574, pp. 550-575.

the work of Fulke (and this is by no means certain), the manuscript itself (Dublin, Trinity College, MS. 574, pp. 550-575) cannot be, for it belongs to the early seventeenth century. The whole manuscript comprises pp. 550-702; Ussher communicated to William Burton the information that pp. 692-702 of this manuscript were also the work of Fulke,¹ thus giving us cause to believe that the entire contents of pp. 550-702 derived from one source, whatever that might be. As will appear later, this has another importance for our studies.

- (d) The antiquary William Camden certainly knew and used CCCC 139.² Subsequent writers have attributed to him the ownership of a copy of the Historia Brittonum. The witness who causes the greatest trouble is John Lewis. In his History of Great Britain,³ he recalls seeing with Camden an ancient copy of our text, from which he reproduces the 'Nennian' prologue: 'I have seen with Mr. Camden this Ninus's History in an ancient Parchment Vellum, written as I think before Geffrey's Time, out of which I copied Ninus's Prologue, which mine [NLW Peniarth 252 D, pp. 125-163] wanted, as follows...' A collection of John Lewis's papers is found in Aberystwyth, National Library of Wales, MS. Peniarth 252 D. On p. 123 is found, though not in Lewis's hand, a copy of the 'Nennian' prologue and introductory computus. This could perfectly well have been copied from C. C. C. C. 139, which quotations in Camden's Britannia prove him to have known and used. We must note also the (doubtless quite unintentional) ambiguity of Lewis's 'I have seen with Mr. Camden'; Camden can

1. William Burton, A Commentary on Antoninus (London, 1658).

2. See D. N. Dumville, BBCS, 25 (1972-74), pp. 378-379.

3. Published long after his death in 1616: (London, 1739), p. 39.

never have owned C. C. C. C. 139 nor is there any reason to believe that he owned a related but now lost mediaeval copy of the Sawley text.

A small group of antiquarian transcripts provides further evidence. London, Lincoln's Inn, MS. Hale 14 (XIII)¹ is a collection of John Selden's papers. It contains (fos. 36^r-48^r) under the barbarous heading 'Ex co ndice veteris msi. G. Camdeni' a very poor copy of our text, which is in turn followed (fos. 48^r-49^v) by Harl. §§ 53-66 taken 'Ex Ninio MS. Roberti Cottoni equitis aurati' (from BL Cotton Vespasian D.21). Finally, there follow extracts from Caradog's Vita Gilde and Symeon's Epistola ad Hugonem de archiepiscopis Eboraci (fos. 50^r-53^r). It is here that we have the link, mentioned above, with the 'Fulke' - Ussher transcript (of the Sawley text) in TCD MS. 574, pp. 550ff., for that manuscript contains an identical series of extracts from these two works. At present the only explanation I can offer is that the Dublin manuscript and the original Camden transcript both derive from a single now lost copy of CCCC 139. Another copy of the Camden-Selden text occurs in Aberystwyth, NLW, MS. 7011 D (pp. 173-212);² the original seems first to have been collated with Oxford, Bodl. Lib., MS. Bodley 163³ (the best representative of the 'Gildasian' recension) after which the copy in NLW 7011 D was made. From this the copies in NLW MS. 13215 E (written 1698/9 by or for Edward Lhwyd) and NLW 1982 B (Panton 13), pp. 1-58, were independently transcribed. NLW 7011 D cannot, therefore be a copy of the Lincoln's Inn manuscript. The chief

1. Described by Joseph Hunter, A Catalogue of the Manuscripts in the Library of the Honourable Society of Lincoln's Inn (London, 1838), pp. 26-27.

2. There is an older pagination, 245-284.

3. As a note at the head of p. 173 (245) explains.

feature of the Camden(-Selden) text is its division of the text into 82 chapters (as opposed to the 85 of its source, C. C. C. C. 139, which is reflected only in the Parkerian and Fulke-Ussher transcripts).

- (e) The fifth group is the largest and the one with the widest ramifications. It takes its origin in the first half of the seventeenth century when a London-based scholar now known only by his initials 'J. B.' set out to prepare an edition of the Historia Brittonum for publication. His chief sources were Camden's 'Ninnius' and our MS. F. He combined these, noting in the margin of his text variants from 'Ca. L.' (Cantabrigiensis Librum); this shows his text to have been based on that of Camden's manuscript. At a slightly later stage, he also collated the text with Cotton Vespasian D. 21, whose readings he notes as 'L. Cott.' This is the text we find in Dublin, Trinity College, MS. 510 (E. l. 35), fos. 49-82. It is arranged as follows: the 'Nennian' preface, apologia, capitula etc. from F; the body of the text from 'Camden' in 82 chapters; the addition of Harl. §§ 53-66 found in the Camden-Selden group; finally, the tract de naturis gentium from F is added as chapter 83. We do not know the exact date of this work, but elsewhere in J. B.'s papers we find the date 1638 (TCD 512, p. 74).

A quantity of J. B.'s papers came into the hands of Archbishop James Ussher. 1640 seems to be the earliest possible date for this development for, apart from the date 1638 already noted, J. B. often quotes from a work of Ussher's published in Dublin in 1639. His surviving papers, as acquired by Ussher, now comprise TCD MS. 510, fos. 49-82, and MS. 512, pp. 1-78. 'J. B.' is known also as the owner of two mediaeval manuscripts, both of Bury St Edmunds provenance, in which are

found (in the hand of our J. B.) the inscription 'Sum liber J. B.':
Oxford, Bodl. Lib., MS. Rawlinson C. 697 and Cambridge, Gonville and
Caius College, MS. 154/204. This should eventually help with an
identification but, for the moment, I can find no wholly convincing
candidate for these extremely common initials.

Ussher arranged for a fair copy to be made of J. B.'s edition.
(Only after this did he enter annotations of his own in the volume.)
This fair copy is now Dublin, Trinity College, MS. 512 (E. 5.1),
pp. 79-121. It differs from its exemplar chiefly in so far as it
omits altogether the appendix of Harl. §§ 53-66 which J. B.'s text
inherited from Camden's. The title-page reads as follows:

Gildas Nennius.

Eulogium Britanniarum Insularum.

Authore

Nennio Brittonum Historiographo.

Sub Gildæ sapientis Larvâ, et nomine,

diu excepto.

Descripsit ex collatione variorum exemplarium
præcipuè Guil. Cambdeni V. C. et codicis
Bibliothecæ publicæ Cantabrigiæ, et Libri
Rob: Cotton Barronetti, aliorumque aliquot
notæ uetustioris, ex quibus etiam tituli
Historiæ et Epistolarum desumptæ sunt vt et
reliquorum

Jacobus Vsserius

Archiepiscopus Armacanus.

Another hand has added Liber Francisci Davis at the bottom of the page. Francis Davis, sometime fellow of Jesus College, Oxford, and later bishop of Llandaff, was in some way associated with Ussher: early in 1652 he is found returning to Salisbury Cathedral Library a book on loan to Ussher.¹ Davis can never, in view of the later history of TCD 512, have owned this volume, but he may have entered his name in it while it was in his possession.

In fact, it seems quite possible, in view of the above, that Davis was responsible for transmitting this volume to Robert Vaughan of Hengwrt, for TCD 512 stands also at the head of a considerable Welsh tradition. Davis could have entered his name as a precaution during his travels with the volume. We know from the surviving remnants of the correspondence between Ussher and Robert Vaughan that Vaughan received TCD 512 (pp. 79-121) between 14 April 1651 and 1 May 1652, precisely the period in which Francis Davis was handling Ussher's bibliographical affairs in Britain. The termini are established by the dates of two of Vaughan's letters to Ussher, in the first of which he asks for the loan of 'your best copy of Nennius, with that Tract... which is added to some copies thereof';² and in the second he states that 'The Copy of Ninnius (you sent me) hath holpen me well to correct mine; but finding such difference between the three Manuscript Books, which the Scribe confeseth to have made use of'.³

The text which resulted, from Ussher's loan of TCD 512 to Vaughan, gave rise to a considerable Welsh progeny. Unfortunately, this

1. N. R. Ker, Wiltshire Archaeological and Natural History Magazine, 53 (1949-50), p. 160.

2. Richard Parr, Life of Usher (1686), p. 561.

3. Ibid., p. 582.

hyparchetype has been lost. It was last seen in 1782,¹ and had definitely disappeared by 1824. There survive, however, the following five complete copies: (i) NLW MS. Wynnstay 11, fos. 1^r-51^r, written by William Maurice in 1661; (ii) NLW MS. 17138 B (Gwysaney 68), fos. 2^r-49^v, probably written by Robert Davies of Llannerch (1658-1710); (iii) NLW 3065 E (Mostyn 211), pp. 137-211, of the second half of the seventeenth century (and perhaps written ca 1685); (iv) NLW MS. 2020 B (Panton 52), pp. 1-147, an eighteenth-century transcript, in the hand of Evan Evans, from NLW 17138 B, and subsequently collated with the Vaughan manuscript; (v) Glasgow, University Library, MS. 318 (U.7.12), in the hand of Thomas Sebastian Price.²

In addition there survive various extracts made by different Welsh writers. It will serve merely to list them here: (i) BL Additional 14908, fo. 19; (ii) BL Additional 14949, fo. 24^{r/v}; (iii) NLW MS. Panton 55, fos. 25-30^v; (iv) NLW MS. Peniarth 377 B (Hengwrt 505); (v) NLW MS. 1566 B (Kimmel 66), pp. 237-277; (vi) NLW MS. Panton 29, pp. 60-65.

Of the complete copies all but the last share the distinctive title page of TCD 512. With the exception of Wynnstay 11, they add to it 'Confer MS. Westmonast. et MS. in Regia Bibliotheca adjectum Historiae Iohannis de S. Albano'. If the former reference is to a manuscript in the library of Westminster Abbey, it has been lost, probably as a result of the late-seventeenth-century fire;³ the latter

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1. The date of the English translation is NLW MS. Peniarth 377 B (Hengwrt 505), made by Robert Roberts of Hendrecoed from Vaughan's manuscript.
 2. I owe the identification of the hand to Mr. Daniel Huws, who also introduced me to MSS. Wynnstay 11 and Gwysaney 68.
 3. It is not otherwise known, but the Westminster library-catalogue does mention an 'Historia Britonum': see J. A. Robinson and M. R. James, The Manuscripts of Westminster Abbey (Cambridge, 1909).

reference is to BL Royal 13.D.5.

How long Vaughan kept Ussher's manuscript we do not know, but it was back in Dublin in its rightful place with the rest of Archbishop Ussher's library in Trinity College when the copy which is now Dublin, Archbishop Marsh's Library, MS. Z3.4.24 (11) was made. This was probably in the period 1678-1683 when Marsh was Provost of Trinity College; the old Trinity shelfmark 'ff. 32', borne by TCD 512 (but now deleted in favour of the later 'F. 22'), has been copied into the Marsh manuscript; this shelfmark went out of use ca 1680.¹

1. I owe these details to the kindness of Mrs. Muriel McCarthy and Mr. William O'Sullivan.

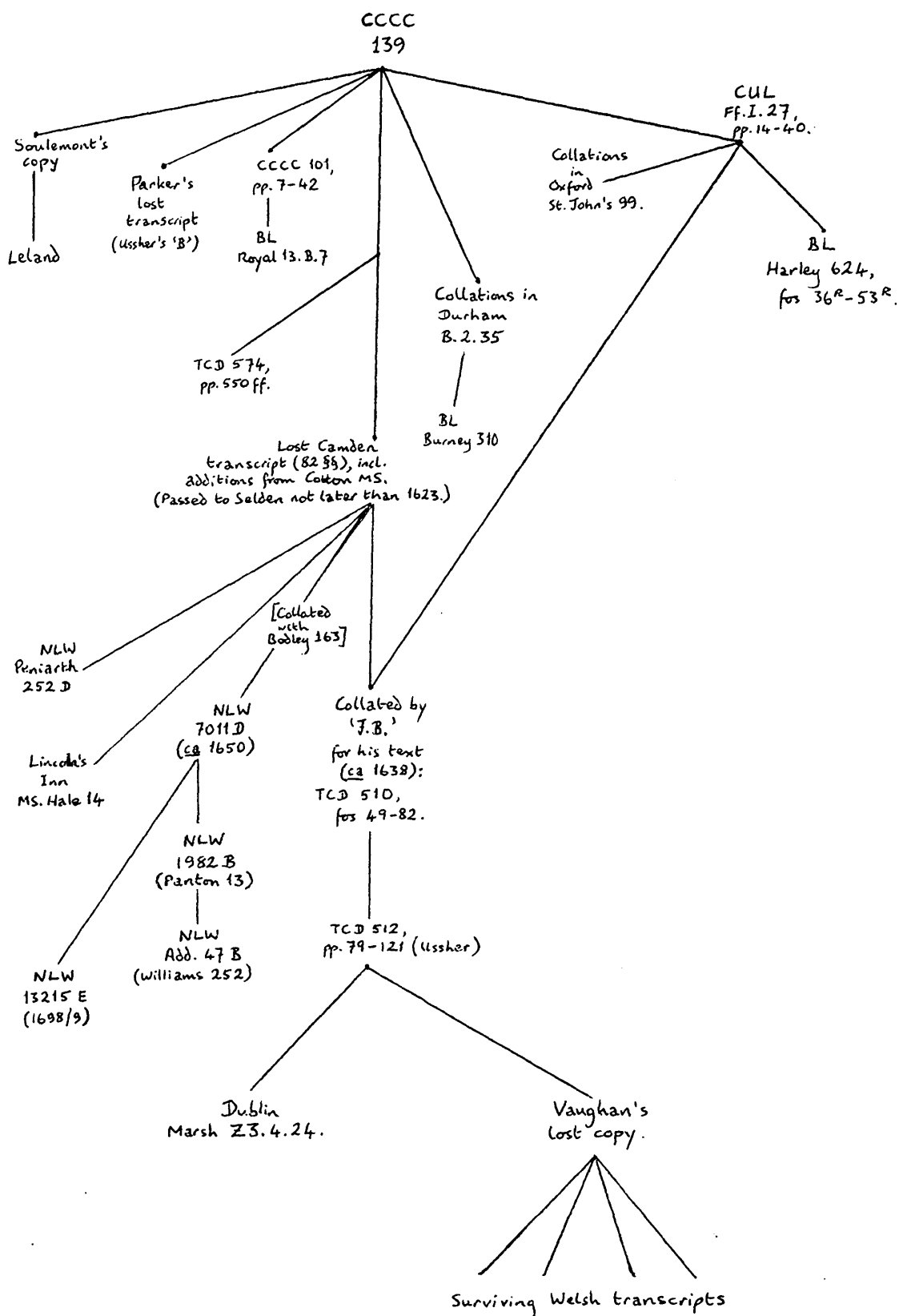


Fig. VIII. The development of the Sawley recension attributed to 'Ninnius' or 'Nennius'.

The 'editio princeps'.

It is a curious fact that the Historia Brittonum was not published until 1691. One of the most celebrated British historical texts, it was well known to every antiquary from the Dissolution of the monasteries to the date of its first publication. As will have been seen, there were not only copies of individual manuscripts but extraordinary conflates such as those we have just been studying which bore scant resemblance to any text circulating in the middle ages. For the subsequent study of the work, it was most unfortunate that our MS. C passed, at an early date, through the hands of various distinguished scholars who broadcast its contents far and wide. By 1691, the overwhelming bulk of antiquarian transcripts were of the type studied immediately above; all carried an attribution to 'Nennius' or 'Ninnius', an authorship barely known in the middle ages. The climate of scholarly opinion was therefore one of near - or, by this time, total - unanimity as to the nature of the work. Only Archbishop Ussher, who had undertaken the broadest study of the manuscripts, had been aware of the complicated nature of the manuscript-tradition and of the authorship question.¹ It was perhaps inevitable, therefore, that the editio princeps should reflect the prevailing climate of 'informed' opinion: the edition of Thomas Gale, published in 1691,² bore a striking resemblance to the text of the mysterious 'J. B.', studied above. For it gave a full Sawley-type text (excepting only the mirabilia which Gale dismissed as irrelevant), followed by an appendix of Harl. 553-66. Only his appendix, with its

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1. See his letter of 30 October, 1606, to William Camden, printed by Thomas Smith, Camdeni Epistolae (London, 1691), pp. 76-77.
 2. Historiae Britannicae, Saxonicae, Anglo-Danicae, Scriptores XV (Oxford, 1691), pp. 91-139.

variant readings assigned to 'Gild.', 'Cott.', and 'Cambd.', shows that Gale knew more than might at first seem to be the case.

In the library of Trinity College, Cambridge, survive two volumes of Gale's relevant to this investigation. MS. O.10.18 (1470) is Gale's copy for the printer and corresponds exactly to the printed text.¹ However, MS. O.5.37 (1318) tells a very different story: it is a fair copy of a variorum edition of the Historia; its base-text is Cotton Vitellius A.13 (our Harl. MS. V), which is collated with nine other witnesses representing the Harleian, Gildasian, and Sawley recensions.² It includes the mirabilia. This shows us that Gale was undoubtedly aware of the nature of the manuscript-tradition of this work and alive to the importance of the Cottonian manuscripts which at that time represented the only witnesses to what modern scholarship knows as the 'Harleian' recension. That he printed the text in O.10.18 rather than that in O.5.37 is scholarship's continuing loss; we must presume that he felt the weight of tradition, of received opinion, too heavy to be thrown off. As late as 1848 the editor of the Monumenta Historica Britannica felt the same compulsion, even though his assistant felt that his decision was probably a wrong one.³ Gale's appendix of variants remains to remind us that his knowledge was greater than his text would suggest.

1. M. R. James, The Western Manuscripts in the Library of Trinity College, Cambridge (Cambridge, 1900-1904), iii. 511-512.

2. *Op. cit.*, iii. 341.

3. See Henry Petrie and John Sharpe (edd.), Monumenta Historica Britannica, 1 (1848), p. 66.

PRINCIPLES OF EDITION

The aim in the following text has been to reproduce as faithfully as possible the text of F. This is the final text towards which the Sawley annotators were working for a period of half a century; as such it represents the fullest expression of their work. It also has the considerable convenience of being a more or less straightforward, unaltered text. My aim has been to indicate by means of the critical apparatus the sources of the various elements of the text which do not derive directly from the original 'Gildasian' text copied into C in 1164. To this end the apparatus contains

(i) variant readings where the text diverges from C (these are very few indeed); (ii) a record of which hand was responsible for a new element of text in C and of the extent of that new element; (iii) a record of any erasures of C's original text; (iv) any textual points worthy of note among the 'Sawley' collations in D and O. I have felt this method to be much more satisfactory than that of attempting to reproduce the extensively altered text of C; any such attempt would raise a host of problems of how to represent alterations or erasures of the original text, of what to do with the extensive additions (and how to record the variant readings produced by their copying into F), and so forth. Use of the apparatus will allow the student to restore easily the reading of C, where it is known, and to see the processes of accretion and alteration by which the text of C was transformed into that of F. By restoring the readings of C, he will also be presented with a text of the 'Gildasian' recension. I have preferred to let the Sawley recension stand for both in this work, rather than add substantially to the size of this thesis by printing the unadulterated 'Gildasian' text together with the variants from some thirty manuscripts.

INCIPIIT PREFATIO NENNII, BRITONUM HISTORIOGRAPHI, IN HISTORIA BRITONUM

Humilis seruorum Christi minister et seruus Nennius, Dei gratia, sancti Elboti discipulus, cunctis ueritatis obauditoribus salutem. Uestre sit notum caritati, quod cum rudis eram ingenio, et idiota sermone, hec pro modulo meo, non proprie nitens scientie, que uel nulla uel admodum rara et exilis est, Latinorum auribus idiomatizando tradere presumpsi; sed partim maiorum tradicionibus, partim scriptis, partim etiam monimentis ueterum Britannie incolarum, partim et de annalibus Romanorum; insuper, et de cronicis sanctorum patrum, Isydori scilicet, Ieronimi, Prosperi, Eusebii; necnon et de historiis Scottorum Saxonumque, licet inimicorum, non ut uolui sed ut potui, meorum obtemperans iussionibus seniorum, unam hanc historiunculam undecumque collectam balbutiendo coaceruau; et remanentes spicas actuum preteritorum, ne penitus calcate deperirent, quarum ample seges quondam extranearum gentium infestis messoribus sparsim praecepta est, posterorum memorie pudibundus mandare curau. Quippe multis obnoxiiis, qui uix aliorum dictamina superficie tenus, prout utile esset, intelligere hucusque quiueram, nedum propria incudere sufficiens, sed, uelut barbarus, aliorum linguam infringens, temere commendau. Attamen internum uulnus circum precordia uoluens egre ferebam, si proprie gentis nomen, quondam famosum et insigne, obliuione corosum fumatim euanesceret. Sed quoniam utcumque histori o graphum Britannorum me malo esse quam neminem, quamuis adeo plures inueniantur qui hunc laborem mihi iniunctum satius explere poterant, relegentes humili prece posco, quorumcunque aures inconcinnitate uerborum offendero, quo ueniam maiorum uoto parenti, facili exauditione ex debito, se nouerint prebituros; errat nanque multociens inpotentis effectus, quem errare, si posset, non sineret feruens affectus.

Seruiat itaque sufficiens caritas, quibus sufficere non potuerit
uerborum meorum inconunna simplicitas; nec uilescat in auribus
audientium historie ueritas, quam inperito lingue uomere exarare sic
ausa est mea rusticitas. Siquidem tucius est, salubrem documenti
haustum, quolibet uili uasculo ebibere, quam mixtum melle dulcis
eloquentie uenenum mendacii, aureo poculo pregustare. Nec ergo te
pigeat, diligens lector, excussis uerborum paleis, istorie grana
horreo memorie condere; quoniam non quis dicat, aut qualiter dicatur,
sed quid dictum sit ueritatis testimonio, magis attendendum esse
probat. Nam nec contemptibilem estimat gemmam postquam de ceno in
quo iacuerat extersit, quod suo thesauro dignatus est postmodum
adiecere. Credo namque maioribus et eloquentioribus, quicumque
benigno ardore accensi, exaratura barbarizantis lingua materiam, romane
uericulo eloquencie planare studierint, si concussam reliquerint
historie columpnellam, quam statui, permanere. Egimus itaque hec,
nostris infirmioribus subueniendo, non maioribus inuidendo,
octingentesimo .l.viii. anno dominice incarnationis, .xx. uero quarto
Meruini regis Britonum; cuius laboris precium maiorum precibus
recompensari postulo. Sed hec actenus prelibata sufficiant: cetera
supplex obediencia pro uiribus supplebit.

EXPLICIT PREFACIO.

INCIPIT APOLOGIA NENNII, BRITONUM HISTORIOGRAFI, GENTIS BRITONUM¹

Ego Nennius,² ³sancti Elbodi³ discipulus, aliqua excerpta scribere curauī, quae hebitudo⁴ gentis Britannie deiecerat;⁵ quia nullam periciam habuerunt, neque ullam commemorationem in libris posuerunt doctores illius insule Britannie.⁶ Ego autem coaceruauī omne quod inueni, tam de annalibus Romanorum quam de cronicis sanctorum patrum,⁷ et de scriptis⁸ Scottorum Anglorumque,⁹ et ex¹⁰ traditione ueterum nostrorum. Quod multi¹¹ doctores atque librarii scribere temptauerunt, nec ideo quo pacto difficilior reliquerunt, an¹² propter mortalitates frequentissimas, uel clades creberrimas¹³ bellorum. Rogo ut omnis lector, qui legerit¹⁴ hunc librum, det ueniam mihi; quia cuius¹⁵ sum,¹⁶ post tantos hec tanta scribere, quasi garrula¹⁷ auis, uel quasi¹⁸ quidem inualidus arbiter? Cedo illi qui plus nouerit in ista pericia satis¹⁹ quam ego.

EXPLICIT APOLOGIA GENTIS BRITONUM²⁰

INCIPIUNT CAPITULA.¹

- .I. De sex etatibus mundi, et quot annos unaqueque tenet.
- .II. Unde dicta sit Britannia, et a quo sit sic nominata, qualiterque sita, et quot in longum et transuersum miliaria habet; quotque ciuitates in se continet; quot genera hominum intra se sustinet; quotque adiacentes insulas possidet; quibus prestantioribus fluminibus interluitur, per que diuitias et delicias exterorum regnorum deferuntur.
- .III. Quod Britones impleuerunt eam a mari usque ad mare; et a quo tempore, secundum annales Romanorum, inhabitari cepit; qualiterque Romanorum sugillatio, quod in nos iniuste extorquent, refelli potest; de ortu etiam Bruti et proauorum eius, et quid magus de eo necdum nato predixerit.
- .IIII. De regno Enee, Ascanii, Siluii, Bruti et Postumi; et quod Bruto Britanniam uenerit tempore sacerdotis Heli.
- .V. De aduentu Pictorum in Britanniam, et quomodo Orcades insulas occupauerint et hactenus obtinuerint.
- .VI. Quod Scotti de Hispania uenerint; et quo tempore Hiberniam inhabitare ceperint; et qualiter Bartholomeum de Hibernia pestilentia cum suis eraserit; et de quodam Nimec qui postea illo uenit, sed et postea cum suis rediit.
- .VII. De tribus filiis cuiusdam militis Hispanie, qui Hiberniam applicuerunt; quomodo castellum uitreum in mare uiderunt, et illud oppugnantes perierunt; sed tamen residui eorum cum superuenientibus Hispanis paulatim totam Hiberniam possederunt.
- .VIII. Quod nulla certa historia originis Scottorum continetur.
- .IX. Quamdiu Hibernia inhabitabilis fuit; et de quodam nobili Scitha, genero Pharaonis, quem, rege submerso cum suis, Egyptii expulerunt; quomodo peregrinando uagatus sit; et quando Hiberniam appulerit; et

quot annos tribunos, dictatores, ac consules rem publicam optinuerunt.

.X. Qua etate Britones uenerunt ad Britanniam, et qua Scithe, id est Scotti, qui nunc dicuntur Hibernenses, ad Hiberniam; et quomodo Britones a Pictis et Scottis impugnati sunt; quo etiam tempore Romani monarchiam mundi adepti fuerint secundum Scottorum periciam.

.XI. De supputatione annorum incarnationis Domini, Patricii, Brigide, Columkille; et quo anno Saxones Britanniam uenerint.

.XII. Aliud experimentum de ortu Britonum, indigenarum traditionibus seniorum, et ex ueteribus libris ueterum Britonum inuentum; quomodo tres filii Noe diuiserunt orbem terrarum in tres partes post diluuium.

.XIII. De nobilitate Britonum, et quod illi de genere Iaphet descenderint a quodam Alanio; cuius genea(o)logiam² usque ad Adam protoplastum³ ducit.

.XIIII. Quomodo Iulius Cesar bis a Britonibus repulsus sit, et quomodo, bis uictus, de Britannia, sine pace et censu, in fugam rediit.

.XV. Qualiter tercio, superatis Britonibus, insulam occupauit; Britonesque sibi subiugauit, et illos tributarios fecit, censumque reddere coegit.

.XVI. Quod in honorem uictorie Iulii, mensis Iulius, qui et Quintilis, dedicatus sit.

.XVII. Quod Claudius imperator cum magno labore et detrimento, secundo post Iulium, Britones uicit, et usque Orcades totam insulam obsedit; et ubi obierit.

.XVIII. Quanto tempore ab incarnatione Domini Britones fidem Christi susceperunt.

.XIX. Qualiter Seuerus, imperator tercius, murum trans insulam ob incursione Pictorum Scottorumque facere precepit, et illos a Britonibus diuisit; et ubi postea peremptus sit.

.XX. Quomodo Carucius imperator uindicauit Seuerum, saciatus sanguine

Britonum; et ubi fornicem triumphalem in memoriam sue uictorie construxit.

.XXI. De Constantio Constantini magni filio, ubi obierit et sepultus sit; et que semina in pauimento urbis seruerit.⁴

.XXII. De Maximo imperatore, cuius temporibus sanctus Martinus uirtutibus claruit; et quando imperatores Cesares nominari desierunt.

.XXIII. De Maximiano tiranno, qui, fretus milite Britonum, Gracianum⁵ imperatorem occidit,⁵ et Britanniam iuuenili flore spoliauit, ac Britanniam Minorem eis ad incolatum dedit, sicque eos transmigrare fecit; et quod nunquam postea reuestiri meruit.

.XXIIII. De secundo etiam Seuero qui solita structura murum alterum, ad arcendos Pictos et Scottos, fieri a Tinemuthe usque Boggenes precepit.

.XXV. De Constancio, qui Britonibus in Britannia imperator ultimus prefuit; et quamdiu regnum Romanorum in Britones perdurauit, et quando illi Romanos ulterius recipere noluerunt.

.XXVI. Quo tempore Britones iugum Romanorum abiecerunt; et quando Nicena sinodus, Ambrosius, Martinus, Ieronimus floruerunt; et de Maximiano tiranno et filio eius Uictore; qualiter et ubi interfecti fuerunt; et quot anni ab initio mundi et ab incarnatione Christi usque ad illud tempus transierunt.

.XXVII. Quot uicibus Britones Romanorum duces occiderunt, et qua calliditate eos tamen semper ad auxilia sibi ferenda prouocauerunt; et quot anni Britones sub dominio Romanorum fuerunt.

.XXVIII. Quod ab expulsionem Romanorum usque ad aduentum Saxonum, per annos uidelicet .xl., tota Britannia sub maximo metu fuit; et quando Gortigernus rex impius regnauit; quot timoribus quantisque anxietatibus oppressus extitit; quoto anno a passione Domini Saxones suscepit, et insulam Tanet ad inhabitandum tradidit; et de prosapia

etiam Hengisti, et quomodo Britanniam uenit; et quod imperium Romanorum super Britones tunc omnino esse desiit.

.XXIX. Quando sanctus Germanus, fidem predicaturus, Britanniam uenerit, et pelagianam heresim extirpauit, dampnauit, et omnino destruxit.

.XXX. De Benli rege infideli et tiranno, qui sanctum Germanum recipere noluit, sed aditum domus sue prohibuerit.

.XXXI. De seruo qui eum ad hospicium inuitauit, et de uitulo nocte occiso, cocto et commesto; et mane, coram matre, uiuo, sano et integro inuento.

.XXXII. De quodam uiro ab eo baptizato, et iuxta eius uaticinium mox defuncto, et ab angelo Dei suscepto.

.XXXIII. Qualiter hospitis sui filios de opido educi precepit; et nocte ipsa arcem cum rege ignis de celo funditus consumpsit.

.XXXIIII. Quomodo uir ille qui sanctum hospicio recepit, credidit et baptizatus fuit; et iuxta uerbum eius, de seruo rex factus est de regno Powisorum, et omnes filios eius post eum.

.XXXV. Qualiter Britones annonas Saxonibus promiserunt, ut pro eis aduersus hostes, scilicet Pictos et Scottos, dimicarent; sed postea facere noluerunt.

.XXXVI. Qualiter rex Gortigermus Romwennam filiam Hengisti adamauerit et duxerit, et Canciam sibi in dotem dederit.

.XXXVII. Qualiter Hengistus Ottam filium suum, et Ebissam filium Hors fratris sui, ad aquilonales partes Britannie inuitauit; et quam sediciose gens Saxorum per Hengistum postea clam et parumper uenerit.

.XXXVIII. Quomodo rex Gortigernus filiam suam propriam uiolauerit, et de ea filium genuerit, et crimen in episcopum retorquere uoluerit; et sancto Germano imperante, in concilio coram omnibus, ab infante proditum scelus illius sit, et sic a beato Germano et omni conuentu

dampnatus sit.

.XXXIX. Quale consilium Britones regi Gortigerno dederunt.

.XL. Quomodo cum magis suis locum castelli querens, Snaudune, id est mons niuis, repererit; sed omnis collecta materies tercio, subito terra dehiscente absorta sit.

.XLI. Quomodo rex Gortigernus magos suos consuluit; qui ei responderunt, dicentes, se non posse arcem edificare, nisi prius aspergeretur sanguine alicuius pueri qui sine patre conciperetur.

.XLII. De puero sine patre, quesito et inuento; quid de stagno sub terra posito, uase, tentorio, et draconibus et eorum duello predixerit, et qualiter hec omnia exposuerit.

.XLIII. Qualiter rex Gortigernus Ambrosio arcem dedit quam edificare non potuit.

.XLIIII. De Gortemir filio Gortigerni regis; qualiter Saxones cum principibus eorum, interfecto Hors, uiriliter pepulit, et per quinquennium abegit.

.XLV. De tribus bellis principalibus que Gortemir contra Saxones gessit; et quid moriens de se sepeliendo preceperit.

.XLVI. Qualiter post obitum Gorthemir, Gortigernus iterum Saxones recepit; et de simulata pacis concordia per Saxones erga Britones.

.XLVII. Quomodo ipse Gortigernus dolo a Saxonibus captus fuerit; et suggestionem Hengisti Gortigernum redimere se solum coegerint; et quas terras pro redemptione sua acceperint; et qua fraudulencia Saxones cultellis Britones trescentos uiros optimos occiderint.

.XLVIII. De secundo aduentu sancti Germani in Britanniam; et qualiter fugientem Gortigernum, ut ei fidem predicaret, sanctus Germanus sollicitate subsecutus sit; et nocte, igne de celo cadente, rex in arce cum suis exustus fuit.

.XLIX. Quod quedam assercio sit, quod cor eius ex dolore crepuerit.

- .L. Item, aliorum opinio astruit quod terra eum deglutiuerit; cum nichil de eo uel suis residuum inueniri in terra potuerit.
- .LI. Quod quatuor filios Gortigernus habuerit; et de sancto Fausto, quem de filia sua genuerit.
- .LII. De Gortigerni progenie; et retrograda proauorum, tritauorum, et attauorum eiusdem serie.
- .LIII. De reditu sancti Germani, et captiuitate sancti Patricii; et quomodo Romam ierit et plura didicerit, et Paladius Scottis predicaturus apud Pictos obierit.
- .LIIII. Quod angelo monente, ad Scottos conuertendos sanctus Patricius missus sit.
- .LV. Ubi et a quibus sanctus Patricius episcopus ordinatus sit, ibique nomen suum immutauerit.
- .LVI. Quod prius Britonibus predicauerit, et deinde in Hiberniam migrauerit.
- .LVII. Quo anno incarnationis dominice inceperit ibi predicare, uel cuius regis tempore, et quot annos predicauerit, uel quanta miracula perpetrauerit.
- .LVIII. Que scripserit; quot episcopos, ecclesias uel presbiteros consecrauerit; quot reges et hominum milia baptizauerit; et ubi per dies .xl. ieiunauerit et orauerit.
- .LIX. Quod tres petitiones in aceruo Ely a Domino impetrauerit, et in specie auium animas Hiberniensium fidelium ad se conuenisse uiderit.
- .LX. Quod quatuor, et quibus modis sanctus Patricius Moisy legislatori comparetur et equiperetur.
- ⁶.LXI. De morte Hengisti, et quod post eius obitum Otta filius eius tenuit regnum Cantuariensium.
- .LXII. De Arturo rege belligero, et de .xii^{cim}. bellis que aduersus Saxones habuit; et de imagine sancte Marie in qua triumphauerit; et

quot aduersariorum uno impetu prostrauerit.⁶

.LXIII. Quod Saxones semper et sine intermissione de Germania contra Britones auxilium petebant, et multipliciter augebantur, et secum reges ut regnarent super eos deducebant, usque ad Ida, qui primus regnauit in Bernica.⁷

.LXIIII. De Ida primo Northimbrorum rege, et eius genere; et de sancti Paulini archiepiscopi baptismate.

.LXV. Que sint nomina .xxviii. ciuitatum precipuarum Britannie.

DE MIRABILIBUS BRITANNICE INSULE.

.LXVI. De magno lacu Lummonu, qui anglice uocatur Lochleuen, in regione Pictorum; et de .ccc^{tis}.xl. insulis in eo positis, in quibus homines habitant, et totidem rupibus quibus ambitur; et de .ccc^{tis}.xl. nidis aquilarum in eis locatis, tantisque fluminibus in lacu currentibus; et quod nisi unum flumen fluit ad mare, quod uocatur Leuen.⁸

.LXVII. De flumine quod instar alti montis excrescit.

.LXVIII. De stagno calido, in quo balnea sunt Badonis, secundum uniuscuiusque uoti desiderium.

.LXIX. De salsis fontibus, de quibus aqua ebullita in sal conuertitur.

.LXX. Quomodo spuarum cumuli in litore Sabrine recedunt, prodeunt, et sibi repugnant.

.LXXI. Quomodo stagnum Liuane deuorat et eructat, crescit et absumit, et inuitos equestres, erga se conuersos, ad se pertrahit.

.LXXII. De fonte Guorelic, in quo quatuor genera piscium inueniuntur.

.LXXIII. De fraxino, de quo poma gingnuntur, iuxta flumen Guoy.

.LXXIIII. De uento qui de fouea quadam de regione Guent nascitur et egreditur.

.LXXV. De altare de Longarith quod in nichilo fulcitur, sed nutu Dei appenso; et de corpore cuiusdam sancti iuxta altare sepulto; et de

uindicta celeri quam pro eo experti sunt duo uiri.

.LXXVI. De fonte iuxta uallum putei Mouric; et de ligno quod in eo inuenitur; quomodo triduo in mari demoratur, et die semper quarto ibi iterum reperiatur.

.LXXVIII. De tumulo Amr, qui sepius mensuratus, nunquam in eodem statu mensure erit inueniendus.

DE MIRABILIBUS MONIE INSULE QUE ANGLICE ENGLESEIE UOCATUR, ID EST

INSULA ANGELORUM.

.LXXIX. De litore sine mari.

.LXXX. De monte ter in anno girante.

.LXXXI. De uado quod tipo maris crescit et decrescit.

.LXXXII. De lapide nocturnis temporibus ambulante.

DE MIRABILIBUS HIBERNIE.

.LXXXIII. De stagno in quo quatuor sunt circuli: stagni, plumbi, ferri, et eris plurimi.

.LXXXIIII. De stagno in quo ligna imposita in lapidem obdurescunt.

.LXXXV. De supulcro in regione Cereciaum, quod ad longitudinem omnis metientis coequatur, et de eo quod quicumque ibi ter genu flexerit, nunquam tedio afficiendus sit.

.LXXXVI. De proprietatibus hominum, id est de bonis et de peruersis naturis gencium.

EXPLICIUNT CAPITULA.

DE MALIS ET PERUERSIS NATURIS HOMINUM.¹

Inuidia Iudeorum
 Perfidia Persarum
 Fallacia Grecorum
 Astucia Egiptiorum
 Seucia Saracenorum
 Leuitas Caldeorum
 Varietas Affrorum
 Gula Gallorum
 Uana gloria Longobardorum
 Crudelitas Hunorum
 Inmundicia Sabinorum
 Ferocitas Francorum
 Stulticia Saxonum.²
 Hebetudo Bauariorum
 Luxuria Wascanorum
 Uinolentia.³ Hispanorum
 Duricia Pictorum
⁴Libido Sueuorum
 Superbia.⁵ Pictauorum.⁴
 Liuido Scottorum
 Ira Britonum
⁶Spurcicia Sclauorum
 Rapacitas Normannorum
 Normanni nimis sunt animosi.⁶

DE BONIS NATURIS GENCIUM

Prudencia Hebreorum
 Stabilitas Persarum
⁷Sollercia Egiptiorum.⁷
 Sapiencia Grecorum
 Grauitas Romanorum
 Largitas Longobardorum
 Sobrietas Gottorum
 Sagacitas Caldeorum
 Ingenium Affricorum
 Firmitas Gallorum
⁸Fortitudo Francorum.⁸
 Instancia Saxonum
 Agilitas Wascanorum
 Magnanimitas Pictorum
 Hospitalitas Britonum
 Argucia Hispanorum
⁹Fidelitas Scottorum.⁹
¹⁰Communio Normannorum
 Grecus irascitur ante causam;
 Francus in causa;
 Romanus propter causam
 Francus fortis;
 Romanus grauis;
 Affer semper uersipellis.¹⁰

UERSUS NENNINI AD SAMUELEM FILIUM MAGISTRI SUI BEULANI PRESBITERI UTRI
RELIGIOSI AD QUEM HISTORIAM ISTAM SCRIPSERAT.¹

A B C D E F
Adiutor benignus, caris doctor effabilis fonis:

G H I K L M
Gaudium^{1a} honoris isti² katholica lege magni!

N O P Q R S T U
Nos omnes precamur: qui ros sit tutus utatur!

X
Xpistes tribuisti patri³ Samuelem leta Matre.

Y
Hymnizat hec⁴ semper tibi. Longeuus⁵ ben, seruus tui;

Z
Zona indue salutis istum tis pluribus annis!

UERSUS EIUSDEM NENNII.⁶

Fornifer, qui digitis scripsit ex ordine trinis,

Incolumis obtalmis sitque omnibus membris!

Eu uocatur ben notis litteris nominis quini.

Anno dominice incarnationis .d. ccc. lviii., .xx^{mo}. uero .iiii^{to}.
Meruini regis Britonum, hec historia a Nennio Britonum Historiografo
est composita.

¹Anni igitur ab exordio mundi usque in annum presentem,
.vi^m.c.viii. fiunt.¹

Anno ab orbe condito usque ad urbem conditam, ut ait Orosius,
anni .iiii. cccc^{tl}. lxxx^{ta}. quatuor.

Anno ante urbem conditam .ccc^{mo}. lx. iii^o., ut ait Henricus
Huntedunensis, Britannia a Britonibus est habitata.

Ab Adam, iuxta Orosium, usque Abraham, anni .iii^m.c.lxxx^{ta}.iiii^{or}.
Ab Abraham usque natiuitatem Christi, anni sunt .ii^m.xv. A natiuitate
autem Iohannis usque natiuitatem Christi, sex menses fuerunt. Natus
est ergo Iohannes Baptista transactis annis ab origine mundi
.v^m.c.xc^{ta}.viii^{to}. et mensibus .vi. Itaque ab origine mundi usque ad
Christum, anni fuerunt .v^m.c.xc. nouem.

¹INCIPIT HISTORICA ORTOGRAPHIA.¹ DE SEX ETATIBUS MUNDI.

.I. A principio mundi usque ad diluuium anni sunt² .ii^m.cc.xlii.
A diluuiio usque ad Abraham anni sunt² .dccc.xlii. Ab Abraham usque
ad Moysen anni sunt² .dc.xl. A Moyse usque ad Dauid .d. anni. Et a
Dauid usque ad Nabuchodonosor anni sunt² .d.lxix. Aliter:³

Ab Adam usque ad transmigrationem Babilonie anni computantur
.iiii^m.dcc.lxxix. et a transmigratione Babilonis usque ad Christum
.d.lxiii. Ab Adam uero usque ad passionem Domini nostri Iesu Christi
⁴anni sunt⁴ .v^m.cc. A passione autem Christi peracti sunt anni .dccc.
Ab incarnatione autem eius anni sunt .dccc.xxxii.⁵ usque ad .xxx. annum
Anarauth⁶ regis Monie, id est Mon, qui regit modo regnum Wenedocie
regionis, id est Guernet. Fiunt igitur anni ab exordio mundi usque in

annum presentem .vi^m.c.viii.⁵ Aliter:⁷

Prima mundi etas ab Adam usque ad Noe; secunda a Noe usque ad Abraam; tertia ab Abraham usque ad Dauid; quarta etas a Dauid usque ad Danielelem; quinta a Daniele usque ad Iohannem Baptistam; sexta a Iohanne Baptista usque ad iudicium, quando⁸ ueniet Dominus⁴ Iesus Christus⁴ iudicare uiuos et mortuos, et seculum per ignem.⁹

⁴Britannie igitur experimentum, iuxta traditionem ueterum, explicare curabo.⁴

¹INCIPIT HISTORIA NINNII, QUI ET A QUIBUS INHABITATA SIT BRITANNIA, DE CIUITATIBUS, DE CASTELLIS EX LAPIDIBUS ET LATERIBUS FABRICATIS, DE GENCIBUS IN EA HABITANCIBUS, DE MIRABILIBUS, DE BELLIS, DE INSULIS AD EAM PERTINENTIBUS, ET DE DIUISIONE TOCIUS ORBUS.¹

.II. Brittannia insula² a Britone filio Isioconis, qui fuit filius Alani de genere Iaphed,³ dicta est, uel, ut alii dicunt,² a quodam Bruto consule romano uocatur.⁴ Hec⁵ autem surgit ab Affrica brumali⁶ ad occidentem uergens, .dccc^{orum}. in longitudine⁷ milium, .cc^{orum}. in latitudine porrigit spacium. In ea sunt .xxviii. ciuitates, et innumerabilia promuntoria, cum innumeris castellis ex lapidibus et lateribus fabricatis. In ea prius habitabant .iiii. gentes: Scotti, Picti, atque Saxones, et Britones. Tres magnas insulas habet: quarum una uergit contra armonicas gentes,^{8 9} id est ultramarinos Britones,⁹ et uocatur With; secunda sita est in umbilico maris, inter Hiberniam et Britanniam, uocaturque nomen eius Eubonia, Manay,¹⁰ ¹¹quam Britones insulam Gueid uel Guith quod latine diuorcium dici potest;¹¹ tertia sita est in extremo limite orbis Britannie ultra Pictos, et uocatur Orcania insula.¹² Sic in prouerbio antiquo dicitur, quando de iudiciis uel regibus sermo fit: 'Iudicabit Britanniam cum

tribus insulis'. Sunt in ea multa flumina, que confluunt ad omnes partes, id est, ad orientem, ad occidentem, ad meridiem, ad septentrionem; sunt tamen duo flumina preclariora ceteris fluminibus, Tamisia et Seuernia, quasi duo brachitoria Britannie, per que olim rates uehebantur ad deportandas¹³ diuitias, causa negociacionis.

.III. Britones enim iam olim impleuerunt eam, et iudicauerunt a mari usque ¹ad mare, id est a Totenes usque ad Catenes.¹ Si quis scire uoluerit quo tempore post diluuium habitata est ²hec insula,² hoc experimentum bifarie inueni. In annalibus autem Romanorum sic scriptum est: Eneas post troianum bellum cum Ascanio filio suo uenit ad Italiam; et superato Turno, accepit Lauiniam filiam Latini regis,³ filii Fauni, filii Pesci, filii Saturni, in coniugium; et post mortem Latini, regnum obtinuit Romanorum.⁴ Ascanius autem Albam condidit; et postea uxorem duxit; et peperit ei filium nomine Siluium. Siluius autem duxit uxorem, et grauida fuit. Et nunciatum est Enee quod nurus sua grauida esset: et misit ad Ascanium filium suum, ut mitteret magum suum ad considerandam uxorem, et exploraret quid in utero haberet, si masculum uel feminam. Et uenit magus, et considerauit muli e rem, et reuersus est; dixitque Ascanio Enee filio quod masculum haberet uxor eius in utero, et fatus eius ⁵erit fortis,⁵ quia occidet, inquit, patrem et matrem suam, et erit exosus omnibus hominibus. Propter hanc uatici nati onem occisus est magus ab eis. Et sic euenit ut in natiuitate illius mulier est mortua, et nutritus est filius, uocatumque est nomen eius Britto. ⁶Brito uero fuit filius Siluii, filii Ascanii, filii Enee, filii Anchise, filii Capen, filii Asaraci, filii Tros, filii Erictonii, filii Dardani, filii Iouis⁷ de genere Cain, filii maledicti, uidentis et ridentis patrem Noe. Tros uero duos filios habuit, Hilium Asaracumque: Hilium condidit Hilium ciuitatem, id est,

Troiam primo, genuitque Lamidon - ipse est pater Priami; Asaracus autem genuit Capen - ipse est pater Anchise. Anchises genuit Eneam; ipse Eneas pater Ascanii.⁶ Post multum enim interuallum temporis,⁸ iuxta uaticinationem magi, dum ipse luderet cum aliis, inopino⁹ ictu sagitte occidit patrem suum, non de industria, sed casu. Propter hanc causam expulsus est ab Italia, et arminilis¹⁰ fuit; et uenit ad insulas maris Tyrreni; et expulsus est a Grecis pro causa occisionis Turni, quem Eneas occiderat; et peruenit usque ad Gallos, et ibi condidit ciuitatem Turonorum;¹¹ et uocauit eam a nomine cuiusdam militis sui,¹¹ qui¹² uocatur Turnus;¹³ et postea ad istam uenit insulam, que a suo nomine accepit nomen (id est Britannia) et impleuit eam cum sua gente, et habitauit ibi. Ab illo siquidem tempore habitata est Britannia usque in hodiernum diem.

.IIII.¹ Eneas autem regnauit tribus annis apud Latinos, Ascanius annis .xxxvii.; post quem Siluius Enee filius regnauit annis .xii.; Postumus annis .xxxix., a quo Albanorum reges Siluii sunt appellati, cuius frater erat Brito. ²Quando Brito regnabat² in Britannia, tunc³ Heli sacerdos iudicabat Israelem, et tunc archa Domini ab alienigenis possidebatur; Postumus ⁴uero frater eius,⁴ ut diximus, apud Latinos regnabat.

.V.¹ Post interuallum annorum multorum, non minus .dcccc., Picti uenerunt et occupauerunt insulas que Orcades uocantur; et postea ex insulis affinitimis uastauerunt non modicas et multas regiones, occupaueruntque eas in sinistrali plaga Britannie; et manent usque in hodiernum diem. Ibi terciam partem Britannie tenuerunt, et tenent usque nunc.

.VI. Nouissime autem uenerunt Scotti a partibus Hispanie ad Hyberniam. Primus autem homo¹ uenit Bartholomeus nomine² cum mille hominibus, tam uiris quam mulieribus, et creuerunt usque ad quattuor milia hominum; et uenit super eos mortalitas; et in una septimana omnes perierunt, et non remansit ex illis nec unus. Secundus uenit ad Hyberniam Nimech quidam filius Agnominis, qui fertur nauigasse super mare annum et dimidium; et postea tenuit portum in Hibernia, fractis nauibus eius, mansitque ibidem per multos annos; et iterum nauigauit cum suis, reuersusque est ad Hispaniam.

.VII. Et postea uenerunt tres filii cuiusdam militis Hispanie cum .xxx. chiulis apud illos, cum .xxx. mulieribus in unaquaque chiula; et manserunt ibi per spacium anni unius; et postea conspiciunt turrim¹ uitream in medio mari; et homines intuebantur super turrim, et querebant loqui ad illos, et nunquam respondebant; et ipsi unanimo consensu ad oppugnationem turris properauerunt cum omnibus chiulis suis et cum omnibus mulieribus, excepto una chiula, que quassata erat naufragio, in qua erant uiri .xxx., totidemque mulieres. Alie naues nauigauerunt ad expugnandam turrim; et dum omnes descenderent² in littore, quod erat circa³ turrim, operuit illos mare, et dimersi sunt; nec unus ex omnibus illis euasit. De familia uero illius chiule confracte,⁴ que relictas est⁵ ut diximus propter confractionem, tota Hibernia repleta est usque in hodiernum diem.

.VIII. Et postea uenerunt paulatim a partibus Hispanie, et tenuerunt regiones plurimas. Nouissime uenit Clamhoctor, et ibi habitauit cum omni gente sua usque hodie. ¹Nulla tamen² certa historia originis Scottorum continetur.³ In Britannia quoque

Historeth⁴ Istorini filius tenuit Dalrietam cum suis; Buile autem tenuit Euboniam⁵ insulam⁶ cum suis;⁶ et alias⁷ circiter; filii autem Liethan optinuerunt regionem Dimectorum,⁸ ubi ciuitas est que uocatur Mineu,⁸ et in aliis regionibus se dilatauerunt, id est Guhir Cetgueli, donec expulsi sunt a Cunedu, et a filiis eius, ab omnibus regionibus britannicis.

.IX. Si quis scire uoluerit quanto tempore fuit inhabitabilis et deserta Hibernia, sic mihi peritissimi Scottorum nuntiauerunt. Quando uenerunt filii Israel transeundo Rubrum Mare, uenerunt Egyptii et secuti sunt eos,¹ dimersique in mare, ut scriptura refert. Erat in illis diebus uir nobilis de Scithia cum magna familia apud Egyptios, expulsus a regno suo, et ibi erat quando Egyptii mersi sunt; ipse non iuit ad persequendum populum Dei. Illi autem qui superfuerant inierunt consilium ut expellerent illum, ne regnum illorum obsideret et occuparet quia fratres illorum submersi erant in Rubro Mari; sicque expulsus est. ²Iste gener Pharaonis erat, id est mas Scotte, filie² ³Pharaonis, a qua, ut fertur, Scotia fuit appellata.³ At ille per .xl. et duos annos ambulauit⁴ per⁵ Affricam; et uenerunt ad⁶ aras Philistinorum per lacum salinarum, et uenerunt inter Rusicadam et montes Azare, et uenerunt per flumen Malua; transieruntque per maritimam ad Columnas Herculis, nauigantes per Mare Tyrrenum; et applicuerunt ad Hispaniam, habitaueruntque ibi per multos annos, et creuerunt, nimisque multiplicati sunt; et gens eorum multiplicata est. Et postea uenerunt ad Hiberniam, post mille duobus annis post mersionem Egyptiorum in Mari Rubro, et uenerunt ad regiones Dalrieta, in tempore quo regnabat Brutus apud Romanos; a quo consules esse ceperunt, deinde tribuni plebis ac dictatores; ⁷et postea consules rursum⁷ rem publicam obtinuerunt per annos .cccc.xlvii, que prius regia

dignitate dampnata fuerat.

.X. Britones uenerunt in tertia etate mundi ad Britanniam; ¹Cite autem, id est Scotti, in quarta etate mundi obtinuerunt Hiberniam. ¹ Scite autem, qui sunt in occidente, et Picti de aquilone, pugnabant unanimiter et uno impetu contra Britones indesinenter; quia sine armis utebantur Britones. Et post multum interuallum temporis, Romani monarchiam totius mundi optinuerunt.

.XI. A primo anno quo Saxones uenerunt in Britanniam usque ad annum .iiii. Meruini¹ regis, supputantur anni .cccc. xxix. A natiuitate Domini nostri Iesu Christi usque ad² aduentum sancti Patricii ad Hiberniam, .cccc. v. anni numerantur. A morte Patricii usque ad obitum sancte Brigide .lx. anni sunt. A natiuitate Columkille usque ad obitum sancte Brigide, .iiii. sunt anni. Initium compoti: .xxiii. cicli decemnouenalis ab incarnatione Domini usque ad aduentum sancti³ Patricii in Hiberniam; et ipsi anni efficiunt numerum .cccc. xxxviii. annorum.⁴ Ab aduentu Patricii in iam dictam insulam, usque ciclum decemnouenalem in quo sumus, .xxii^o. sunt cicli, id est .cccc. xxi.; et sunt .ii^o. anni in ogdoade usque in hunc annum. Aliud experimentum inueni de isto Brito ex ueteribus libris ueterum nostrorum

.XII. Tres filii Noe diuiserunt orbem in tres partes primo¹ post diluuium: Sem regnauit² in Asia, Cham in Affrica, Iaphet in Europa. Sic dilatauerunt terminos suos in tres partes, quia tot erant fratres. In Asia sunt prouincie .xv.: India, Achaia,³ Parthia, Siria, Persia, Media, Mesopotamia, Capadocia, Palestina, Armenia, Cilicia, Caldea,

Suria, Egyptus, Libia. In Affrica sunt prouincie .xii.: Liddia, Cirini, Pentapolis, Ethiopia, Tripolitana, Bixantia, Getulia, Natabria, Numedia, Samaria, Sirtes maiores et minores. In Europa sunt prouincie .xiiii.: Roma,⁴ Calabria, Hispania, Alamannia, Macedonia, Tracia, Dalmatia, Pannonia, Colonia, Gallia, Aquitania, Britannia, Hibernia, Aquilonarii infra Oceanum.⁵

Quomodo tres filii Noe, Sem, Cham, et Iaphet, diuiserunt inter se totum mundum post Diluuium in tribus partibus, et quot prouintie sunt in unaquaque parte, sicut spera subscripta et depicta aperte demonstrat.

Britones a Bruto dicti; Brutus fuit filius Hisicionis, Hiscion filius Alani, Alaneus filius Ree Siluie, Rea Siluia filia Nume Pamphili, Pamphilius filius Ascnanii, Ascanius filius Enee, Eneas filius Anchise, Anchises filius Trohi, Troius filius Dardani, Dardanus filius Flire, Flire filius Iuuanus filius Iafeth. Iste Iafeth .vii. filios habuit: primus Gomer a quo Galli; secundus Magod a quo Sciti et Gothi; tertius Aiadanus a quo Medi; quartus Iuuan a quo Greci; quintus Tubal a quo Hebrei; sextus Mosoch a quo Cappadoces; septimus Troias a quo Traces. Hii sunt filii Iafeth, filii Noe, filii Lamech. Et redeam nunc ad id unde egressus sum.

.XIII. Primus homo¹ de genere Iaphet uenit ad Europam, Alanus nomine, cum tribus filiis suis quorum nomina sunt hec: Ysition, Armenon, Neguo. Ysition autem² habuit .iiii. filios,³ quorum nomina sunt³ Francus, Romanus, Alemannus, et Brito⁴ a quo primo

Britannia habitata est.⁴ Armenon autem habuit filios .v.: hii sunt Gothus, Walagothus, Cebidus, Burgundus, Langobardus. Neguo autem habuit .iiii. filios, quorum nomina hec⁵ sunt: Wandalus, Saxo, Bogarus, Targus. Ab Hisitione, primogenito Alanii, orte sunt .iiii. gentes: Franci, Latini,⁶ Alemanni, et Britti.⁷ Ab Armenone autem, secundo filio Alanii, orti sunt Gothi, Walagothi, Cebidi, Burgundi, et Langobardi; a Neguo autem, tercio filio, Bogari, Wandali, Saxones, et Tarinci. Iste autem gentes sunt⁸ subdiuise per totam Europam. Alanius autem, ut aiunt, fuit filius Setheuir, filii Ogomun, filii Thoi, filii Boib, filii Semeon, filii Mair, filii Ethac, filii Aurthac, filii Ecthet, filii Oothz, filii Abirth, filii Ra, filii Esra, filii Israu, filii Barth, filii Iona, filii Iabath, filii Iaphet, filii Noe, filii Lamech, filii Mathusalam,⁹ filii Enoch, filii Iareth, filii Malaleel, filii Cainan, filii Enos, filii Seth, filii Adam, filii Dei uiui.⁹

Hanc genealogiam inueni ex tradicionem ueterum, qui incole fuerunt in primis Britannie temporibus;¹⁰ sed redeam nunc ad id unde egressus sum.

.XIIII. Romani autem, dum acceperunt dominium totius mundi, ad Britannos legatos miserunt, ut obsides et census acciperent ab illis, sicut accipiebant ab uniuersis regionibus et ab uniuersis insulis. Britanni autem, cum essent tyranni et tumidi, legationem Romanorum contempserunt. Tunc Iulius Cesar, cum accepisset singulare imperium primus et obtinuisset regnum, iratus est ualde; et uenit ad Britanniam cum .lx. chiliis, et uenit in hostium Tamensis, in quo naufragium perpesse sunt naues illius dum ipse pugnabat contra¹ Dolobellum, qui erat proconsul regi britannico, qui et ipse rex

Bellinus² uocabatur, et filius erat Minocani, qui occupauit omnes insulas Tirreni Maris; et Iulius Cesar reuersus est sine uictoria, cesis militibus, fractisque³ nauibus.

.XV. Et iterum post spacium trium annorum uenit cum magno exercitu .ccc^{tis}. que chiulis, et peruenit usque ad hostium Tamensis fluminis. Et ibi inierunt bellum, et multi ceciderunt de equis militibusque suis, quia iamdictus proconsul posuerat sudes ferreos, et semen bellicorum,¹ ²que ca l citramenta³ uocantur,² id est cethilocium,⁴ in uada fluminis; magnum discrimen⁵ fuit militibus Romanorum, quia hec ars inuisibilis fuit⁶ illis, et discesserunt tunc temporis sine pace. Gestum est tercio bellum iuxta locum qui dicitur Trinouantum; et accepit Iulius imperium britannice gentis, .xl. et .vii. annis ante natiuitatem Christi - ab initio mundi .v^m.cc. xv. constant anni.

.XVI. Iulius igitur primus in Britanniam peruenit, et regnum et gentem tenuit; et in honorem¹ illius Quintilem² mensem Iulium debere uocari decreuerunt Romani. Et idibus Martis Gaius Iulius Cesar in curia occiditur, tenente Octauiano Augusto monarchiam totius mundi; et censum a Britannia ipse solus accepit, ut Uirgilius - 'Purpurea intexti tollunt aulea³ Britanni'.

.XVII. Secundus post hunc Claudius imperator uenit et in Britannia imperauit, .xl. et .viii. annos post aduentum Christi; et stragem et bellum fecit magnum, non absque detrimento militum. Tamen uictor fuit in Britannia; et postea cum chiulis perrexit ad Orcades insulas, et subiecit sibi, et fecit eas tributarias. In tempore illius

quieuit dari census Romanis a Britannia, sed britannicis imperatoribus redditum est. Regnavit autem¹ annis .xiii., mensibus .viii.;² cuius monumentum in Magantia apud Langobardos ostenditur, ubi dum ad Romam ibat defunctus est.

.XVIII. ¹Anno dominice incarnationis .c.lxiii. ¹ Lucius britannicus rex cum universis regulis totius Britannie baptismum susceperunt, missa legatione ab imperatoribus Romanorum, et a papa romano Euaristo; ²Lucius agnomine leuer maur, id est magni splendoris,³ propter fidem que in eius tempore uenit.²

.XIX. Tercius fuit Seuerus qui transfretavit ad Britannos; ubi, receptas provincias ut¹ ab incursione barbarica faceret tutiores, murum et aggerem a mari usque ad mare per latitudinem Britannie, id est, per .c.xxxii. milia passuum deduxit; et uocatur britannico sermone Gaaul. ²Per .c.xxxii. miliaria passuum,³ id est, a Pengaaul,⁴ que uilla scottice Cenail, anglice uero Peneltun, dicitur, usque ad ostium fluminis Cluth et Cairpentaloch, quo murus ille finitur, rustico opere Seuerus ille predictus construxit; sed nichil profuit. Carutius postea ⁵imperator reedificauit,⁵ et .vii. castellis muniuit inter utraque ostia; domumque rotundam politis lapidibus super ripam fluminis Carun, quod a suo nomine nomen accepit, fornicem triumphalem in uictorie memoriam erigens, construxit.² Propterea iussit fieri inter Britones et Pictos Scottosque, quia Scotti ab occidente et Picti ab aquilone unanimiter pugnabant contra Britones; nam et ipsi pacem inter se habebant. Et non multo post ⁶intra Britanniam reuersus, apud Eboracum cum suis ducibus occiditur.⁶

.XX. Quartus fuit Carutius **imperator** et **tirannus**, qui et ipse uenit in Britanniam **tirannide**,¹ pro occisione Seueri cum omnibus ducibus romanice gentis qui erant cum eo in Britannia. Transuerberauit omnes regulos Britonum,² et uindicauit ualde Seuerum ab illis,² et ³purpuram Britannie³ occupauit.

.XXI. Quintus, Constancius, Constantini magni filius fuit; et ibi moritur, et sepulcrum illius monstratur iuxta urbem que uocatur ¹Cair Segeint,¹ ut littere que sunt in lapide tumuli eius² ostendunt; et ipse seminauit tria semina in pauimento supradicte ciuitatis, ut nullus pauper in ea remaneret³ unquam; et uocatur alio nomine Mirmantun.⁴

.XXII. Sextus Maximus imperator regnauit in Britannia. A tempore illius consules esse ceperunt, et cesares nunquam postea appellati sunt. Et sanctus Martinus in tempore illo claruit in¹ uirtutibus et signis, locutusque est cum eo.

.XXIII. Septimus imperator regnauit in Britannia dictus Maximianus.¹ Ipse perrexit cum omnibus militibus Britonum a Britannia, et occidit Gratianum regem Romanorum, et imperium tenuit totius Europe; noluitque dimittere milites, qui cum eo perrexerunt a Britannia, neque ad uxores suas, neque ad filios, neque ad possessiones eorum; sed dedit illis multas regiones, a stagno quod est super uerticem montis Iouis, useue ad ciuitatem que uocatur Cantguic² (ipsi sunt qui Am orici dicuntur)² ³et usque³ ad cumulum occidentalem, id est Crutochideint.⁴
⁵Britones namque Amorici, qui ultra mare sunt, cum Maximo tyranno hinc

in expiditionem exeuntes,⁶ quoniam redire nequiuierant, occidentales partes Gallie solotenus uastauerunt, nec mingentes ad parietem uiuere reliquerunt; acceptisque eorum uxoribus et filiabus in coniugium, omnes earum linguas amputauerunt, ne eorum successio maternam linguam disceret; unde et nos illos uocamus in nostra lingua Letewicion, id est semitacentes, quoniam confuse loquuntur.⁵ Hii sunt Britones Armonici, et nunquam reuersi sunt ad proprium solum usque in hodiernum diem. Propter hoc Britannia occupata est ab extraneis gentibus, et ciues eius expulsi sunt, usque dum Deus auxilium dederit illis. In ueteri tradicionem⁷ seniorum nostrorum, ut⁸ legimus,⁷ .vii. imperatores fuerunt a Romanis in Britannia; Romani autem dicunt .ix. fuisse.⁹

.XXIIII. Octauus fuit alius Seuerus: aliquando in Britannia manebat, aliquando ad Romam ibat; et ibi defunctus est.

.XXV. Nonus fuit Constantinus:¹ ipse regnauit .xvi. annis in Britannia; et .xvii. anno imperii sui obiit in Britannia, Eboraci ut ipsi dicunt. Hucusque regnauerunt Romani apud Britones .cccc^{tis}. et .ix. annis. Britones autem deiecerunt regnum Romanorum, neque censum illis dederunt, neque reges² eorum acceperunt ut regnarent super eos; neque Romani ausi sunt ut uenirent in Britanniam amplius ad regnandum, quia duces eorum Britones occiderant.

.XXVI. Iterum repetendus est sermo de Maximano¹ tyranno. Gratianus cum fratre Ualentiniano regnauit annis tribus. Ambrosius Mediolanensis episcopus clarus habebatur in catholicorum dogmate.²

Valentinianus cum Theodosio regnavit annis .viii. Sinodus
 Constantinopolim .ccc. l. patrum celebratur, in quo³ omnes hereses
 dampnantur. Ieronimus, presbiter Bethleem, toto mundo claruit
⁴interpres catholicus.⁴ Dum Gratianus imperium in toto mundo
 regebat, in Britannia, per seditionem militum, Maximianus⁵
 imperator factus est. Quo⁶ mox in Gallias transfretante,
 Gratianus, Parisius, Meroblaudis magistri militum proditione superatus
 est, et fugiens, Lugduni captus atque occisus est. ⁷Maximianus
 Uictorem filium suum consortem regni fecit.⁷ Martinus Turonensis
 episcopus in magnis uirtutibus claruit. Post multum interuallum
 temporis, a Valentiniano et Theodosio consulibus, ⁸in tercio miliario⁹
 ab Uirileisa¹⁰ lapide,⁸ spoliatus indumentis regalibus, sistitur,
 et¹¹ capite dampnatur; cuius filius Uictor eodem anno ab Argabaste
 comite interfectus est intra Galliam, peractis a mundi initio annis
 .v^m. dc. xc., ¹²ab incarnatione Domini .ccc. xc. i.¹²

.XXVII. Tribus uicibus occisi sunt duces Romanorum a Britannibus.
 Britones autem, dum anxiarentur a barbarorum gentibus, id est
 Scottorum et Pictorum, auxilium¹ flagitabant Romanorum. Et dum
 legati mittebantur, cum magno luctu et cum sablonibus super capita
 sua intrabant, et portabant magna munera secum consulibus,² pro
 amisso scelere occisionis ducum; et suscipiebant consules grata
 dona ab illis. Promittebant ergo Britones cum sacramento accipere
 iugum ³Romanorum et³ romanici iuris, licet durum fuisset; et Romani
 uenerunt cum exercitu maximo ad auxilium eorum; et posuerunt duces
 et imperatores in Britannia. Et composito imperatore cum ducibus,
 reuertebatur exercitus ad Romam usque; et sic alternatim per .cccc.
 et .xl. ix.⁴ annos faciebant. Britones autem propter grauitatem

imperii occidebant duces Romanorum; et auxilium postea petebant.

Romani autem ad imperium auxiliumque et ad uindicandum ueniebant; et spoliata Britannia auro argentoque cum ere et omni preciosa ueste et melle, cum magno triumpho reuertebantur. ⁵Nunc uero ad gentem Saxonum flectendus est articulus.⁵

.XXVIII. Factum est autem post supradictum bellum quod fuit inter Britones et Romanos quando duces illorum occisi sunt, ¹et post¹ occisionem Maximiani² tyranni, transactoque Romanorum in Britannia imperio, per .xl. annos sub metu fuerunt. Gorthigirrus regnauit in Britannia; et dum ipse regnabat, ³urgebatur a metu Pictorum Scottorumque, et a romanico impetu, necnon et a timore Ambrosii. Interea uenerunt tres chiule a Germania in exilio pulse in quibus erant Hors et Hengist, ⁴qui et ipsi fratres erant. ⁵Hors et Hengest⁵ filii Guitgils, filii Gurgta, filii Gucta, filii Uoden, filii Frealf, filii Fredulf, filii Fuin, filii Folepald, filii Geata qui fuit, ut aiunt, filius dei; nunquid ipse est Deus exercituum uel Deus deorum, sed unus est ab idolis eorum quod ipsi colebant. ⁶Hec est genealogia istorum marum de quibus primo creuerunt Saxones.⁶

.XXIX. ¹Gortigirrus² autem suscepit eos brnigne, et tradidit eis insulam, que lingua eorum uocatur Tanech, britannico sermone Ruichim, regnante Marciano secundo, quando Saxones a Gortigirno³ suscepti sunt, anno .cccc.xl.vii. post passionem Christi.

.XXX. ¹In tempore illius uenit sanctus Germanus, Autisiodorensium urbis episcopus, ad predicandum in Britannia; et claruit apud² illos

in multis uirtutibus, et multi per eum salui facti sunt; increduli perierunt. Aliquanta miracula, que per illum Dominus³ fecit, scribenda decreui.

.XXXI.¹ Primum miraculum de miraculis eius. Erat quidam rex ualde iniquus atque tyrannus, cui nomen erat Benli,² in regione Ial;² et ille uir sanctissimus Germanus uoluit uisitare et properare ad iniquum regem, ut predicaret illi uiam salutis. Et cum ipse homo Dei uenisset ad ostium³ urbis cum comitibus suis, uenit portarius et salutauit eos; qui miserunt eum ad regem. Et rex durum responsum dedit illis, et cum iuramento dixit: 'Si fuerint, uel si manserint,⁴ usque ad caput⁵ anni⁶ in ostio porte mee arcis,⁶ non uenient unquam in medio urbis mee'. Dum ipsi expectant ianitorem ut renunciaret illis sermonem tyranni, sol⁷ declinabat ad uesperum, et nox adpropinquabat; quo irent nesciebant. Interea uenit unus de seruis regis a medio urbis, et inclinauit se ante uirum Dei, et nuntiauit illis omnia uerba regis.⁸

.XXXII.¹ Inuitauitque illos ad casam suam. Et exierunt cum illo; quos benigne suscepit; et nichil omnino homo ille habebat in pecudibus, excepto uaccam unam cum uitulo. Quid ergo? Uitulum occidit, coxit, et posuit ante seruum Dei ceterosque socios eius; quibus sanctus Germanus precepit ut non confringeretur os de ossibus uituli; et sic factum est. In crastinum uitulus inuentus est ante matrem suam sanus² et uiuus² incolumisque, Dei misericordia et oratione sancti Germani.

.XXXIII.¹ Iterum de mane surrexerunt² ut impetrarent aditum urbis, iuxta portam prestolantes. Et ecce uir unus currebat, et sudor illius a uertice³ usque ad plantas pedum distillabat, inclinans se ante eos. Et dixit sanctus Germanus: 'Credis in sanctam Trinitatem?' Et respondit ille: 'Credo'. Et baptizatus est; et osculatus est ab eo. Cui dixit sanctus Germanus: 'Uade in pace. In ista hora morieris; et angeli Dei te in aera expectant, ut⁴ gradiaris cum⁴ illis ad Deum cui credidisti.' Et ipse letus intrauit in arcem. Et prefectus tenuit illum et alligauit; qui ante tyrannum deductus et interfectus est. Mos enim erat apud nequissimum tyrannum, nisi quis ante solis ortum uenisset ad seruitutem⁵ in arce interficiebatur. Et manserunt tota die iuxta portam ciuitatis, nec impetrauerunt ut salutarent tyrannum.

.XXXIIII.¹ Solito more affuit supradictus seruus; et dixit illi sanctus Germanus, 'Caue ne in hac nocte aliquis de familia² tua maneat in arce'. Iterum reuersus est ad arcem, et deduxit filios suos quorum numerus erat .ix.; et ipsi ad supradictum hospicium cum domino suo reuersi sunt. Precepitque sanctus Germanus manere eos ieiunos; et clausis ianuis dixit, 'Uigilantes estote, et si quid euenerit, in arcem nolite aspicere, sed orate attentius, et indesinenter ad Deum uestrum clamate'. Et post modicum interuallum³ noctis, ignis de celo cecidit, et combussit arcem et omnes qui cum tyranno erant; nec ultra apparuerunt, nec arx reedificata est usque in hodiernum diem.

.XXXV.¹ In crastino uir ille, qui sanctum hospitauerat, et credidit et baptizatus est cum omnibus filiis suis, et omnis regio cum eis.

Nomen uiri erat Ketel; et benedixit ei, addiditque et dixit, 'Non deficiet dux² de semine tuo³ in eternum'³ - ipse Ketel Durnluc dux - 'et tu eris rex ab hodierna die'. Et sic euenit; et impletum est quod per prophetam dicitur - 'Suscitans de puluere egenum, et de stercore erigens pauperem, ut sedeat cum principibus, et solium glorie teneat'. Iuxta uerbum⁴ sancti Germani, rex de seruo factus est,⁵ et omnes filii eius facti sunt reges; et a semine eorum omnis regio Pouisorum regitur usque in hodiernum diem.

.XXXVI.¹ Factum est autem postquam metati sunt Saxones in supradicta insula Taneth,² promisit rex supradictus³ dari illis uictum et uestimentum absque defeccione;⁴ et placuit illis, et ipsi promiserunt expugnare inimicos eius fortiter. At illi barbari cum multiplicati essent numero, non potuerunt Britones cibare illos. Cum postularent cibum et uestimentum, sicut promissum⁵ illis erat, dixerunt Britones: 'Non possumus uobis dare cibum nec uestimentum, quia numerus uester multiplicatus est. Sed recedite a nobis;⁶ auxilio uestro non indigemus.' Ipsi uero consilium fecerunt cum maioribus suis ut pacem disrumperent.

.XXXVII.¹ Hengistus autem, cum esset uir doctus atque astutus et callidus, cum explorasset super regem inertem et super gentem illius quod sine armis utebantur, inito consilio dixit ad regem britannicum: 'Pauci sumus; si uis, mittemus ad patriam nostram, ut inuitemus milites de militibus regionis nostre, et sit amplior numerus ad certandum pro te et pro gente tua'. Et rex hoc idem concessit. Qui² illico miserunt, et legati transfretauerant³ trans scithicam uallem. Qui reuersi sunt cum chiulis .xvii.; militesque electi

uenerunt in illis. Et in una chiula uenit puella pulcra ualde atque decora: ⁴erat enim⁴ filia Hengisti. Postquam uenissent chiule, fecit conuiuium Hengistus Guorthigirno regi et militibus suis et interpreti suo qui uocabatur Cerdic ⁵Elmet. Nullo Britone Britonum sciente saxonice linguam preter istum Britonem, studet qui legat,⁶ quo euentu euenit ipsi uiro intelligere sermonem saxonice.⁷ Hengistus itaque⁵ puellam iussit ministrare illis uinum et siceram; qui inebriati sunt nimis et saturati. Illis bibentibus, intrauit Sathanas in corde Guorthigirni ut adamaret puellam; et postulauit eam a patre suo per interpretem suum, et dixit, 'Omne quod a me postulas impetrabis, licet dimidium regni mei'. Et Hengistus inito consilio cum suis senioribus qui secum uenerant de insula Oghgul, quid peterent regi pro puella, unum consilium illis⁸ omnibus fuit, ut peterent regionem que in lingua eorum uocatur Canthguaraland,⁹ ¹⁰in nostra autem lingua¹⁰ Chent. Et dedit illis, Gnoirangono¹¹ rege¹² regnante in Cantia; et inscius erat quod traditum esset regnum ipsius paganis, et ipse solus in potestatem illorum clam dari. Et sic data est puella illi in coniugium; et dormiuit cum ea, et adamauit eam ualde.

.XXXVIII. ¹Dixit ergo² Hengistus ad regem: 'Ego sum pater tuus, et consiliator ero tibi; et noli preterire consilium meum unquam, quia non timebis te superari ab ullo homine, neque ab ulla gente; gens enim mea ualida est. Inuitabo itaque filium meum cum fratruele³ suo⁴ - bellatores enim sunt uiri - ut dimicent contra Scottos; et da illis regiones que sunt in aquilone, iuxta murum qui uocatur Guaulis.' Et iussit ut inuitaret eos; quos⁵ et⁶ inuitauit, Ochta et Abisa,⁷ cum .xl. chiulis. At ipsi, cum nauigarent circa Pictos,

uastauerunt Orchades insulas, ueneruntque et occupauerunt plurimas regiones trans Mare Fresicum, ⁸ id est qui ⁹ inter nos Scottosque est, ⁸ usque ad confinia Pictorum. Et Hengistus semper chiulas ad se paulatim inuitauit, ita ut insulas ¹⁰ de quibus uenerant absque habitatore ¹⁰ relinquerent; cumque gens illius creuisset et in uirtute et in multitudine, uenerunt ad supradictam Cantuariam.

.XXXIX. ¹ Et super hec omnia mala adiciens, Guorthigirnus accepit filiam suam propriam ² in uxorem sibi, que peperit ei filium. Hoc autem cum compertum esset a sancto Germano, uenit corripere regem cum omni clero Britonum. Et dum conuenta ³ esset magna synodus clericorum ac laicorum in uno consilio, ipse rex premonuit filiam suam, ut exiret ad conuentum, et ut daret filium suum in sinu Germani, diceretque quod ipse erat pater eius. Ac ipsa fecit sicut edocta erat. Sanctus Germanus eum benigne accepit; et dicere cepit, 'Pater tibi ero; nec te permittam, nisi mihi nouacula cum forpice picti n eque ⁴ detur, et ad patrem ⁵ tuum carnalem tibi dare liceat'. Mox ut audiuit puer, ⁶ obediuit uerbo senioris sancti, ⁶ et ⁷ ad auum suum ⁸ patremque carnalem ⁸ Guorthigirnum perrexit, et dixit illi: 'Pater meus es tu: ⁹ caput meum tonde, et comam capitis mei pecte'. ¹⁰ Ille autem siluit, et puero respondere noluit; sed surrexit, iratusque est uehementer, et ut a facie sancti Germani fugeret querebat; et maledictus est, et dampnatus a beato Germano et omni consilio Britonum. ¹¹

.XL. ¹ Post hec ² igitur ad se inuitauit omnes magnates suos, ut ab eis interrogaret quid faceret. At illi dixerunt: 'In extremas fines regni tui uade, ut arcem munitam construas, in qua te defendas; quia

gens quam suscepisti inuidet tibi, et fraude dolosa te occidet, et uniuersas regiones quas amasti occupabit cum uniuersa tua gente post mortem tuam'.

.XLI.¹ Postea uero ipse rex arcem cum magis suis que quesiturus perrexit; et per multas regiones multasque prouincias peragrauerunt; et minime quod querebant reperientes, nouissime ad illam regionem que uocatur Guoienit² peruenerunt. Et illo lustrante in montibus Heriri,³ id est Snaudun anglice,³ tandem in uno montium, locum in quo aptum erat arcem condere adeptus est. Et magi ad illum dixerunt: 'Arcem in isto loco fac, quia tutissima a barbaris gentibus in eternum erit'. Ipse uero artifices congregauit, id est lapidarios; et lapides et ligna congregauerunt. Cum uero congregata esset omnis materia, in una nocte omnino ablata est; tribusque uicibus iussit congregari, et nusquam conparuit.

.XLII.¹ Tunc magos suos² ad se² accersiuit, illosque percunctatus est que esset hec causa malicie et cur hoc eueniret. At illi responderunt: 'Nisi infantem sine patre inueneris,³ ut habeas qui occidatur, et arx de suo sanguine conspergatur, nunquam edificabitur in eternum'.

.XLIII.¹ Rex uero concite legatos suos² ex consilio magorum misit per uniuersam Britanniam, utrum infantem sine patre inuenirent. At illi lustrando omnes prouincias regionesque plurimas, uenerunt³ ad campum³ Electi,⁴ qui est in regione que uocatur Gleuising. Et pile ludum agebant pueri; et ecce duo inter se litigabant, dixitque alter

alteri, 'O homo sine patre, bonum non habebis'. Et illi de puero diligenter percunctantes ad pueros eiusque matrem, si patrem haberet; at illa negauit, et dixit, 'Nescio quomodo in utero meo est conceptus; sed unum scio, quia uirum non cognoui unquam'. Et iurauit illis⁵ patrem non habere; ⁶timebat enim ne occideretur a rege iniquo, ideo patrem fateri noluit.⁶ Qui legati secum eum⁷ duxere usque ad Guorthigirmum regem, quem insinuauerunt regi⁸ eum puerum sic inueniri.⁸

.XLIIII.¹ In crastino conuentio facta est, ut puer interficeretur. Et puer dixit regi: 'Cur uiri tui me ad te detulerunt?' Cui rex ait: 'Ut interficiaris, et sanguis tuus circa arcem istam aspergetur, ut possit edificari'. Respondit puer regi: 'Quis tibi demonstraui² hoc?'³ Et rex: 'Magi mei mihi dixerunt'. Cui dixit puer: 'Ad me uocentur'. Et inuitati sunt magi; quibus et dixit, 'Quis uobis reuelauit ut ista arx a sanguine aspergeretur; et nisi aspergeretur a sanguine meo, nunquam edificaretur? Sed hoc cognoscam; quis e uobis de me palam fecit. Et iterum puer dixit: 'Modo⁴ tibi enucleabo⁵ rex, et in ueritate tibi⁶ omnia pandam; sed ad⁷ magos tuos percuntor, quid in pauimento istius loci est? Placet enim mihi⁸ ut tibi ostendant quid sub pauimento habetur.' At illi dixerunt: ⁹'Nos nescimus'.⁹ Et ille dixit: 'Ego co m perior.¹⁰ Stagnum in medio pauimenti est; uenite et fodite et sic inuenietis'.¹¹ Foderunt itaque, et sic inuenerunt ut puer predixerat.¹¹ Iterum dixit ad magos: 'Proferte mihi quid est in stagno?' Magi siluerunt, et non potuerunt reuelare illi. At ille dixit illis: 'Ego uobis propalabo. Duo uasa conclusa¹² sunt ¹³in eo,¹³ et sic inuenietis.' Uenerunt, et uiderunt sic. Et puer ad magos dixit: 'Quid in uasis clausum habetur?' At ipsi siluerunt, et non potuerunt reuelare puero. At ille asserit:

'In medio eorum tentorium est; separate ea et sic inuenietis'. Et rex separari iussit; et sic inuentum est tentorium¹⁴ complicatum ut¹⁵ dixerat. Iterum puer interrogauit magos:¹⁶ 'Quid est in medio tentorii?'¹⁷ Iam nunc enarrate.' Et non potuerunt. Dixitque puer: 'Duo uermes sunt in eo, unus albus et unus ruffus. Tentorium nunc¹⁸ expandite.' Et extenderunt; duoque uermes in eo dormientes inuenti sunt. Et dixit puer: 'Expectate et considerate quid facturi uermes sunt'. Euigilantes autem, ceperunt alter alterum expellere, insimulque bellare; alius autem scapulas suas ponebat ut alterum usque ad dimidium tentorii, aliquando usque ad oram tentorii pellebat; et sic pugnabant tribus uicibus. Tamen tandem, qui infirmior uidebatur, uermis ruffus postea fortior albo fuit, et extra finem tentorii pepulit. Tunc uictor superatum secutus est trans stagnum;¹⁹ et tentorium euauit. Post hoc puer magos percunctatus est: 'Quid significat hoc mirabile signum quod factum est in tentorio?' At illi responderunt: 'Nescimus'. Et ait puer: 'En mihi reuelatum est hoc misterium, et ego uobis propalabo'. Dixitque puer²⁰ regi: 'Regni tui est figura tentorii; duo uermes due²¹ sunt²² gentes. Draco²² ruffus,²³ draco tuus est, et²⁴ stagnum²⁵ figura est huius mundi; at ille albus draco, illius gentis est que occupauit regiones et gentes plurimas in Britannia, et pene a mari usque ad mare tenebunt. Et postea nostra gens surget, et gentem Anglorum trans mare uiriliter deiciet.'

.XLV.¹ 'Tu ergo² de ista arce uade, quia edificare eam non poteris, et multas prouincias peragra, ut tutam arcem inuenias. Ego quidem hic manebo.' Et rex adolescenti dixit: 'Quo nomine uocaris?' Ille respondit: 'Ambrosius uocor'. Embreis Gluetic³ esse uidebatur.³

Dixitque rex: 'De qua progenie ortus es?' At ille: 'Unus de consulibus gentis romanice est pater meus'. Tunc rex dedit illi arcem cum omnibus prouinciis plage occidentalis britannice. Et ipse cum magis suis ad sinistralen plagam peruenit, et usque ad regionem que uocatur Guennesi affugit,⁴ et urbem que uocatur nomine suo Car⁵ Guorthigirn edificauit. ⁶Guasmoric iuxta Lugubaliā ibi edificauit, urbem scilicet⁷ que anglice Palmecastre dicitur.⁶

.XLVI.¹ Interea Guortemir,² filius Guorthigirni, cum Hengist et Horso et illorum gente potenter pugnabat, et eos usque ad insulam que dicitur Taneth expulit, illosque illic tribus uicibus conclusit, percussit, obsedit, comminuit, terruit. Ipsi itaque legatos trans mare usque in Germaniam miserunt, uocando chiulas cum ingenti numero ³uirorum bellatorum³ ⁴et forcium.⁴ Et postea pugnabant contra reges gentis nostre; aliquando uincebant, et dilatabant terminos suos; aliquando uincebantur, et expellebantur. Et Guorthemir .iiii. bella contra eos auide gessit. ⁵Iste Guorthemir,⁶ filius Guorthegirni,⁷ in sinodo habita apud Guartherniaun, postquam nefandus rex, ob incestum quem cum filia commiserat, a facie Germani et clericorum Britannie in fugam iret, patris nequicie consentire noluit; sed rediens ad sanctum Germanum, ad pedes eius cecidit ueniam postulans, atque pro illata a patre suo et sorore sancto Germano calumpnia, terram ipsam, in qua predictus episcopus obprobrium tale sustinuit, in eternum suam fieri sanxiuit. Unde et in memoriam sancti Germani Guarenniaun nomen accepit; quod latine sonat 'calumpnia iuste retorta'; quoniam, cum episcopum uituperare putauerat, semetipsum uituperio afficit. Guortemir uero, accepto⁸ regno, ⁹hostibus uiriliter⁹ obsistit; qui tante magnitudinis esse et uirtutis dicebatur, ut

siquando iratus in bello dimicaret, accepta arbore, cum frondibus funditus extirparet, et cum ea solotenus¹⁰ aduersarios prosterneret; cum tali enim arbore Horsam satellitem bellicosum, confractis in alterutrum armis, pene defectis uiribus prostrauit, ceterosque in fugam uersos, ut stipulas, terre allidit, et ex omnibus finibus Britannie expulit; et per quinquennium postea insulam intrare non audebant, usque ad obitum Guortemir.⁵

.XLVII.¹ Primum bellum super flumen Dereuent.² Secundum bellum super uadum que dicitur in lingua eorum Episford, in nostra autem lingua Sathenegabail;³ et ibi cecidit Horsa cum filio Guorthigirn⁴ cuius nomen erat Catigirnus. Tercium bellum in campo iuxta lapidem tituli, qui est super ripam Gallici Maris, statutum;⁵ et barbari uicti sunt, illeque uictor fuit, et ipsi in fugam usque ad chiulas suas reuersi sunt, in eas muliebriter intrantes. Ille autem post modicum interuallum temporis⁶ mortuus est; et ante mortem suam,⁷ ad familiam suam⁷ animaduertit, ut illius sepulcrum in portu ponerent, a quo exirent super⁸ ripam maris,⁸ 'in quo uobis commendo, quamuis in alia parte portum Britannie teneant, et⁹ habitauerunt, tamen in ista terra in eternum non manebunt'.¹⁰ Illi autem mandatum eius contempserunt, et eum in loco in quo imperauerat illis non sepelierunt; ¹¹in Linconia¹² enim sepultus est. At si mandatum eius tenuissent, proculdubio per orationes sancti Germani quicquid pecierant obtinuissent.¹¹ At barbari magnopere reuersi sunt, cum Guortigirnus¹³ amicus illorum erat pro uxore sua, et nullus illos¹⁴ abigere ultra audacter ualuit. Quia non de uirtute sua Britanniam occupauerunt, sed nutu diuino; contra uoluntatem Dei quis resistere nitatur? Sed quomodo uoluit Dominus, fecit, et ipse omnes gentes gubernat et regit.

.XLVIII.¹ Factum est autem post mortem Guorthemir, regis Uortigirni² filii, et post reuersionem Hengisti cum suis turmis, fallax consilium ortati sunt, ut dolum Uortigirno³ cum exercitu suo facerent. At illi legatos ut pacem impetrarent miserunt, et ut perpetua amicitia inter illos fieret; et Uortigirno⁴ cum suis maioribus natu consilium fecerunt, et scrutati sunt quid facerent. Tandem consilium omnibus fuit ut pacem facerent; et legati Saxorum⁵ reuersi sunt. Postea uero conuentum adduxerunt;⁶ ex⁷ utraque parte Britones et Saxones in unum sine armis conuenirent statutum est, et amicitia firma ad inuicem esset.

.XLIX.¹ Hengistus nequissimus omni familie sue² iussit quod unusquisque artuum suum sub pede suo in medio ficonis sui poneret; 'et quando clamauero ad uos et dixerero, "En Saxones, ³NIMED EURE SAXES", id est, ³cultellos⁴ uestros de ficonibus uestris deducite,⁵ 'et in illos irruite, et fortiter contra resistite; regemque eorum nolite occidere, sed eum pro causa filie mee⁶ quam dedi illi in coniugium, tenete; quia melius est nobis ut ex manibus nostris redimatur'. Et⁷ conuentum adduxerunt, et in unum conuenerunt. Saxones autem amicabiliter locuti sunt, et mente interim uulpiculo more agebant, et uir iuxta uirum socialiter sederunt. Et Hengistus, sicut dixerat, uociferatus est. Et omnes seniores .ccc. Guortigirni⁸ regis sunt iugulati; ipseque solus captus et catenatus est; ac regiones plurimas pro redemptione anime sue tribuit illis, id est Eastsexe, ⁹Suthsexe, Midelsexe,⁹ ¹⁰et ab illicita eum coniunctione separaret.¹⁰

.L.¹ Sanctus uero Germanus Guorthigirno predicabat, ut ad Deum se conuerteret.² At ille usque ad regionem que a nomine suo acceperat nomen, scilicet Guorthigirnianum, miserabiliter aufugit, ut ibi cum mulieribus suis lateret. Sanctus itaque Germanus eum persecutus est cum omni clero Britonum, et ibi .xl. diebus totidemque noctibus mansit, et super petram orabat, ibique die ac nocte stabat. Et iterum Guortigirmus³ usque ad arcem Gurtigerni⁴ quam edificauerat, et nomen suum imposuerat,⁵ id est Din Gurtigirn,⁵ atque in regione Dimetorum iuxta flumen Teibi ignominiose abcessit. Solito autem more sanctus Germanus eum secutus est, et ibi ieiunus cum omni clero suo tribus diebus totidemque noctibus causaliter⁶ mansit; in quarta uero nocte arx tota, circa medie noctis horam, per ignem de celo missum ex inprouisu cecidit, ardente igne celesti; et Guortigirmus,⁷ cum omnibus qui cum eo erant et cum uxoribus suis, defecit. Hic est finis Guortigirni,⁸ sicut in libro beati Germani repperi; alii autem aliter dixerunt.

.LL.¹ Postquam exosi fuerunt illi omnes homines gentis sue pro piaculo suo, inter potentes et inpotentes, inter seruum et liberum, inter monachos et laicos, inter paruum et magnum, et ipse dum de loco ad locum uagus iret, tandem cor eius crepuit, et defunctus est non cum laude.

.LII.¹ Alii autem dixerunt terram apertam esse, que eum deglutiuit, in nocte in qua combusta est arx circa eum, quia non sunt inuente ulle reliquie illorum qui combusti sunt cum eo in arce.

.LIII.¹ Tres filios habuit, quorum nomina hec sunt: Guorthemir² qui pugnauit contra barbaros, ut supra scripsi; secundus Cantegirrus;³ tercius Pascent, qui regnauit in duabus⁴ regionibus, id est Buelth et Guortigirnianum,⁵ post mortem patris sui, largiente Ambrosio,⁶ qui fuerat rex in omnes regiones Britannie; quartus fuit⁷ Faustus,⁸ qui illi de filia sua natus est, quem sanctus Germanus baptizauit, enutriuit, atque docuit; et condidit locum magnum super ripam fluminis quod uocatur Renis, et manet usque hodie.⁹ Et unam⁹ habuit filiam que, ut diximus, mater fuit sancti Fausti.¹⁰

.LIIII.¹ Hec est genealogia illius que ad initium retro currit. Firnimail, ipse est qui regit modo in regione Guortigirnianum,² filius est Theudubr³ (ipse Theudubr est rex Buelth⁴ regionis); Theudubr filius Pascent, map Apguocan, map Moriud, map Eldat, map Eldoe,⁵ map Paul, map Mepric,⁶ map Briecat, map Pascent, map Guorthigirn, map Guortheneu, map Guitaul, map Guitolin, map Gloui. Bonus, Paulus,⁷ Mauron tres fratres⁸ fuerunt, filii Gloui qui edificauit urbem magnam super ripam fluminis Sabrine, que uocatur britannico sermone Cair Gloui, saxonice autem Gleucestre.⁹ Satis dictum est de Guorthigirno¹⁰ et de regno suo et de gente¹¹ eius.⁹

.LV.¹ Beatus uero Germanus reuersus est post mortem Guorthigirni ad patriam suam. Et sanctus Patricius erat in illo tempore captiuus apud Scottos, et dominus illius dicebatur Melchu, et porcarius cum illo erat; et in .xvii. anno etatis sue de captiuitate reuersus est, et nutu Dei eruditus est in sacris litteris. Ac post Romam usque perrexit, et per longum spacium ibidem mansit ad legendum scrutandaque misteria Dei; sanctasque percurrit scripturas. Nam cum

ibi esset per annos plurimos, missus est Palladius episcopus primitus a Celestino papa romano, ad Scottos in Christum conuertendos; qui prohibitus a Deo per quasdas tempestates, quia nemo potest quicquam accipere in terra nisi de celo datum illi fuerit. Et profectus est ille Palladius de Ybernia,² peruenitque ad Britanniam, et ibi defunctus est in terra Pictorum.

.LVI.¹ Audita morte Palladii episcopi Patricius, Theodosio et Valentino regnantibus, a Celestino papa romano, et angelo Dei cui nomen erat Uictor monente, et Germano sancto episcopo, ad Scottos conuertendos in Christum mittitur.

.LVII.¹ Misit ergo Germanus cum illo seniore Segelum episcopum² ad³ Amatheum regem³ in propinquo habitantem. Ibi sanctus erat⁴ sciens omnia que uentura essent⁵ illi, et illic⁵ gradum episcopalem a Matheo rege et a sancto episcopo accepit, nomenque, quod est Patricius, sumpsit ibi;⁶ quia Maun⁷ prius uocabatur. Auxilius⁸ presbiter, et⁸ Yserminus diaconus,⁹ et ceteri inferiori gradu, simul cum eo ordinati sunt.

.LVIII.¹ Tunc acceptis benedictionibus, perfectisque omnibus,² in nomine² sancte Trinitatis paratem ascendit nauim; et peruenit ad Britanniam insulam, et predicauit ibi non multis diebus. Et amissis omnibus ambulandi anfractibus, summa uelocitate flatuque prospero Mare Ibernicum transfretauit;³ onerata⁴ uero nauis, cum transfretaret⁵ hoc mare magnum,⁶ mirabilibus et spiritualibus thesauris, perrexit ad Iberniam,⁷ et baptizauit eos.

.LIX.¹ A mundi principio usque ad baptismum Yberniensium,²
.v.^m.ccc.xxx. anni sunt. In quinto Loigere regis anno exorsus est
Patricius³ predicare fidem Dei. Sanctus itaque Patricius euangelium
Christi exteris nationibus per annos .xl. predicabat, uirtutes
apostolicas faciebat,⁴ cecos illuminabat,⁵ leprosos mundabat,⁵ surdos
audire faciebat, demones ex obsessis corporibus fugabat, mortuos .ix.
suscitauit,⁶ captiuos multos utriusque sexus suis propriis sumptibus
redemit.

.LX.¹ Scripsit abietoria .ccc.lxv., et eo amplius numero. Ecclesias
quoque eodem numero fundauit .ccc.lxv. Ordinauit episcopos eodem
numero .ccc.lxv., et eo amplius, in quibus spiritus Dei erat.
Presbiteros autem usque .iii. milia² ordinauit. Et .xii.^m. hominum
in una regione,³ que uocatur³ Connachta, ad fidem⁴ Christi⁵ conuertit
et baptizauit; et .vii. reges, qui erant filii Amolgith, in uno die
baptizauit. .XL. diebus totidemque noctibus in cacumine collis Eli
ieiunauit, id est Cruachan Eli; in quo colle, in aere, tres
petitiones pro his Hibernensibus qui fidem Christi receperunt,⁶
clementer postulauit.

.LXI.¹ Prima eius peticio fuit, ut fertur² a Scottis,² quod
unusquisque susciperet penitenciam credentium, licet in extremo uite
sue statu; secunda, ne a barbaris consumerentur³ in eternum; tertia,
ut non superuiuat aliquis Hiberniensium in aduentu iudicii, quia
delebitur aqua,⁴ pro honore sancti⁵ Patricii, .vii. annis ante diem
iudicii. In illo autem tumultu⁶ benedixit populo Hiberniensium; et
ideo ascendit ut oraret pro eis, et uideret fructum laboris sui;
ueneruntque ad eum aues multi coloris innumerabiles, ut benediceret eis.

Quod significat omnes sanctos utriusque sexus Hiberniensium peruenire ad eum in die iudicii, ad⁷ patrem⁸ et ad⁸ magistrum suum, ut sequantur illum ad iudicium. Postea in senectute bona migrauit ad Dominum, ubi nunc letatur in secula seculorum, amen.

.LXII.¹ Quatuor modis equantur Moyses et Patricius. ²Primo, id est, angelo sibi² colloquente in rubo igneo; secundo, in monte .xl. diebus³ et .xl.³ noctibus ieiunauit; tercio, similes fuerunt etate, .c. xx. annis; quarto, sepulcrum illius non inuenitur, sed in occulto humatus est, nemine sciente. Quindecim annis in captiuitate, in uigesimo .v. anno ab Amatheo sancto episcopo subrogatur. Octoginta .v. annorum in Hibernia predicauit.⁴ Res autem exigebat amplius loqui de sancto Patricio, sed tamen pro compendio sermonis uolui breuiare.

.LXIII.¹ In illo tempore Saxones inualescebant et crescebant non modice in Britannia. Mortuo autem Hengisto, Ohta filius eius transiuit de sinistrali parte Britannie ad regem Cantuariorum; et de ipso orti sunt reges illius patrie. Artur pugnabat contra illos in illis diebus, uidelicet Saxones, cum regibus Britonum; sed ipse dux erat bellorum,² ³et in omnibus bellis uictor extitit.³ ⁴Artur, latine translatus, sonat 'ursum horribilem', uel 'malleum ferreum' quo confringuntur mole leonum; Mab Utur britannice⁵ 'filius horribilis' latine,⁶ quoniam a puericia sua crudelis fuit.⁴

.LXIIII.¹ Primum bellum fuit in hostium fluminis quod dicitur Glem.² Secundum et tercium et quartum et quintum super aliud flumen quod

uocatur Duglas, quod est in regione Linuis. Sextum bellum super flumen quod uocatur Bassas. Septimum bellum fuit in silua Calidonis, id est, cat coit Celidon. Octauum fuit bellum in castello Gunnion,³ in quo Arthur portauit imaginem⁴ crucis Christi et⁴ sancte Marie semper uirginis super humeros suos; et pagani uersi sunt in fugam in illo die; et multi ceciderunt; plagaque magna super eos uenit per uirtutem Domini nostri Iesu Christi sancteque sue genitricis. ⁵Nam Artur Ierosolimam perrexit, et ibi crucem ad quantitatem salutifere crucis fecit, et ibi consecrata est; et per tres continuos dies⁶ ieiunauit, uigilauit,⁷ et orauit coram cruce dominica, ut ei Dominus uictoriam daret per hoc signum de paganis; quod et factum est; atque secum imaginem sancte Marie detulit, cuius fracture adhuc apud Wedale⁸ in magna ueneratione seruantur.⁵ ⁹Wedale anglice, uallis doloris latine: Wedale est uilla in prouincia Iodonesie,¹⁰ nunc uero iuris episcopi Sancti Andree Scocie, .vi. miliaria ab occidentali parte ab illo quondam nobili¹¹ et eximio¹¹ monasterio de¹² Meilros.⁹ Nonumque bellum gestum est in urbe Legionis. Decimum bellum gestum est in litore fluminis quod uocatur Ribroit. Undecimum bellum fuit in monte quod dicitur Agned Cathregomion. Duodecimum fuit bellum in monte¹³ Badonis, in quo corruerunt in uno die .d. ccc^{ti}. xl^{ta}. uiri de uno impetu Arturi,¹⁴ et nemo eos prostrauit nisi ipse solus.¹⁵

.LXV.¹ Ipsi uero barbari, dum in omnibus bellis prosternerentur, auxilium a Germania petebant, et augebantur multipliciter sine intermissione; et reges a Germania deducebant ut regnarent super eos in Britannia. ²Et regnabant² usque ad tempus quo Ida³ filius Eobba regnauit, qui fuit primus rex³ in Bernicia.⁴

.LXVI.¹ Ida filius Eobba² tenuit regiones in sinistrali parte Humbri maris .xii^{cm}. annis, et iunxit arcem, id est Dingueirin, et Gurbirneth;³ que due regiones fuerunt in una regione, id est Denr⁴ a Berneth,⁵ anglice Deira et Bernicia. Elfled filia Edwini .xii^{mo}. die post pentecosten baptismum accepit, cum innumerabilibus⁶ hominibus de uiris et mulieribus cum ea. Et hec prima baptizata est; Edwinus uero postea in sequenti pasca baptismum suscepit, et .xii^m. hominum in uno die baptizati sunt cum eo. ⁷Sanctus⁸ Paulinus Eboracensis⁹ archiepiscopus eos baptizauit; et per .xl. dies non cessauit baptizare omne genus Ambronum, id est Aldsaxonum; et per¹⁰ predicationem illius multi crediderunt Christo. Sed cum inutiles ¹¹magistro meo, id est Beulano presbitero,¹¹ uise sunt genealogie Saxonum et aliarum genealogie gencium, nolui ea¹² scribere; sed de ciuitatibus et mirabilibus Britannie insula, ut alii scriptores ante me scripsere, scripsi.

¹NOMINA OMNIUM CIUITATUM BRITANNIE¹

.LXVII.² Prima ciuitas Britannie ipsa est³ que uocatur Cair⁴ Gurthigirn, Cair Muncip, Cair Meguod, Cair Ebroanc, Cair Caratauc, Cair Mauchguid, Cair Caint, Cair Peris, Cair Legion,⁵ Cair Segeint,⁶ Kair⁷ Guerit, Cair Lerion, Kair Pensauelcoith,⁸ Cair Celemon,⁹ Kair Guintuig,¹⁰ Cair Luadiit, Kair Colim, Cair Custeint, Kair Grauth, Cair Lunden;¹¹ Kair Guoeirangon, Cair Dauri,¹² Kair Guoricon,¹³ Cair Legion,¹⁴ Kair Britto, Cair Droithan,¹⁵ Kair Urnath,¹⁶ Cair Luit coith.¹⁷ Hec¹⁸ sunt nomina omnium ciuitatum que sunt in Britannia, quarum numerus est .xx^{ti}.viii^{to}.

¹DE MIRABILIBUS BRITANNIE² INSULE¹

.LXVIII.³ Primum miraculum est stagnum Lummonu; quia⁴ in eo sunt insule⁵.ccc^{te}.xl^{ta}. et ibi habitant homines; .ccc^{tis}. et xl^{ta}.⁵ rupibus ambitur, et nidus aquile in unaquaque rupe est; et flumina⁶.ccc^{ta}.xl. fluunt in eo, et⁶ non uadit ex eo ad mare nisi unum⁷ flumen, quod uocatur Leuen.⁸

.LXIX.¹ Secundum miraculum, hostium Trannoni² fluminis,³ quia in una unda instar montis Asisan⁴ tegit⁵ litora, et recedit ut cetera maria iterum.

.LXX.¹ Tercium miraculum, stagnum² calidum quod est in regione Huiccorum. Et muro ambitur ex latere et lapide facto; et in eo uadunt homines per omne tempus ad lauandum, et unicuique sicut placuerit illi lauacrum, sic fit sibi secundum uoluptatem³ suam; si uoluerit esse balneum frigidum, erit; si calidum, erit.

.LXXI.¹ Quartum miraculum est, fontes de salo; a quibus fontibus sal decoquitur,² aqua extracta, unde omnia cibaria saliantur; et non sunt prope mari, sed de terra emergunt.

.LXXII.¹ Aliud miraculum est Donrighabren,² id est duo reges Sabrine. Quando inundatur mare ad sissam in hostium Sabrine, duo cumuli spumarum congregantur separatim, et bellum faciunt inter³ se in modum arietum; et procedit unusquisque ad alterum, et collidunt se ad inuicem. Et iterum recedit alter ab altero, et iterum procedunt ex uno cumulo super omnem faciem maris. In unaquaque sissa hoc faciunt

ab initio mundi usque in hodiernum diem.³

.LXXIII.¹ Aliud miraculum est stagni Liuane, quod est² Aper Lin Liuan; ostium fluminis illius fluit in Sabrina, et quando inundatur Sabrina ad³ sissam, et mare similiter, inundatur in ostio supradicti fluminis, et in ostio stagni recipitur in modum uoraginis,⁴ et mare⁴ non uadit sursum. Et est litus iuxta flumen; et quando Sabrina inundatur ad sissam, istud litus non tegitur; et quando recedit mare, et Sabrina, tunc stagnum Liguane eructat omne quod deuorauit de mari, et litus istud tegitur: et instar montis in una eructat unda et rumpit. Et si fuerit exercitus tocius regionis in qua est istud litus, et direxerit faciem suam⁵ contra undam, et unda trahit exercitum per uim humoris,⁶ repletis uestibus, et equi similiter trahuntur. Si supradictus³ exercitus terga uersus fuerit contra eam, non nocet ei unda. Et quando recesserit mare totum, tunc litus quod unda tegit retro denudatus, et mare recedit ab ipso.

.LXXIIII.¹ Est² aliud mirabile in regione Cinloipiauc. Est ibi fons nomine Fontaun Guorhelic. Non fluit riuus ex eo neque in eo; et³ uadunt homines piscari ad fontem. Alii uadunt in fonte ad partem orientis, et deducunt pisces ex ea parte; alii ad dexteram, alii ad sinistram, ad occidentemque, et trahuntur pisces ab unaquaque parte; et aliud genus piscium trahitur ex omnibus partibus. Magnum mirabile, pisces inueniri in fontem dum non flumen fluit in eo, neque ex eo; et in eo inueniuntur .iiii^{or}. genera piscium, et non est de magnitudine neque de profunditate. Profunditas illius usque ad genua, .xx. pedes in longitudine⁴ et latitudine; ripas altas habet⁵ in omni parte.

.LXXV.¹ Iuxta flumen quod uocatur Goy, poma inueniuntur super fraxinum, in procliuo² saltus, qui est prope hostium fluminis.

.LXXVI.¹ Est aliud mirabile in regione que dicitur Guent. Est ibi fouea, a qua uentus flat per omne tempus sine intermissione; et quando non flat uentus in tempore estatis, de illa fouea incessanter flat, ita ut nemo possit sustinere neque ante foueam,² pro frigiditate;² et uocatur³ nomen eius Huit Guint brittannico sermone, latine autem flatio uenti.⁴ Magnum mirabile est uentum de terra flare.

.LXXVII.¹ Est aliud mirabile in Gubir altare quod est in loco qui dicitur Loingarch, quod nutu Dei fulcitur. Fabulam istius altaris melius mihi uidetur narrare quam reticere. Factum² est autem dum sanctus Eltutus orabat in spelunca sua³ que est iuxta mare quod adluit terram supradicti loci, os huius⁴ spelunce ad mare est, et ecce naus nauigabat ad se de mari, et duo uiri remigantes eam, et corpus cuiusdam sancti hominis erat cum illis in naue, et altare supra faciem eius quod nutu Dei fulciebatur; et processit homo Dei in obuiam illorum; et corpus sancti hominis de nau⁵ duxerunt,⁶ et altare inseparabiliter supra faciem sancti corporis stabat. Et dixerunt ad sanctum Eltutum: 'Iste homo Dei precepit nobis ut deduceremus eum ad te, et sepeliremus eum tecum. Et nomen eius non reueles ulli homini, ut non iurent per eum⁷ homines.' Et sepelierunt eum. Et post sepulturam illi duo uiri reuersi sunt ad nauim, et nauigauerunt. At ille sanctus Eltutus ecclesiam fundauit circa corpus sancti hominis et circa altare; et manet usque in hodiernum diem altare potestate Dei fulcitum. Uenit quidam regulus

ut probaret, portans uirgam in manu sua; curuauit eam circa altate, et tenuit ambis manibus uirgam ex utraque parte, et traxit ⁸ ad se; ⁸ et sic ueritatem huius rei probauit. Set ille postea mensem integrum non uixit. Alter autem sub altare aspexit, et aciem oculorum eius amisit, et ante mensem integrum uitam finiuit.

.LXXVIII. ¹ Est autem aliud mirabile in supradicta regione, id est Guent. Est ibi fons iuxta uallem ² putei Maurit, et lignum in medio fontis; et lauant homines manus suas cum faciebus suis, et lignum sub pedibus suis ³ habent quando lauant; nam et ego uidi et probaui. Quando mare inundatur ad malinam, extenditur Sabrina super omnem maritimam ripam ⁴ et tegit, et usque deducitur ad fontem, et impletur fons de sissa Sabrine, et trahit lignum secum usque ad mare magnum, et per spacia trium dierum in mare inuenitur, ⁵ et in quarto die in supradicto fonte inuenitur. ⁵ Factum est autem ut unus ⁶ de rusticis sepeliret eum in terra ad probandum; et in .iiii^{to}. die inuentus est ⁷ in fonte, et ille rusticus qui eum abscondit et sepeliuit statim defunctus est.

.LXXIX. ¹ Est aliud mirabile in regione que dicitur Buel. Est ibi cumulus lapidum, et unus lapis ² superpositus super congestum cum uestigio canis in eo. Quando uenatus est porcus Terit, ³ inpressit Cabal, qui erat canis Arturi ⁴ militis, uestigium in lapide. Et Artur ⁵ postea congregauit ⁶ congestum lapidum sub lapide in quo erat uestigium canis sui; et uocatur Carn Cabal. Et ueniunt homines et tollunt lapidem in manibus suis per spacium diei et noctis, et in ⁷ crastino inuenitur super congestum ⁸ suum.

.LXXX.¹ Est aliud miraculum. In regione Ercing habetur sepulcrum iuxta fontem qui uocatur² Oculus Amr; et uiri nomen qui sepultus est in tumulo sic uocabatur³ Amr; filius Arturi⁴ militis erat, et ipse occidit eum ibidem⁵ et sepeliuit. Et ueniunt homines ad mensurandum tumulum in longitudine: aliquando .vii. pedes, aliquando .xv., aliquando .xii., aliquando .ix. In qua mensura metieris⁶ eum in ista uice, iterum non inuenies eum in una mensura; et ego ipse probaui.

¹DE MIRABILIBUS MONIE INSULE.¹

.LXXXI.² Primum miraculum est litus sine mare.

.LXXXII.¹ Secundum miraculum: est ibi mons qui giratur tribus uicibus in anno.

.LXXXIII.¹ Tercium miraculum est uadum ibi; quando inundatur mare, et ipse inundatur; et quando decrescit mare, et ipse minuitur.

.LXXXIIII.¹ Quartum est miraculum,² lapis qui ambulat in nocturnis temporibus super uallem Chenin; et proiectus est olim in uoragine³ Pol Kerist,³ ⁴qui est in medio⁴ pelagi quod uocatur M nei,⁵ et crastino supra ripam supradicte uallis sine dubio inuentus est.

¹DE MIRABILIBUS HYBERNIE.¹

.LXXXV.² Est ibi stagnum quod uocatur Luchem.³ .IIII^{or.} circulis ambitur. Primo circulo gronita stagni, id est stain, ambitur;

secundo circulo gronna, id est muin, plumbi ambitur; tercio circulo gronnua ferri ambitur; quarto circulo gronna eris ambitur. Et in eo stagno margarite multe⁴ inueniuntur, que ponunt reges in auribus suis.

.LXXXVI.¹ Est aliud stagnum quod² facit ligna arescere, in lapides durescere; homines autem findunt ligna; et postquam formauerint, proiciunt in stagno, et manet in eo usque ad capud anni; et in capite anni³ lapis reperitur, ⁴et uocatur⁴ Luch Echac.

.LXXXVII.¹ Est aliud mirabile in regione que uocatur Ceretum. Est ibi mons qui cognominatur Crucinarc,² et est sepulcrum in cacumine montis. Et omnis homo quicumque uenerit³ ad sepulcrum et extenderit se iuxta illud, quamuis breuis fuerit, in una longitudine inuenitur sepulcrum et homo. Et si fuerit homo breuis et paruus, similiter et longitudinem⁴ sepulcri iuxta staturam hominis inuenitur; et si fuerit longus atque procerus, etiam si fuisset in longitudine .iiii^{or}. cubitorum, iuxta staturam uniuscuiusque hominis, sic tumulus inuenitur. Et omnis peregrinus tediosus qui tres flectiones flectauerit iuxta illud, non erit tedium⁵ super eum⁶ usque ad diem mortis sue, et non grauabitur ⁷iterum tedio ullo,⁷ quamuis habitasset solus in extremis finibus cosmi.

⁸EXPLICIT HISTORIA NENNII BRITONUM HISTORIOGRAPHI DE PRIMA INHABITATIONE
BRITONUM BRITANNICE INSULE ⁸

THE TEXTUAL HISTORY
OF THE WELSH-LATIN
HISTORIA BRITTONUM

by

DAVID NORMAN DUMVILLE

VOLUME THREE



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VARIANT READINGS

AND

TEXTUAL NOTES

TO THE

'HARLEIAN'

RECENSION

S I G L AComplete witnesses

- C London, British Library, MS. Cotton Vespasian B.25,
fos 126^v- 143^v.
- H London, British Library, MS. Harley 3859, fos 174^v- 190^r,
195^r- 198^r.
- R London, British Library, MS. Cotton Vespasian D.21,
fos 1^r- 17^v.
- S Salisbury, Cathedral Library, MS. 146, fos 180^v- 181^r.
(§§ 68-85 only).
- V London, British Library, MS. Cotton Vitellius A.13, Vol. 2,
fos 91^v- 101^r.

Partial witnesses

- A London, British Library, MS. Cotton Titus A.27, fos 87^{r/v},
185^v- 186^v.
- F London, British Library, MS. Cotton Domitian A.8, fo 31^v.
- I Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS. lat. misc. d.13 (S.C. 30572),
fos 25^r- 30^r.
- L Ghent, University Library, MS. 92, fos 68^v- 73^r, 75^{r/v},
63^v- 64^v.

VARIANT READINGS AND TEXTUAL NOTES TO THE HARLEIAN RECENSION

§ 1

§ 1 is found only in H. At the head of fo. 174v, in a very small hand, is the rubric (partly cut away by a binder) Incipit comp(utatio).

1. This title is found at the head of the text in none of our manuscripts. R, however, has a contents-page (Royal 15.A.22, fo. 1v) in which the first line of the title of our text has been thoroughly erased (and is not recoverable) but De miraculis Britannie still stands. C, a copy of R, has a similar contents-page (fo. 1^v) where stands the title given above. This is without doubt what originally stood in R.
-

§ 2

§ 2 only in H.

1. quingenti trecenti H: evidence for copying, at some stage, from an exemplar which used numerals, reading .d. ccc.
 2. All the figures given here are subject to error. The total of 4879 years differs from the 4893 which is the sum total of the count in § 1. Similarly 4879 + 566 do not make 5228, but 5445.
 3. H¹; nonaginta H².
 - 4...4. My emendation; triginta unus CHRV. (This results from an early miscopying of .xxix. as .xxxi.
-

§ 3

1. FHLRV; affrica C. The -o stands over an erasure in H.

2. CFH²LRV; boriali H*.
 3. CH¹L²RV; promuntoria FH²L*.
 4. HRV; et et C.
 5. H; Britones ACFLRV.
 6. CRV; Armonicas HL (evidence of an earlier exemplar using Insular r; cf. Bede, Hist. Eccl. i. 1, where M-type manuscripts have armonicano for the correct armoricano of the C-type text — Plummer, Baedae Opera Historica, i, p. 11); Armoricos AF.
 - 7...7. AFHL (and Chartres); om. CRV.
 8. ACHRV; Gueiht F; Gueth L.
 9. AFH²LRV; umbiculo CH¹.
 10. ACFHLR; Hyberniam V.
 11. ACFHR; Orch LV.
 12. AHL; om. CRV.
 13. CRV; semptrionem H.
 14. My emendation (supported by Gild., Vat.); sed CHRV (and Chartres).
 15. CLRV; Tanesis H.
 16. AL; Sabrine CHRV (and Chartres).
 17. ACRV; quam H.
-

§ 4

1. CFHR; scriptus V.
- 2...2. CHR; ad Italiam uenit V.
3. AHV; optinuit CR.
4. R adds the interlinear gloss id est Labinam.
5. CFHR; pepperit V.
6. HRV; om. C.
7. CRV; occideret H.

8. FH; Brutus A; Bruto CRV.
 9. CHV; uationem R.
 10. H; armillis C; armilis RV. This is a still unresolved crux;
Gutschmid's conjecture, reported by Mommsen, is worthy of notice —
ab Italia<e terminis> fu<g>it.
 11. H²; Treni H¹; Tyrreni CRV; Tyreni A.
 12. CH²RV; occasionis H¹.
 - 13...13. CFHR; peruenit ad istam V.
-

§ 5

1. ACHR; Aschanius V.
 2. ACRV; quam H.
 3. H; Postumus ACRV.
 4. ARV; apellati CH
 5. H; Bruto CRV;
 6. H; Brutus A; Bruto CRV.
 7. HR; archa CV.
 8. H; Postumus ACRV.
-

§ 6

1. ACH²RV; Ordaces H*.
-

§ 7

1. ACHR; Hyberniam V.
 2. H; eis CRV.
-

§ 8

- 1...1. H; uenit ad Hiberniam CRV.
 2. HR; Hiberniam C; Hybernia V.
 3. H; suis CRV.
 4. H; om. CRV.
 5. CH²RV; uitreum H* (perhaps a miscopying of an open Insular a).
 6. H; mari CRV. (H preserves the Insular orthography.)
 7. CRV; om. H.
 - 8...8. A very suspect reading, but supported by Vat.; Gild. has
uno animo.
 9. H; oppugnationem CRV.
 10. H; preparaauerunt CRV (an attempt to reconcile the verb and uno
anno).
 11. CH* RV; est H².
 12. CH²RV; uni H¹.
 13. CH¹RV; descenderent H².
 14. CHR; eos V.
 15. CHR; Hybernia V.
 16. My emendation; Istorim H; Istorum CRV; Storim L.
 17. HR; Dalneta CV; Dalbrieta L.
 18. My emendation; in alis H (showing Insular orthography: i for ii);
malis CRV.
 19. CHR; optinuerunt V.
 20. H; om. CRV.
 21. H; Guhir CRV.
 22. H; Cumeda CRV.
-

§ 9

- 1...1. H; quo tempore uel quando CRV.
2. CHR; Hybernia V.
3. C²H; mihi C¹R; $\frac{1}{m}$ V.
- 4...4. H; filiis Israhel per mare rubrum CRV.
5. H; Egyptii CRV.
6. CLRV; om. H.
7. H; persequendum CLRV.
8. CH*RV; obsederet H².
9. HV¹; demersi CRV².
- 10...10. CHR; rubro mari V.
- 11...11. H; et duos annos CR; duos annos V.
12. HLV; Affrica CR.
13. CHLR; Philistinorum AV.
14. AHRV; iusicadam C; Rusicadem L.
15. HL; columnas ACRV.
16. H¹; Herculis ACH²LRV.
17. H¹; Tirrenum H²; Tyrrenum CLRV; Tyrenum A.
18. ACHLR; Hyberniam V.
19. My emendation; Darieta CHRV.
20. AH; ditatores CRV.
21. ACR; plubicam H; publicam V.
22. ACHR; optinuerunt V.
23. HRV; quadrintos C.
24. H*V; dampnati H²; dammata ACR.
25. My emendation; fuerant CHRV.
26. ACHR; optinuerunt V.
27. ACHR; Hyberniam V.

28. H; unanimiter CRV.
 29. CRV; indesinter H.
 30. CHR; optinuerunt V.
-

§ 10

1. CHR; et uiginti V.
-

§ 11

1. HV; om. CR.
 2...2. H; om. CRV.
-

§ 12

1. CRV; ()nitium H.
 2. CRV; clici H.
 3. My emendation; decennouenalis H; decennouennalis CR;
decennouenna[] V. (The text seems to preserve Insular
 orthography, showing i for e.)
 4. CHR; Hyberniam V.
 5. CRV; cliclum H.
 6. H; decennouennalem CRV.
-

§ 13

1. CRV; Brutto H.
 2. ACRV; Ttres H.
 3. ACHR; Cam V.

4. CHR; Iapheth V; Iaphet A.
 5. AH; om. CRV.
-

§ 14

- 1...1. AH; om. CRV.
 2. HR; Iapheth ACV.
 3. H; Hessicio CRV; Hesitio A.
 4. H; Armenio ACRV.
 5. H; Hessicio CRV.
 6. H; ii CR; hii V.
 7. AHR; Bruto C; Brito V.
 8. ACH¹RV; Burgondus H².
 9. ACH*RV; Langobardus H².
 - 10...10. CRV; autem habuit autem H.
 11. H¹; Uuandalus H²; Uadalus CRV; Wandalus A.
-

§ 15

1. H; Hisicione RV; Hesitione A; Hessicone C.
2. ACHR; Latani V.
3. CHR; om. AV.
4. AH; Bruti CRV.
5. ACH²RV; quinta H¹.
6. CH¹RV; Dualagothi H²; Walagotti A.
7. AH¹; Burgondi H²; Burgundi CRV.
8. ACH*RV; Langobardi H²
9. HR; Negnio A; Neugone C; Negiuo V.
10. CHR; Wandali AV.

11. H; Fethebir ACRV; Sethebyr L.
 12. ACHR; They V.
 13. AHL; Symeon CRV.
 14. ACH¹R; Rea H².
 15. ACHLR; Baaz V.
 16. CHR; Iapheth AV.
 17. H; Matusalam CR; Matusale A; Mathussalam V.
-

§ 16.

1. H; Hisicionis RV; Esitionis A; Hesicionis C.
 2. H; Hisicion RV; Hesicion C.
 3. AHV; Siluee CR.
 4. HRV; Pompilii A; Pamphilii C.
 5. AH; Ascani CR; Aschani V.
 6. CHR; Iapheth AV.
 7. CHR; Iapheth A; Iaphet[] V.
 - 8...8. ACRV (and Vat.); habuit septem filios H.
 9. CH¹RV; Gomer AH².
 - 10...10. ACRV; om. H.
 11. H; Hebrei ACRV (the H- stands on an erasure in R).
 12. CHR; Capadoces AV.
 13. CH²RV; septe^{imus} H (+H²).
 14. CHR; Tyras AV.
 15. H; Ii CR; Hii V.
 16. H; afeth CR; Iapheth V.
 17. CHR; a V.
-

§ 17

1. CHR; tyranni V.
 2. ACH¹RV; accepissiet H².
 3. CHR; optinuisset V.
 4. H¹; Terrini H²; Tyrreni CLRV.
 5. H; Iulius Cesar CLRV.
 6. H; ostium CRV.
 - 7...7. CHR; om. V.
 8. H; cechilou CRV.
 9. H (and Chartres); tercium CLRV.
 10. HL; Trinouatum CRV.
 11. H; et septem CRV.
 12. H; milia ann³ CRV; milia annorum L.
 13. L; ducentorum H; .cc. CRV.
-

§ 18

1. H; Cesar CRV.
 2. HRV; Brittanni C.
 3. CHR; ipsius V.
 4. HRV; decreuere C.
 5. CHR; Octouiano V.
 6. H¹; Augusto CH²RV.
 7. H¹; Purporea H²; Purpurea CLRV.
-

§ 19

1. CRV; asque H¹; asbque H².

2. H² adds the marginal gloss (which has left an offset on the opposite page) id est nauibus.
 3. H¹; insulas CH²LRV.
 - 4...4. CR; censum dari V; dare censum H (showing Insular -e for -i).
 5. HRV; creditum C.
 - 6...6. H; octo mensibus CLRV.
 7. My emendation; Mogantia CHRV.
 8. H (and Vat.); imperatore CRV.
 9. CRV (and Vat.); Eucharisto H; Eleuthero L².
-

§ 20

1. H; per centum CRV.
 2. H; unanimiter CLRV.
 3. H; Brittannos CRV; Britannos L
-

§ 21

1. CL*RV; Karitius H.
 2. HR; tirrannus C; tyrannus V.
 3. HR; tirrannide C; tyrannide V.
 4. CH*RV; qui H²
 5. HR; tirrannus C; tyrannus V.
 6. H; om. CRV.
 7. CH¹RV; romannice H².
 8. H; Brittannia CRV.
-

§ 22.

1. CHR; Minimanton V. The name is discussed by R. Thurneysen, Zeitschrift für celtische Philologie, 20 (1933-36), p. 125, n. 1, who suggests that it is some kind of Latinisation of Old Welsh *minment (< Lat. monumentum).
-

§ 23

1. CHLR; loquutus V.
-

§ 24

- 1...1. CHR; in Britannia regnauit imperator V.
 - 2...2. H; a Brittannia CLRV.
 3. CHR; Hi LV.
 - 4...4. CHR; Propterea LV.
-

§ 25

1. HLRV; Ooctauus C.
-

§ 26

1. CHL; om. RV.
 - 2...2. HRV; regnum deiecerunt C.
 3. H; illos CRV.
 4. CHR; eorum LV.
-

§ 27

1. H; tyranno CRV.
 2. CRV; Valentiniano H²; Valenti[ano] H.
 3. CH¹RV; Valentinianus H².
 4. H; Synodus CRV.
 5. CHR; Costannipolm V.
 6. HV; damnantur CR.
 7. HRV; Beethleem C.
 8. CHR; gallianas V.
 9. HRV; Parasis C (a corruption of Parisiis).
 10. CRV; Meroblaudus H.
 - 11...11. H; om. CRV.
 12. H¹; Lugduni H²; om. CRV.
 13. H; terci CRV.
 14. CH¹RV; regiis H²
 15. HV; damnatur CR.
 - 16...16. H; anno eodem CRV.
 - 17...17. My insertion (supported by Vat., Gild., Lebor); om. CHRV.
-

§ 28

1. CHR; om. V.
 2. CHR; duces V.
 3. CHR; magno V.
 4. My emendation; trecentis CHR; ccc. V.
 5. CHR; fatiebant V.
 6. CRV; brittannica H.
 7. CHLR; trihumpho V.
-

§ 29

1. CHR; tyranni V.
 2. CHR; Guortigirrus V.
 3. HRV; romano CL
-

§ 30

1. CHLR; erat V.
 2. My emendation; Guictglis CHR; Guitglis V.
 3. HV; Guigta R; Guicgta C.
 4. CHR; Guecta V.
 5. CHV; Fredul R.
 6. H; Fin CRV.
 7. My emendation (supported by Chartres); Fodepald HR; Fodebald C; Fodepald V. The -p- (from Old English wynn [p]) shows that this genealogy was adopted from a written Old English document.
-

§ 31

1. CHR; Guortigirrus V.
 2. HLRV; Tenet C.
 3. CHR; Ruoihin V.
 4. CLRV; Regnanne H.
 5. CHR; Guortigirno V; Gorthingerio L.
-

§ 32

1. HLRV; eum C.

2. CHR; tyrannus LV.
 3. CHLR; uenit V.
 4. CHR; estium V.
 5. HLRV; rospensum (< rospensum) C.
 6. CHR; om. LV.
 7. CH¹RV (and Chartres); ianitorem H²L.
 8. CH; tyranni LRV.
-

§ 33

1. HLRV; tiranni C.
 - 2...2. CHR; inuentus est uitulus V.
 3. H; tyranni CLRV.
 4. CLRV (and Chartres and Vat.); inclinabat H.
 5. H; illi CRV; om. L.
 - 6...6. CLRV (and Chartres and Vat.); baptizatus est H.
 - 7...7. CLRV (and Chartres and Vat.); osculauit eum H.
 8. CH¹RV; gradiaris H².
 9. H; impetrauerunt CRV.
 - 10...10. HV; est reuersus est R; est reuersus C.
 11. CLRV; quid aliquid H.
 12. CLRV; ()_n H.
 13. CHR; erat V.
 14. HL; Catell CRV.
-

§ 34

Commencing with this chapter, the coloured initials in H cease to be supplied. Sometimes a small letter may still be found in the margin,

indicating the letter to be supplied.

1. CH¹IR; Tanet H²L.
2. CHR; uestitum IV.
3. CHR; Hængistus I; Hengest L; Hengistus V.
4. CHV; explorassit R (the -i- stands over an erasure).
5. H; inertem CILRV.
6. CH¹IRV; at H².
- 7...7. H; regionis nostre CILRV.
8. HIL; om. CRV.
9. CHIR; sexdecim LV.
10. CHR; illis V.
11. H*R; Hengesti H²; Hengesti L; Hengisti CIV.
12. CHR; Hengest L; Hengistus V.
13. CHR; Guortigirno V; Gorthingerio L.
14. CH¹RV; uocabatur H².
15. CHR; ciceram V.
- 16...16. H; in corde Guorthigirni intrauit Sathanas CR; in corde
Guortigirni intrauit Sathanas V.
17. CH*R; Hengestus H²; Hengistus IV; Hengest L.
18. CHRV; Aggul L.
19. CHR; om. V.
20. CHR; Canturgoralen V; Cantia guoralen I.
21. H¹R; Chent H²V; Kent CL.
22. CHR; Goyrangono L; Guoyrangono V.
23. H; illius CRV; il[...]ius L.
24. CHR; Hengistus IV; Hengest L.
25. CHR; Guortigirnum V; Uurtgermo I.
26. CIRV; tuus H.
27. HI; om. CRV.

28. CH¹R; fratrue - li
 H²LV; fratrue - le
 I.
 29. CRV; inuitati H.
 30. CH¹RV; Ebissa cum H²IL.
 31. HIRV; quadriginta C; .XL^{ta} L.
 32. CLRV; Ordaces H; Orcadas I.
 33. CH^{*}R; Henggestus H²; Hengest L; Hengistus V.
 - 34...34. CHR; paulatim ad se LV.
 - 35...35. A curious reading; a quibus would have been expected.
 36. HI; om. CLRV.
-

§ 35

1. CHR; Guortigirmus V; Gorthingerius L.
 2. CH^{*}R; suam H²IV.
 3. CHLR; pepperit V.
 4. CH^{*}RV; compertum H²L.
 5. CHR; synodus V.
 6. CH^{*}RV; dimittam H².
 7. CR; Guorthigirni H; Guortigirnum V.
 8. HL; om. CRV.
 9. HLV; damatus CR.
 10. HLV; concilium CR.
-

§ 36

- 1...1. CHR; inuitauit ad se V.
2. H¹R; defendas CH²V.
3. My emendation; amaras CHRV.
- 4...4. CHR; uniuersa gente tua V.

5. HRV; multas C.
 6. This must stand for either circunduxerunt or circu(m)i(u)erunt.
 7. CHR; Guenet V.
 8. H; locum CRV.
-

§ 37

1. CH²RV; congregare H* (showing Insular -e for -i).
2. CH; comparuit RV.
3. CHR; inuenias V.
4. CH²RV; litigebant H¹.
5. HRV; duxerunt C.
6. CHR; Guortigirnum V.
- 7...7. H; om. CRV.
8. H; mihi CR; ⁱm V.
9. CHR; facit V.
10. CHR; H² adds gloss id est reuelalabo.
- 11...11. H; loci istius CRV.
12. H; Placet enim CRV.
13. H; mihi CR; ⁱm V.
14. CRV; pauienti H.
15. CHR; esse V.
16. HRV; foderunt C.
17. H; illi CRV.
18. CRV; Separatate H.
19. H; rufus CR; ruffus V.
- 20...20. CHR; trans stagnum secutus V.
21. HRV; om. C.
22. H; mihi CIR; ⁱm V.

23. CHI; mysterium RV.

§ 38

- 1...1. I take duo dracones to be an explanatory gloss on duo uermes.
 2. CIRV; tuuus H.
 3. H; circue CIRV.
 4. tuam R.
 5. HIRV; Eembreis C.
 6. H adds ortus in margin, using signes de renvoi.
 7. CH¹RV; dedit rex H²I.
 8. CHIR; om. V.
 9. My emendation; Guoorthigirn HIRV; Guororthigirn C; Gorthingerin L.
 10. CIRV; edicauit H¹; edicfiauit H².
-

§ 39

1. H; Guoorthemir CIRV; Gorthenyr L.
2. CH; Guorthigir RV; Gorthingerii L; Uuyrtgerni I.
3. H*IR; Hengesto H²L; Hencgisto C; Heingisto V.
4. HIL; eo CRV.
5. CHILR; Taneth V.
6. HLRV; cominuit C.
7. HL; om. CR; ad V.
8. HRV; uirum C.
9. CH*RV; bugnabant H².
10. CR; Guoorthemir H; Guoorthemir IV; Gorthenyr L.
- 11...11. CHR; quattuor bella contra eos V.

12. H; Categirnn CR; Catægirn I; Catigerin L; Categyrn V.
 13. HILRV; caupo C.
 14. HIL; uersi sunt CRV.
 15. HRV; aulas C; caulas I. H has a marginal gloss (id est) naues in a late hand. L reads only naues.
 16. H; commando CRV.
 - 17...17. CHR; Britannie teneant portum V.
 - 18...18. H; magnopere CRV.
 19. CHR; Guortigirrus V.
 20. H; illis CRV.
 21. CH²IRV; abigare H¹.
 22. My emendation; nitatus CHRV.
-

§ 40

1. CHIR; Heningisti V.
2. CHR; Guortegirno V; Uuyrtgernum I.
- 3...3. CRV; om. H.
4. CH¹RV; fecit H².
- 5...5. CIHR; om. V.
6. My emendation (supported by Gild.); eniminit CH¹IR; eniminiet H²; enime^x_o V. On this Old English phrase, cf. A. S. C. Ross, 'Hengist's Watchword', English and Germanic Studies, 2 (1948/9), pp. 81-101.
7. CH¹IR; sexas H²; saxes V.
8. CH²ILRV; culltellas H*.
9. H; sederunt et CRV.
10. CH²IRV; Engistus H¹.
11. CHLR; cathenatus V.

12. CLRV; mee H.
 13. H²; Eastsaxum V; Elsaxum CH¹R.
 14. CHR; Suðsaxum V. CHRV have here the clause et ab illicita coniunctione se separaret.
 - 15...15. My emendation; this is added here by comparison with Vat., Nenn., and Lebor.
 - 16...16. HRV; illicita ab C.
 17. H; om. CRV.
 18. H; separet CRV.
 - 19...19. CHR; uocatur nomine suo V.
 20. HR; Guorthigirnam C; Guortigirnia V.
 21. CHR; Guortigirmus V.
 22. CHR; Guortigirni V; Gorthingerim L.
 23. CHR; ignomisiose V.
 24. HR*V; abcessit CR².
 25. CHR; Guortigirmus V.
 26. CR; Guorthini H; Guortigirni V.
 27. H; impotentes CRV.
 28. CHR; monacos V.
 29. HR; combusta CR; cōbusta V.
 30. H; et CRV.
-

§ 41

1. H; Categirnn CR; Cathegirn V; Catigerin L.
 2. CRV; duas H.
 3. HRV; Guortegirmiaun C.
 4. HRV; eum C.
-

§ 42

1. HR; Guorthegirniaun C; Guorthigirniaun V.
 2. H; Teudubr CRV.
 3. H; Teudurb R; Teudubr CV.
 4. My emendation; Gaidcant HRV; Gaidgant C.
 5. HR; Moruid CV.
 6. CHR; Eldad V.
 7. Mepurit is a conflation and corruption of <map Iudnert(h)>; it demonstrates admirably either the use of a pre-existing written source using map (not filius) or that, at an earlier stage, our text used map for filius.
 8. Briacat, from <map> Riacat, demonstrates the same point as Mepurit.
 9. My emendation; filius CHRV.
 10. H; Guorthigin CRV.
 11. My emendation (supported by Vat.; cf. Gild.); Guortheu CHRV.
 12. My emendation; filius CHRV.
 13. My emendation (supported by Vat. and Gild.); Guitataul CHRV.
 14. My emendation; Guotolin CHRV.
 15. HL; Glecester CRV.
-

§ 43

- 1...1. CHR; tempore illo V.
2. HL; om. CRV.
3. H; mysteria CLRV.
4. CH¹RV; percucurrit H².
5. CHLR; Paladius V.

6. CHR; Celestino L; Celestino V.
 7. CRV; datum fuerit (et [H²]) datum fuerit H.
 8. CHR; Paladius V.
 9. CHR; Hybernia V.
-

§ 44

1. C*HRV; Celestiano C²; Celestino I; Celestino L.
 2. H; om. CRV.
 3. CRV; suadente a H.
 - 4...4. CHR; Germano sancto V.
 5. H; episcopos CRV.
 6. CHR; om. V.
 7. CHR; Christum V.
 8. CHR; eo V.
 - 9...9. Another corruption (cf. Amatheam regem above) of the original Amat(h)orex; cf. MS. A of Muirchú (ed. Stokes, ii. 273, n. 1).
 10. CHR; om. V.
 11. CHR; gradus V.
 12. HI; om. CRV.
-

§ 45

1. CHR; amfractibus V.
2. HV; hybernicum CR.
3. H; conscendit CR; ascendit V. No reading is satisfactory; a verb meaning 'to set sail' is needed here. The manuscripts of Muirchú read contendit (A) and peruenit (B).
4. CHR; Onerata V.

5. CHR; Hyberniam V.
-

§ 46

1. H; Hibernensium CRL; Hyberniensium V.
-

§ 47

1. A verb is presumably omitted here; alternatively, one might read '<Per> uirtutes apostolicas cecos illuminabat ...'
 2. CHRV; ab obsessis H².
 3. LV; fugiebat CHR.
 4. C*HRV; uero C².
 5. C²H; us C¹R; om. V.
 6. CHRV²; suscitabat V¹; L has this clause twice, reading first suscitabat and then suscitauit.
 7. H; om. CRV.
 8. The Old Irish nominative. Either this is an error for the genitive (Connacht) or else an adjective, limiting regione, has been created.
 - 9...9. My insertion, after comparison with Vat. and Gild.
-

§ 48

1. H; in aere CRV.
 2. H; imminente CR; īminente V.
 3. CHR; Hyberniensibus V.
 4. H²; Hibernientium H¹; Hibernensium CR; Hybernensium V.
-

§ 49

1. CHR; Hybernie V.
 2. CRV; sexus autem H (a scribe probably mistook the initial h- of Hiberniensium for the Insular compendium hr = autem).
 3. R; Hibernensium CH; Hybernensium V.
-

§ 50

1. HRV; Patrius C.
 - 2...2. It is possible (though by no means necessary) that an earlier .i. = primo has been read as id est.
 3. HRV; iunauit C.
 4. H; om. CRV.
 5. HRV; oculto C.
 6. H¹; uicesimo H²; .xx^{mo}. CRV.
 7. CLRV; octingentorum H¹; octinginta H².
 8. CHR; Hybernia V.
-

§ 51

1. CH*RV; Hengesto H²L; Heingysto V.
 2. CRV; Cantorum HL.
-

§ 52

1. CHLR; Arcthur V.
- 2...2. CHR; cum regibus Britonum in illis diebus V.
3. CHLR; uocatur V.

4. CHR; Artur LV.
 5. H; om. CRV.
 - 6...6. uersi sunt in fugam duplicated by R.
 7. CHR; om. LV.
 8. H; littore CLRV.
 9. H; Tribuit CRV; Tribuith L.
 10. CHR; quod V.
 11. CHR; Artur V; Arturi L.
 12. HIRV; om. C.
 - 13...13. id est in iberneich R (where this stands as a gloss above Beornica); id est in hiberneic V (incorporated into text); completely omitted by C.
-

§ 53

1. H; Woden CRV.
2. My emendation; Gechbrond CHR; Gechbront V.
3. My emendation; Inguec CHRV.
4. My emendation; Aedibrith CHRV.
5. CHV; genui R.
6. My emendation; Eadldric H; Eadldric R; Ealdric CV.
7. V; Decdric CHR.
- 8...8. My emendation; et unam reginam CHRV.
- 9...9. My emendation; Bearnoch CHR; Bearnoc V.
10. There is a lacuna in the text at this point, where the remaining three sons would have been named and their illegitimacy specified.
11. My emendation; Ealdric CHRV.
12. My emendation; Eadlfret CR (-dl- over erasure in R); Aelfret H; Eadfreth V.

13. H; Eadlfret CR; Eadfreth V.
 14. CHR; Anfrit V.
 15. H; Osgual CRV.
 16. CH; Osbiu RV. Both this and the following stand for Oswy (OE Oswiu, Oswio); I take Osbiu to be gloss which has entered the text, thus displacing the missing Oslac.
 17. CHR; Oslaf V.
 18. CHR; Osguit V.
 19. HR; Alcfric C; Ælfric V.
 20. CR; Aelfguin H; Elguine V.
 21. CHR; Echfrit V.
 22. CHR; Echfrit V.
 23. HV; fratuelem CR.
 24. H; robore CRV.
 25. HRV; cu C.
 26. My emendation; Saxones CHRV. For the phrase genus Ambromum, cf. § 61. I take Saxones to have been a gloss which entered the text, displacing genus. Compare the case of Oswio and Oslac, above.
 27. HRV; Picctis C.
 28. CHR; Gueit V.
 29. R; Lin HV; Lini C.
 30. CHR; Garran V.
 31. My emendation; Riem melth H; Riem medt R; Rienmeth V; Nem medt C.
 32. HRV; Roith C.
 33. My emendation; Rum CHR; Rū V.
 34. HRV; Enfled C.
-

§ 54

1. H has one blank line before this section, presumably to allow the incorporation of the rubric now found in a very small hand in the lower margin: de genealogia regum cantie; om. CRV.
 2. CHR; Heingist V.
 3. My emendation; Eormoric HRV; Earmoric C.
 4. My emendation; Ealdbert H; Ealdberht R; Ealdberth C; Ealbert V.
 5. My emendation; Ealdbald HR; Ealbald (<Ealbalt) C; Ealbald V.
 6. H; Ercunberht R; Ercunberth C; Erchunbert V.
 7. CHR; Echbert V.
-

§ 55

1. H; om. CRV. In H, the upper margin of fo. 188r bears the intended rubric, in a small hand.
2. H; Woden CRV.
3. My emendation; Titinon HRV; Tititon C.
4. H; Rodmun CRV.
5. My emendation; Guilhelin CRV; Guillem H.
6. My addition; om. CHRV.
7. H; Eastanglorum CRV.
8. CHR; Gufan V.
9. HV; Tidil CR.
10. My emendation; Ecni CHR; Echni V.
11. My emendation; Edric CHRV.
12. R; Aldulf CV; Aldul H.
13. genuit Elric added by CHRV. The source, and our text, may or may not originally have ended with Aldwulf; the source adds

one further generation, to Ælfwald.

§ 56

1. H; om. CRV. In the right-hand margin of H, together with a note of the coloured capital (V) to be inserted, is the intended rubric: de genealogia merciorum.
2. H; Woden CRV.
3. CHR; Guytlec V.
4. V; Guerdmund CHR.
5. Ongen CHRV. The second element of this name is lacking.
6. A lacuna in the text, with the loss of four names from the pedigree.
7. H; Pubba CRV.
- 8...8. C; mihi noticiores RV; notitiores mihi H.
9. My emendation; Eadlrit CR; Eadlit H; Ealdrith V.
10. CHR; Panta V.
- 11...11. HRV; om. C.
12. My emendation; Eadlbalt H; Eadlbald R; Ealbalt V; om. C.
13. H; Alguinhc R; Algumhc V; om. C.
14. Followed by filius Penda, CHRV, which has no place here.

'Filius Pantha' of the line above was probably a gloss on this,
^{its}
but has displaced/lemma which 'sank' to the line below.
15. H; Ecgfird CR; Echfrit V.
16. V; Dum infert H; Dum inferth R; Duin inferth C. This corruption of ðingferð must have taken place in the original text; misunderstanding of the ð of the source resulted in the initial dum-.
17. My emendation; Eandulf CHRV.

18. H; Ossulfh CR; Osulf V.
 19. H; Eaua CRV.
 20. H; Pubba CRV.
-

§ 57

1. H; om CRV. In the right-hand margin of H, with a note of the capital (V) to be inserted, is the intended rubric: de regibus deurorum .
2. H; Woden CRV.
3. My emendation; Beldeyg CHR; Beldeyc V.
4. My insertion; om CHRV.
5. CHR; Sygar V.
6. Two names are omitted from the Deiran pedigree at this point (cf. Appendix IV).
7. HV; Zegulfh CR.
8. CHR; Birneic V.
9. CHR; Guerting V.
10. My emendation; Giulglis CHRV.
11. My emendation; Usfreak CHRV.
12. CHR; Yffi V.
13. My emendation; Ulli CHRV.
14. CR; Aedgum H; Eadguin V.
15. HR; Offird C; Osfrid V.
16. CHR; Eadfrid V.
17. R; Edguim H; Eaguin C; Eadguin V.
18. H; Ineicen CRV.
19. CHR; ipsius V.
20. C²HV; gere C¹R.

21. HV; interficti CR.
 22. CRV; sunt follows omnes in H, but it is a later addition
(perhaps an 'official correction').
 23. C; Catguol launi HR; Catguolanni V.
 24. CHR; Echfrid V.
 25. H; Ocgfird CR; Ogfrid V.
 26. CHR; Eilguin V.
 27. CV; Oslach HR.
 28. CHR; Alsing V.
 29. HV; genui CR.
 30. CHR; Oslap V.
 31. CHR; Eadric V.
 32. H; Liod guad R; Liodguad C; Liotguad V.
 33. CR; Etan H; Eathan V.
 34. CHR; Eatha V.
 35. CR; Eadbyrth H; Eadbrith V.
 36. H; Ecgbirh R; Ecgbirch C; Echbir V.
-

§ 58

1. In H this intended rubric appears in the upper margin of
fo. 188v. It was probably intended to cover §§ 58-64, inclusive.
 2. My emendation; unxit CRV; uncxit H.
 3. My emendation; dinguayrdi CHR; dinguardi V.
 4. CHR; guurt V.
 5. HR; Berneihc C; Berneic V.
-

§ 59

1. My emendation; Dutigirn CHRV.
 2. H¹; dimicabat CH²LRV.
 3. H; Anguen CRV.
 4. CHR; Taliesin V.
 5. H; Bluchbar CR; Blucbar V.
 6. My emendation; Gueinth CHRV.
-

§ 60

- 1...1. CHR; om. V.
 2. CHRV; Guendote L.
 3. CH²RV; octa H¹; .VIII^{to}. L.
-

§ 61

1. CHR; Eildric V; Edliryo L.
2. My emendation; Deoric CHRV; Beorich L.
3. My emendation; Friodolguald CHRV; Fridowaldus filius Beorich L.
4. H; Cantuariorum CR; Cantuorum V; Cantie L.
5. CHR; Vssa V; Cysa dux (from the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle) L.
6. HLRV; regis C.
7. HR; Riderth C; Riderc LV.
8. My emendation; Gullanc CHR; Guallanch V; Gualac L.
9. CHR; Morchant V; Morcan L.
- 10...10. CHR; om. V.
11. H; dimicabat CRV.
12. CR; Metcaud H; Metcaut V; Morcant L.

13. CHR; Morchanto V.
 14. CHR; in instauratione V.
 15. My emendation; Eadfered H; Eadlfered CR; Ealdfret V;
Ealfredus L.
 16. CRV; Flesauris H.
 17. CLRV; cregnaut H.
 18. CHR; Berneyc V; Berierich L.
 - 19...19. My emendation; dinguo aroy CHRV.
 20. My emendation; Bebbab HRV; Bebab CL.
 21. H; om. CRV.
 22. CHR; accepit V.
 23. R; Bebbanburth H; Babenburch L; Bebban burh V; Benbanburh C.
 24. My emendation; Eoguyn L; Eoguin CHR; Eaguin V.
 25. HRV; Elinet C.
 26. CHLV; Petecosten R.
 27. CRV; Eadgum H.
 28. H; Pascha CLRV.
 29. R; Rim CV; ()um H, which begins a new chapter; I have, on this
occasion, preferred to disregard the manuscript, and have begun
with Osuuald...
 30. CHR; inap V.
 31. H; baptizaut CRV.
 32. CHR; om. V.
 33. CRV; in Christo H.
-

§ 62

1. CHR; Osuualdus L; Oswald V.
2. CHLR; om. V.

3. CRV; Eadfred H; Ealfridi L.
 4. CHRV; .X. L.
 5. CH; Osuual H; Oswald V.
 6. CRV; Lamnguin H.
 7. My emendation; Catgublaun CHRV; Catgublan L.
 8. CHRV; Guendote L.
 9. My emendation; Catscaul CHRV. See I. Williams, Bulletin of the Board of Celtic Studies, 6 (1931-33), pp. 351-354, and M. Förster, ibid., 7 (1933-35), p. 33.
 10. CHR; Osguyd L; Oswid V.
 11. My emendation; Eadlfrid CHR; Eadfrid V; Ealfridi L.
 - 12...12. CHRV; om. L.
 13. H; Catgualatr CR; Catgualater V.
 14. H; Giti CRV.
 15. CHR; Nideu V.
 16. This phrase has been supplied from § 63, whither it seems to have been erroneously displaced (cf. the similar case in § 40).
Manau H; manu CRV.
-

§ 63

1. usque in Manau H, usque in manu CRV, follows here in the manuscripts. See now § 62.
2. CHR; Adbret V.
3. H; iudeum CRV.
4. CHRV; Catgabuil L.
5. CHRV; Guendote L.
6. HR; Catguomined C; Catgominet V.
7. CHR; Echfrid V; Egfridus L.
8. Osbui CRV; Osguy L.

9. CH¹; Cudbertus H²; Cudberd R; Cuthbert V; Cuthbertus L.
- 10...10. My emendation; obiit in insula CHRV. This emendation, for which a supporting parallel may be quoted (see P. Lehmann, 'Fuldaer Studien', Sitzungsberichte der Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, Philosophisch-philologische und historische Klasse, Jahrgang 1925, 3. Abhandlung, p. 42f.), removes one of the several difficulties presented by this sentence.
-

§ 64

1. CHR; Pibba V; Pubba L.
 2. CH*RV; separauit H²L.
 3. HV; Mertiorum CLR.
 4. H; Easteranglorum CRV; Eastanglorum L.
 5. H; Osgualdum CRV; Oswaldum L.
 6. CHR; Pibba V.
 7. HRV; Mertiorum C.
 8. CHR; Oswald V.
 9. CH; diaboliticam RV.
-

§ 65

1. CRV; () H.
2. CHR; Ruffum V.
3. CH*RV; milial H².
4. CHR; repperiuntur V.
5. HV; Ruffo CR.
6. H; Stillicionem CRV.

7. CHV; cosulem R.
 8. H; Stillicione CRV.
 9. CHR; Guortigirmum V.
 10. H; Guorthini CRV.
 11. H¹; Guoloppum CH²RV.
 12. H; Gorthigirrus CR; Guortigirrus V.
 13. .i. R; et primo L; om. H.
-

§ 66

1. CHRV; a Guorthigirno H².
 2. My emendation; Decium CHLRV.
 - 3...3. My emendation; Ualerianum CHLRV.
 4. My emendation; sexaginta CHLRV (i. e., .lxix < .lxxxix, or .lxviii < .lxxxviii).
-

§ 67

1. This chapter is discussed in detail by K. Jackson, 'Nennius and the twenty-eight cities of Britain', Antiquity, 12 (1938), pp. 44-55.
2. HRV; om. C.
3. In both H and R the initial C- is missing from all occurrences of this word in this chapter; R in fact presents capital A- throughout, and V does likewise in most cases. The C- is present in L, but not in a later copy of L!
4. HL; CRV enter this at the end of their first column, following Cair Lundem. In H the list is arranged in a single column, broken only by the need to turn over the page after Cair Brithon;

in L one turns the page at exactly the same point, but on 75^r the list is divided into three columns to be read downwards in turn and on 75^v into four columns (of which the first two are in order, but the remaining names are disordered). R, by contrast with H, divides into three columns, shown here by the breaks in the list; V also divides into three columns, with different breaks; C divides initially into four columns but, after turning the page, completes the list in a continuous series.

5. CLRV; Custoeint H.
6. The necessary emendation (of Grauth CHLRV) if the equation with Cambridge be accepted.
7. Emendation; Lundem CHR; Lund[] L; Lunden V.
8. HR; Cent CV.
9. CV; Legeion H; Legeon L; Ligion R.
10. Emendation; Usic CHLRV.
11. CLRV; Draitou H.
12. Emendation; Pensa uel Coyt H; Pensa uel Coith L; Pensa uellcoit CRV.
13. CLRV; Urnarc H.
14. L; Luit Coyt CHRV.

§ 68

1. CHL; Lumonoi RSV.
2. HLRSV; uinum C.
3. CRSV; Leim H. The Welsh name for the Leven is not otherwise attested, but Professor Jackson informs me that one of *Leman, *Lemen, or *Lemein is to be expected, given the Gaelic form Leamhain (and the comparable English place-names -- Lympne, etc.

— which all derive from *Leman-). The form Lemm in our text may therefore be influenced by OW *lemm, ModW llefn, 'smooth'.

§ 69

1. HS; littora CLRV.
-

§ 70

1. It may be that frigidum should occur twice here, and that one has dropped out during transmission. It does in fact appear twice in V.
-

§ 71

1. CH¹LRSV; salliuntur H².
-

§ 72

- 1...1. My emendation (supported by Gild.); duorig habren CHRSV.
 2. CHRS; cissam V.
 3. HLRSV; hostium C.
 4. CHRS; alter LV.
-

§ 73

1. CH²RV; Linii S; Lin H¹.
- 2...2. CRSV (and Nenn.); inundatur similiter H.
3. CHRS; cissam V.

4. HLS; stagn RV; stangnum C.
 - 5...5. HRV; litus istud CS.
 6. CLRSV; instrar H.
 7. deuorauit de mari repeated here by H.
 - 8...8. CHLRS; regionis totius V.
 9. CHLRS; dirrexerit V.
 10. CHRS; equis V.
 11. HRSV; eum C.
-

§ 74

1. H; om. CRSV.
 2. CHRS; in V.
 3. CHRS; ex V.
 4. CHRSV²; piscare V¹.
 5. H; fontem CRSV.
 6. H begins a new section here, a division which I do not propose to follow.
 7. H; dexteram CRSV.
 8. H; pisces inueniri CRSV.
 - 9...9. CHRV; fluit flumen S.
-

§ 75

1. CLSV; ()uxta HR.
 2. CHLRS; Guoi S.
-

§ 76

1. CH*LRSV; flat H².
 2. HRSV; uouea C.
 3. CHRS; autem V.
 4. HR; uentum SV; euentus C.
-

§ 77

1. H¹; Guhyr H²; Guhir CRSV.
 2. CHRS; Loingarch V; Lorigaruch L.
 3. CHRS; Hystoria V.
 4. H; huius CRSV.
 5. CHLRS; quod V.
 - 6...6. CHRS; om. V.
 7. My emendation; corpus CHLRS; om. V.
 8. CLRS; imseparabiliter H; om. V.
 9. HLRSV; Iltitum C.
 10. HLRSV; Iltitus C.
 11. ambabus manibus uirgam in manu sua curuauit curuauit eam circa altare added by H.
-

§ 78

- 1...1. CHRS; regione supradicta V.
2. HR; Moune CSV; Morich L.
3. HS; om. CRV.
4. CHRS; suras V.
5. H; om. CRSV.

6. CHLRS; om. V.
 7. CHRSV; inuentum L. (L's reading is grammatically correct, but its adoption would require a further emendation for which there is no manuscript support.)
 8. CHRS; om. V.
 9. CHRS; mensem V.
-

§ 79

1. CHRSV; tumulus L.
 2. My emendation; Troynt CHRSV; Trointh L.
 3. CRS; Cabal HLV.
 4. CHRS; Arturi LV.
 5. CHRS; Artur LV.
 6. CH*RV; Carmi S; Carmy L; Carn H².
 7. CRS; Cabal HLV.
-

§ 80

1. CHRV; Ercing L; Ercingi S.
 2. CHLRV; sepulcrum S.
 3. CHRS; Lycat L; Licad V.
 4. My emendation (supported by Gild.); Anir CHLRSV.
 5. CHRS; Arturi LV.
-

§ 81

1. CRSV; que H.
2. CH²RSV; Mair H¹; Mayr L.

3. CHRV; sepulcrum S.
 4. CHRV; sepulcrum S.
 5. HLRSV; fuerat C.
 6. CHRV; sepulcrum S.
 7. CRSV; paruuus H.
 8. CHRV; sepulcri S.
 9. CHRS; imuenies V.
 10. CHRS; si si V.
 11. CHR; repperitur SV.
 12. CHRV; si added (above line) by S.
 13. H*; peregrinus CH²LRSV.
 14. CHRSV; si tres H².
 15. CH*RSV; etiam si H².
 16. CHRS; om. V.
 17. CHRV; cosini S.
-

§ 82

1. H; giratur CRSV.
-

§ 83

1. H¹; Citheim H²; Ciheim CRV; Ciheim S; Cheym L.
 2. CRSV; pylagi H.
 3. CHRS; supra V.
-

§ 84

1. CHLRS; Luc V.

2. V*; stagni CHRSV². R glosses this id est stain (i.e. ModW ystaen); in S this glosses gronna, as it does in V where it is incorporated into the text. H glosses stagni by id est stain. C has no gloss.
-

§ 85

1. CHRSV¹; quod LV².
 2. CHLRV; om. S.
 3. CHRV; capud S.
 4. H adds the subscription FINIT AMEN . C has EXPLIC³ .
-

TEXTUAL NOTES

TO THE

'CHARTRES'

RECENSION

TEXTUAL NOTES TO THE CHARTRES RECENSION§ 1 (C, fo. 2^v)

1. exberta C.
 2. fii C.
 - 3...3. annis C.
 - 4...4. annis C.
 5. .d. exxiii. C.
 6. Moysen C.
 7. .d. exl. uiiii. C.
-

§ 2 (C, fo. 2^v)

1. us C.
 2. us C.
 3. Danielem C.
 4. Iohanne C.
 5. qua C.
-

§ 3 (C, fo. 2^v)

1. INSULE C.

(No note 2.)

- 3...3. in francoliore. ali C.
4. fabricati sunt C.
5. Gue ith C.
- 6...6. contra (o—c, a version of the Insular compendium for) C.
7. An Insular spelling for Pictos.

8. Britannia C.
 - 9...9. Represented by an extraordinary compendium: K
 10. fluminia C.
 11. cetis C.
 12. quem C.
-

§ 4 (C, fo. 2^v)

- 1...1. Britone solisti C.
 2. mare¹ C.
-

§ 5 (C, fos. 2^v-3^r)

- 1...1. GENE.LOGIA BRITO.NUM C.
 - 2...2. fī Dardanus fī C.
 3. Gotho.rum C.
 4. fī C.
 5. fīus C.
 6. stripe C.
 7. Only pro mi is legible.
 8. For this word, cf. Vat. §§ 1 and 4.
 9. seruittem C.
 10. filius illi C.
 11. olli C.
 12. om. C; supplied from Vat.
 13. stripe C.
-

§ 6 (C, fos. 3^r-3^v)

1. Casabella. unus C.
 2. Cassabella. unum C.
 3. primus C.
 4. Gilliarum C.
 5. Little more than Eu...ius appears to have been visible.
 6. fra[̄] C.
 - 7...7. Represented by an extraordinary compendium: *H*
 8. A date must be missing here.
 9. Ripū C.
 10. aunt C.
 - 11...11. in tis .ccc. annis C.
-

§ 7 (C, fo. 3^v)

1. filiī C.
 2. filiī C.
-

§ 8 (C, fo. 3^v)

1. aligenigenis C.
 2. Lannos C.
-

§ 9 (C, fo. 3^v)

1. habetit C.
- 2...2. subdiuises C.
3. filius C. (13 occurrences)

4. fili C. (Acceptable for fili in Insular manuscripts, where i often stands for ii; alternatively, the suspension-sign of fili may simply be wanting.) (2 occurrences)
-

§ 10 (C, fo. 3^v)

1. escent C.
-

§ 11 (C, fos. 3^v, 5^v)

1. occium C.
 2. perpessa C.
 3. uocabat C.
 4. excercitu C.
 5. ocidium C.
 6. flimum C.
 7. om. C; supplied from Harl.
 8. a C.
-

§ 12 (C, fo. 5^v)

1. An Insular spelling for Romanos.
 2. quado C.
 3. p^o (= post) C. (p^r to p^o is a simple corruption)
-

§ 13 (C, fo. 5^v)

No notes.

§ 14 (C, fo. 5^v)

1. s̄. (= sunt) C.
 2. excercituum C.
-

§ 15 (C, fo. 5^v)

1. Grano C.
-

§ 16 (C, fos. 5^v, 167^r)

1. quidēa C.
 2. aque C.
 3. An Insular spelling for tyrannus.
 4. uenis C.
 5. commitatatibus C.
 6. reponsum C.
 7. fuerit C.
 8. For the use of this word (for ianitor), cf. Harl. § 32.
 9. decilnabat C.
 10. quod C.
-

§ 17 (C, fo. 167^r)

1. expecta C.
-

§ 18 (C, fo. 167^r-167^v)

- 1...1. uel artis ciuitatis C.

2. ocurrebant C.
- 3...3. expectante C.
4. aera C.
5. credisti C.
6. profectus C. (The wrong compendium was used.)
7. For interficiebatur. 'Etymologising' forms of this sort are not unknown in mediaeval manuscripts.
8. For maneant; cf. (c)aput/(c)apud, etc. Variations of this sort are not peculiar to Insular manuscripts.
- 9...9. in ista in ista C.
10. ipse C. Probably simply an Insular spelling for ipsi.
- 11...11. reuersis C.
- 12...12. ieiununos C. I have supplied ianuis from Harl. and Vat.
13. clamante C.
14. hones C.
15. oumquam C.
16. arce C.
17. regi C.

§ 19 (C, fos. 167^v-168^r)

1. ipse C. Probably just an Insular spelling for ipsi.
2. barbar C.
3. gia C.
4. pulchar C.
5. facitus C.
6. sinceram C.
7. pat̄ C.



VARIANT READINGS
AND
TEXTUAL NOTES
TO
THE
'VATICAN'
RECENSION

S I G L AComplete witnesses

- A London, British Library, MS. Additional 11702, fos 1^r-11^r.
 J Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, MS. Latin 11108, fos 31^v-41^v.
 P Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, MS. Latin 8048, fos 48^v-55^v.
 R Rome, Bibliotheca Apostolica Vaticana, MS. Reginensis lat. 1964,
 fos 47^r-58^r.

Partial witnesses

- B The Bury St Edmunds annotations.
 a London, College of Arms, MS. Arundel 30.
 b Cambridge, University Library, MS. Ff. I. 27, pp. 41-64.
 G The Gildasian-Vatican conflate text.
 a Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, MS. Latin 6274.
 b Rennes, Archives d'Ille et Vilaine, MS. I.F.1003.
 c Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, MS. 363.
 H East Berlin, Deutsche Staatsbibliothek, MS. Phillipps 1870.
 [Chronicon Hugonis Flaviniacensis]
 S Cambridge, University Library, MS. Ff. I. 27, p. 25.
 V Douai, Bibliothèque municipale, MS. 795. [Chronicon Vedastinum]

VARIANT READINGS AND TEXTUAL NOTES TO THE VATICAN RECENSION

§1

This section is omitted from J; the witnesses are APR.

1. R; Abraham AP.
 2. R; Abraham AP.
 3. PR; dedicationem A.
 4. PR; xxx^{ta} A.
 5. R; usque ad AP.
 6. PR; factum A.
 7. R; om. AP.
 - 8...8. R; imperii Tyberii P; Tyberii imperii A.
 9. PR; xiii A.
 10. R; predicationem Domini Nostri Iesu AP.
 11. PR; Tyberii A.
 12. P; angelorum A; R's original angelorum was corrected to Anglorum.
 13. R; Abraham AP.
 14. R; Danielem AP.
 15. PR; sexta etas A.
 - 16...16. PR; om. A.
-

§2

This section is omitted from J; the witnesses are APR.

- 1...1. Only in P, and probably not in the archetype, but this
describes succinctly and accurately what would otherwise be
an unexplained list.
 2. PR; Equantius A.
-

The whole of the first sentence is omitted by AJ.

1. R; historia P.
- 2...2. P; edita ab anachoreta Marco eiusdem gentis sancto episcopo
R.
3. APR; Britannia J.
4. JPR; Britto A.
5. AR; affrico JP.
6. AP; dccc J; dccc, glossed octogintorum R.
- 7...7. APR; om. J.
8. R; Ebrauc J; Hebrauc P; Herbrauc A.

All the remaining civitates are omitted from A (i.e., nos. 2-33).

9. JR; Gu[...] P.
 10. R; Guorthegeren J; Guorthegen P.
 11. P; Gusteint R; Cuscera J. (The reading of R could show lenition after Cair, but it is more likely that the G- is a misreading of an initial capital C-.)
 12. JR; Mair P.
 13. JR; Guorancg[...] P. (This is an error for Guoirancgon or Guoyrancgon, no doubt under the influence of the many names beginning with Guor-; cf. § 24, n. 53.)
 14. PR; Guntrius J.
- Owing to scribal error in P, no ciuitas is numbered '10' in that manuscript, 10 to 29 become 11 to 30, and 30 and 31 are both numbered 31.
15. JR; Cair glossed by id est ciuitas P.
 16. JR; Cair glossed by id est ciuitas P.
 17. PR; Carautac J.

18. PR; Gloru J.
19. PR; Licilid J.
20. PR; Dauri J.
21. JR; Gruent P.
22. PR; Londene J.
23. R; Pensa uel Coin P; Pensaliscoin J.
24. PR; Ceim J.
25. PR; Uruach J.
26. JR; Celeinion P.
27. Brittannie A; Britannie J; Brittanniae P.
28. JR; promuntoria P; promunctoria A.
- 29...29. JPR; V[...] A.
30. P; quatuor A; iiii^{or} R; tres J.
31. R; Brittones AJP.
32. APR; Et tres J.
33. APR; habent J.
34. JR; prima AP.
35. J; Guerth PR; Guerthi A.
36. R; Britanniam AJ; Brittanniam P.
- 37...37. APR; Eubonialis J.
38. J; extrem^a R; extrema^o P; extrema A.
39. R; Brittanniae P; Brittannie J; Britannie A.
40. JPR; antiquorum A.
41. R; Brittanniam P; Britanniam AJ.
- 42...42. APR; om. J.
43. R; Sabina AP; Sabernia J.
44. R; Britanniae J; Brittanniae P; Britannie A.
45. JP; rathes A; rate R.
46. R; Brittones JP; Britones A.

47. APR; om. J.
 48. JPR; inpleuerunt A.
 49. APR; om. J.
-

§4

Gabc are also witnesses to §4.

1. AGabJPR; Latine Gc.
2. AJPR; Ytalie Gabc.
3. AJPR; Saluani Gabc.
4. APR; filiae J; filie Gabc.
5. PR; Mahi A; Inachi J; Inmachi Gab; Uimachi Gc.
6. GabcJPR; om. A.
7. GabcJPR; Dardam A.
8. GabcJPR; id est A.
9. AGacJPR; partes Gb.
10. GabcJ; ille APR.
11. APR; Troii GbcJ; Koii Ga.
12. GabcJPR; Roius A.
- 13...13. AJPR; om. Gabc.
14. GabcJPR; om. A.
15. AGabcJR; Aeneas P.
16. R; Aschanius A; Ascanii GcJ; Aschani P; Aschanii Gab.
17. GaPR; Enee AGbcJ.
18. AJPR; Ytalie Gabc.
19. GabcJPR; Vt A.
20. AGbcJPR; styrpe Ga.
21. AJPR; filiae Gabc.
22. PR; Enee AGabc; Eneae J.

23. GacJR; scemonialis AP; sanctemonialis Gb.
 24. Glossed id est Iliae R; Ree AP; Ilie Reae J; Ilie Ree Gabc.
 - 25...25. AGabcJPR; glossed in R by scilicet Remus et Romus.
 26. AGacJPR; Hyspaniam Gb.
 27. R; Brittanniam GaJP; Britanniam AGbc.
 28. AGabJPR; insula Gc.
 29. R; Britones AGbcJ; Brittones GaP.
 30. AGabcPR; Postumo J.
 31. AGabcPR; Postumus J.
 32. GaR; Enee AGbcJP.
 33. GabcJR; sui AP.
 34. GbcJPR; dandestina A; claudestina Ga.
 35. AGacJPR; filius Gb.
 - 36...36. AGabcPR; dicitur J.
 37. AGacJPR; insula Gb.
 38. R; Brittones GaJP; Britones AGbc.
 39. APR; guia GabcJ.
 40. AGbcJPR; eo Ga.
 41. GabcJPR; Britto A.
 42. R; Brittones AGaJP; Britones Gbc.
 43. GabcJPR; Britti A.
 44. AGbcJPR; styrpe Ga.
-

§5

1. R; Eneas AJP.
2. AJ; traianum R; traianum P.
3. JR; prelium (glossed uel bellum) P; prelium A.
4. AJP; Ascano R.

5. AJP; om. R.
6. R; Lauinam AJP.
7. JR; Picti AP.
8. PR; Eneas AJ.
9. JPR; et post mortem Latini A.
10. R; Lauina AP; Lauinia J.
11. PR; Enee AJ.
12. APR; Saluium J.
13. APR; accipiens J.
- 14...14. JR; facta est grauida AP.
15. R; Eneae P; Enee AJ.
16. J; om. APR
- 17...17. PR; om. J; ut mitteret ei A.
- 18...18. APR; uxorem considerauit J.
19. PR; Enee AJ.
20. JR²; fatus (glossed uel filius) P; filius fatus A.
- 21...21. AJP; esset omnium Hytalarum fortissimus amabilis R² in ras.
22. APR; om. J.
23. J; mulier (glossed uel mater) R; mater AP.
24. J; Bruto (glossed uel Britto) PR; Britto uel Brito A.
25. JPR; om. A.
- 26...26. AJP; omnes superabat ut omnium dominus uideretur. Idcirco autem inuidia R² in ras.
27. J; pro AP; om. R.
28. APR; armiger J.
29. APR; Tirreni J.
30. R; Eneas AJP.
31. APR; Turonorum J.
- 32...32. JR; peruenit postea ad istam AP.

33. AJP; insulum corrected to insulam R.
34. PR; Britannia AJ.
- 35...35. APR; om. J.
36. R; Brittannia P; Britannia A; om. J.
37. R; Eneas AJP.
- 38...38. APR; tribus annis regnauit J.
39. APR; autem J.
40. R; Postumus J; Posthumus (glossed id est Siluius) P; id est Siluius Post humus A.
41. R; appellati AJP.
42. JPR; Britous A.
43. JPR; Brito A.
44. R; Brittannia JP; Britannia A.
45. AJP; in Israhel R.
46. JPR; laudarcham A.
47. AJP; aligenigenis R.
48. A; Posthumus (glossed id est Siluius) PR; Postumus J.
49. AJP; .deccc. octingentorum R.
50. AJP; uocatur R.
51. APR; uactauerunt J.
52. R; Brittanniae P; Britanniae J; Britannie A.
- 53...53. R; Britannie partem J; partem Britannie A; Brittanniae partem P.
54. AJR; Ispanie P.
55. JR; Iberniam AP.
56. APR; om. J.
57. AJR; Partolomus P.
58. APR; om. J.
59. JPR; pererunt A.

60. JPR; Nime[?] A.
61. APR; Agnonis J.
62. AJP; mane R.
63. JR; Hiberniam AP.
64. AJP; iterum R.
- 65...65. JPR; ad Hispaniam reuersus est A.
66. APR; multis J.
67. AJP; coeolis corrected to ceolis R.
68. JPR; coniuges A.
69. JP; conspitiebant R; conspiciebant et A.
70. R; oppugnationem JP; expugnationem A.
71. AJP; om. R.
72. AJP; coeolis corrected to ceolis R.
73. APR; om. J.
74. AP; omnis R; om. J.
75. JPR; cum fracta A.
76. JR; naugio AP.
77. JPR; descenderant A.
78. AR; littore JP.
79. JPR; opperuit A.
80. APR; dimersi J.
81. JPR; Set A.
82. J; ceole AP; coeolae R.
83. R; Hispanie AJ; Ispanie P.
84. R; Brittannia P; Britannia AJ.
85. A; dam hector R; dea moctor J; Damhocto P.
- 86...86. JPR; om. A.
87. PR; Istorceh A; Ictor et J.
88. APR; Istorinis J.

89. This error (for Dalrieta) is in all manuscripts, whose common ancestor was therefore copied from an exemplar in Insular script.
- 90...90. JPR; cum suis tenuit A.
91. JPR; Lietham A.
92. R; optinuuerunt AJP.
93. AJP; Demetorum R.
94. JR; Gohher P; Goher A.
95. JPR; Cergueli A.
96. JPR; Cumeda A.
97. APR; om. J.
98. R; brittannicis JP; britannicis A.
99. APR; qui J.
100. JR; hoc AP.
101. APR; uoluerunt J.
102. JR; Scotorum AP.
103. APR; eius J.
104. PR; Egyptii AJ.
105. APR; dimersi J.
106. JR; Scytia P; Scycia A.
107. PR; om. A; et apud J.
108. R; Egyptios AJP.
109. J; de (glossed uel a) R; a AP.
110. PR; Egyptii AJ.
111. APR; dimersi J.
112. R; Egyptii AJ; Aegiptii P.
- 113...113. APR; regionem illorum J.
- 114...114. JR; mari rubro AP.
115. APR; dimersi J.
116. JR; om. AP.

117. APR; om. J.
 118. JR; Africam AP.
 119. APR; Philistinorum J.
 120. R; Syrie ABP; Sirie J.
 121. JR; peruenerunt AP.
 122. JR; columpnas AP.
 123. AP; Terrena corrected to Terrenum R; Tirrenum J.
 - 124...124. JR; multos habitauerunt AP.
 125. AJP; ac R.
 126. AJR; Iberniam P.
 127. APR; dimersi J.
 128. PR; Egyptii AJ.
-

§6

1. JPR; Brittus A.
2. R; ceperunt J; desierunt AP.
3. JPR; tribun A.
4. JR; optinuerunt AP.
5. APR; p J.
6. APR; queque J.
- 7...7. JR; dignitate regis AP.
8. R; Brittones JP; Britones A.
9. R; Brittanniam JP; Britanniam A.
- 10...10. JR; om. AP.
11. R; optinuerunt J; om. AP.
12. R; Brittones JP; Britones A.
13. R; Brittones JP; Britones A.
14. JPR; monarchia A.

15. R; optinuerunt AJP.
 16. JPR; prio A.
 17. R; Brittanniam P; Britanniam AJ.
 18. APR; tercium J.
 19. JPR; Mermenii A.
 20. .xx. JPR; .xl. A.
 21. AJP; om. R.
 22. AJP; Patritii R.
 23. JR; Scotos AP.
 24. J; Patritii R; sancti Patricii AP.
 - 25...25. R; Columcille AP; Columcille J.
 26. APR; natiuitatem J.
 27. APR; sanctae Brigidae J.
 28. P; quatuor A; .iiii. JR.
-

§7

1. JPR; Britone A.
2. R; Noe AJP.
3. AHPR; Sen J.
4. R; Cham AHP; Chan J.
5. APR; Affrica HJ.
6. APR; Iaphet J.
7. HJR; Eropa AP.
- 8...8. R; quorum sunt nomina AP; quorum nomina haec sunt J.
9. APR; Hisition J; Ysichion H.
10. APR; Hisition J; Ysichion H.
- 11...11. HJR; quattuor filios P; quatuor filios A.
12. JPR; Brittonem A; Britonum H.

13. HJPR; Rothum A.
14. R; Valagotum AP; Walagothum HJ.
15. J; Cibidum AHP.
16. HJ; Longobardum AP.
17. JR; tres filios AP.
18. R; Wandalum AHJP.
19. AHP; Bogarum corrected from Boganum R; Rogarem J.
20. APR; Hisitione J.
21. JPR; om. A.
22. APR; om. J.
23. R; Brittones AHJP.
24. HJPR; Rothi A.
25. R; Walagothi AHJ; Walagoti P.
26. HR; Bibidi J; om. AP.
27. HJR; Longobardi AP.
28. JPR; Meugio A.
29. AHP; Rogari J.
30. R; Wandali AHJP.
31. PR; Tirinegi A; Taringi HJ.
32. APR; diuise HJ.
33. APR; Phetuir J; Fetuyr H.
34. PR; Ficthur (?) A; Phetuir J; Fetuir H.
35. HJPR; Ogomun A.
36. HJPR; Ogomun A.
37. APR; Thohi J; Thoy H.
38. APR; Thohi J; Thoy H.
39. APR; om. J.
40. AHJP; Boibus R.
41. HJP; Bohib A; Boibus R.

42. AJPR; Mayr H.
43. APR; om. J.
44. AHP; Eethactus R; Eothactus J.
45. AHJR; Ectactus P.
46. JPR; filius fuit A.
47. AJPR; Aurchact H.
48. R; Ethech AHP; Echeh J.
49. AHPR; Echeh J.
50. AHPR; Othoth J.
51. AHPR; om. J.
52. AJPR; Abyr H.
53. AHPR; Isra J.
54. AHPR; Isra J.
55. AJPR; Lobath H.
56. AJP; om. R.
57. HR; Iafe A; Iaphet J; Iafet P.
58. AHPR; Iaphet J.
59. AHJP; Noē R.
60. AR; Matusale J; Matusalam HP.
61. AR; Matusalam HP; om. J.
62. AHPR; Enoc J.
63. APR; Enoc J.
64. AJPR; Iareth H.
65. R; Malaleel AJP; Mahaleel H.
66. R; Malaleel AJP; Mahaleel H.
67. JR; Cainam P; Camam A; Cayna H.
68. JR; Cainā P; Camā A; Caynam H.
69. HJR; om. AP.
70. APR; experitiam J.

71. APR; acole J.
72. R; Brittanniae P; Britanniae J; Britannie A.
- 73...73. MSS. GabcS also contain this section.
74. R; Brittones AGaJP; Britones GbcS.
75. GabcJPRS; Britto A.
76. GabcJPRS; Brittus A.
77. AGabcJPR; fruit filius S.
78. AGcPRS; Isitionis J; Hisitionis Gab.
79. GcPRS; Hisicio A; Hisition GabJ.
80. AGabcJPR; Alaneus S.
81. PR; Ree AGabcJS
82. PR; Siluee A; Silue J; Siluie GabcS.
- 83...83. APR; om. J; Rea Siluia GabcS.
84. GbcPR; Nirme A; Nume GbcJS; Nuine Ga.
85. JPR; Pamphilii A; Pamphili S; Panpilii Ga.
86. AGbcPR; Numa Rea Siluia J; Nuina Ga; Pamphilus S.
87. AGacJPRS; filius filius Gb.
88. AGabcJPR; Aschanii S.
89. JP; Enee AGabcS; E_cnae R.
90. R; Ereas A; Eneas GabcJPS.
91. JPR; Anchise AGabcS.
92. AGabJPRS; Anchise Gc.
93. R; Troi AGabcJP; Trohi S.
94. AGbcJPRS; Koius Ga.
95. R; Flise AGabcJP; Flire S.
96. AGabJPR; Flire S; Flise Gc.
97. PRS; Iuuiani A; Iuuan GabcJ.
98. GabcJPR; Iuuiani A; Iuuanus S.
99. APRS; Iaphet GacJ; Iapheth Gb.

100. APR; Iaphet GabcJ; Iste Iafeth S.
101. AGabcJPR; om. S.
- 102...102. GabcJRS; habuit septem filios AP.
103. AGabcJPR; Gemer S.
104. AGabcJPR; Magod S.
105. JR; Scyti AP; Sciti GabcS.
106. AGcJPR; Madanus S; Madiam Gab.
107. AGacJPRS; quartus uero Gb.
108. AGabcJPR; Iuuanus S.
109. AJPRS; Ebrei Gabc.
- 110...110. AGabcJPR; om. S (Hispani Ga; Hyspani Gb; Hispali Gc;
Itali Gac; Ytali Gb).
111. GabcJRS; Mosoc AP.
112. AGabPRS; Capadoces GcJ.
113. GabcJR; Tyras AP; Troias S.
114. AGabcPRS; Hi J.
115. APRS; Iaphet GabcJ.
116. GaR; Noe AGbcJPS.
-

§8.

- 1...1. Word-order: JR (and cf. V: ad Brittones legationes direxerit);
miserunt legatos ad B. AP.
2. AJP; a R.
3. R; Brittannos P; Britannos A; Brittones J.
4. JRV; Brittones AP.
5. AJPV; essem R.
6. JR; tyranni APV.
-

§9

1. PR; Cesar AJ.
2. APR; optineret J.
3. R; Brittanniam APV; Britanniam J.
4. .lx. PRV; .xlx. A; .xl. J.
5. AJP; perunit R.
6. APRV; hostio J.
7. JPRV; Atamensis A.

No note 8.

- 9...9. APR; om. J.
10. R; brittannici AP; britannici J.
11. APR; Tirreni J.
12. JPR; om. A.
13. R; cum AJP.
14. APR; hostium J.
15. APR; om. J.
16. AJ; aequis PR.
17. APR; predictus J.
- 18...18. JR; Romanorum militibus AP.
19. R; cum AJP.
20. R (corrected from cummissus); commissum AJP.
21. R; Brittones AJP.
22. R; brittannicae AP; Britanniae J.
23. JR; optinuit AP.
24. APR; om. J.
25. JPR; annus A.
26. JPR; Domini A.
27. R; Brittanniam P; Britanniam AJ.

28. APR; regnum obtenuit J.
 29. APR; quintum J.
 30. PR; mensen A; om. J.
 31. PR; Cesar AJ.
 32. APR; curio J.
 33. R; Brittannia AJP.
 34. APR; tollant J.
 35. R; Brittanni AP; Britannia J.
-

§10

1. R; om. AJP.
 2. R; Brittannia AP; Britannia J.
 3. JR; et septem AP.
 4. AJP; annos (corrected from annis) R.
 5. R; Brittanniae AP; Britanniae J.
 - 6...6. JR; insulas peruenit AP.
 7. R; Brittannia AP; Britannia J.
 8. APR; britannicis J.
 9. JR; Moguntia P; Mgiutina A.
 10. JR; et dum AP.
 11. AJR; pp^2 = propter (?) P.
 12. R; brittannicus AP; britannicus J.
 13. JPR; res A.
 14. R; cum AJP.
 15. JR; regulis suis AP.
 16. R; brittannice AP; Britanniae J.
 17. APR; pape J.
-

§11

1. AJP; a R.
 2. R; Brittannos P; Britannos AJ.
 3. R; Brittanniae AP; Britannie J.
 4. APR; britannico J.
 5. AJPR: this error no doubt results from hypercorrection by the scribe of their archetype.
 6. R; fieri AJP.
 7. R; Brittones AJP.
 8. JR; Scotos AP.
 9. JPR; Scoti A.
 10. JPR; pugnabat A.
 11. R; Brittones JP; Britones A.
 12. JPR; tempore A.
 13. R; Brittanniam AP; Britanniam J.
 14. APR; om. J (but cf. §12, n. 6, below).
-

§12

1. AJP; Qartus R, where an original -u- appears to have been erased.
2. JR; Carinus AP.
3. JR; tyrannus AP.
4. AJR; ipse cum P.
5. JR; tyrannide AP.
6. APR; Eboraci in J (cf. §11, n. 14, above).
7. R; Brittanniam P; Britanniam ABJ.
8. ABPR; Et J.
- 9...9. ABPR; om. J.

10. R; Brittanniam A; Britanniam J; Brittanniam P.
 11...11. APR (but AP have Brittonum); cum omnibus regulis et ducibus
suis uerberauit J; uerberauit etc' B.
 12. APR; Britanniae J.
-

§13

1. JPR; Constancius A.
 2. APR; Britannia J.
 3. JR; et aeris AP.
 4. R; unquam J; om. AP.
 5...5. JPR; pauper in ea A.
 6. JPR; Minimanton A.
-

§14

- 1...1. AJP; im R.
 2. R; Brittannia AP; Britannia J.
 3. AJP; consilles R.
 4...4. JR; huius AP.
 5...5. APR; om. J.
-

§15

1. R; Brittannia AJP.
 2. R; cum AJP.
 3. R; Brittannia AP; Britannia J.
 4. JR; optinuit AP.
 5. APR; om. J.

6. APR; om. J.
 7. J; om APR (The reading of J is unlikely to be original:
cf. largiatur below.)
 8. JPR; Cantguit A.
 9. APR; cumulum J.
 10. JR; Hii AP.
 11. R; Brittones AJP.
 12. APR; permanent J.
 13. APR; Britannia BJ.
 14. ABPR; alienis J.
 15. ABJR; usque P.
 - 16...16. ABJR; ado P.
 17. R: an Insular spelling for imperatores AJP.
 18. R; Brittannia AJP.
 19. JPR; uero A.
-

§16

1. APR; Britannia J.
 2. JR; morabatur AP.
 3. APR; om. J.
 4. APR; ubi J.
-

§17

1. APR; Constantinus J.
2. R; Brittannia AJP.
3. PR (and Gild.); sexto AJ (and Harl.).
- 4...4. JR; anno imperii sui AP.

5. APR; om. J.
 6. AJP; uoraciter R.
 7. R; Brittannia AP; Britannia J.
 8. R; Brittones AJP.
 - 9...9. JR; annos quadringentos nouem AP.
-

§18

1. R; Brittones AJP.
2. APR; dederunt J.
- 3...3. R; ausi sunt AJP.
4. R; Brittanniam AP; Britanniam J.
5. R; Brittones AP; Britones J.
6. JPR; []Terum A.
7. JR; tyranno AP.
8. JPR; autem tunc A.
9. PR; chatholicorum A; catholico J.
- 10...10. JR; annis octo AP.
11. JR; facta est sinodus AP.
12. JR; et colliguntur ad eam AP.
- No note 13.
14. JR; om. AP.
15. JR; patres AP.
- 16...16. R; in qua J; ubi AP.
17. APR; Ieronimus J.
18. Bethleemitis R; Bedeemitis J; Belleemitis AP.
19. R; Brittannia AP; Britannia J.
20. JP; transfertasse A; transfetrasse R.
21. APR; Parapis J.

22. APR; qui J.
23. R; atque AJP.
24. APR; Maximus uero J.
25. R; Argubaste P; Argabaste J; Argubacte A.
26. APR; om. J.
27. R; Brittonibus AJP.
28. APR; Qui J.
29. R; Brittones AJP.
30. AJP; om. R.
31. PR; cum AJ.
32. AJP; por R.
33. APR; amissa J.
34. JR; om. AP.
35. APR; om. J.
36. APR; ueniebant J.
37. R; Brittonum AP; Britonum J.
38. APR; constituebantque J.
39. J (+ Harl., Gild.); imperatorem APR.
40. R; Brittannia AP; Britannia J.
41. JPR; acternatim A.
42. R; Brittones AJP.
43. JR; enim AP.
44. R; Brittannia AJP.
45. AJP; argentoque R.
46. R; ere AJ; ere P.
- 47...47. JR; ueste preciosa AP.
48. JPR; et et A.
49. R; cum AJP.
50. APR; om. J.

51. JPR; Britones A.
 52. BbPR; maximam A; Maximi J.
 53. APR; transacto J.
 54. R; Britannia AJ; Brittannia P.
 55. .xl. APR; .xl. J.
-

§19

1. R; Brittannia AJP.
 2. R; Brittones AJP.
 3. AJP; arguebantur R.
 - 4...4. R (+ Harl., Chartres, Gild.); a romano AP; Romanorum J.
 5. JPR; inpetu A.
 6. J; nec R; nec nec AP.
 7. JR; om. AP.
 8. APR; om. J.
-

§20

1. AJP; Gemania R.
2. R; Brittanniam AJP.
3. APR; adueniunt J.
4. AJP; dominabanttur R.
5. R; Guicglis AP; Picgils J.
6. R; Guicglis A; Guitglis P; Pictgils J.
7. APR; Picta J.
8. APR; Picta J.
9. PR; Guecta A; Pecta J.
10. PR; Guectha A; Pecta J.

11. AP; R (altered from Uuother); Poden J.
 12. APR; Poden J.
 13. APR; Fin J.
 14. APR; Fin J.
 15. A; R (where the -u- has been altered from -a-); Folegual P;
Folepald J.
 16. APR; Folepald J.
 17. R; Getha AP; Ieta J.
 - 18...18. JR; fuit filius AP.
 19. J; om ABPR.
 20. AJPR; unus Bb.
 21. AJP; Gurthegirus R.
 22. R; Teneth A; Tanet J; Tenech P.
 23. AJR; brittannice P.
 24. JR; Riohin AP.
 25. AJR; Aequantio P.
 26. APR; autem J.
 27. JPR; Domini A.
 - 28...28. This section is found also in MSS. Gabc.
 29. R; Brittanniam AP; Britanniam J.
 - 30...30. J; primum imperii anni R; annum primum AP.
 31. APR; huc J.
 32. AGacJPR; dicimus Gb.
 33. APR; quinque J.
 34. APR; annis dicti J.
-

§21

1. R; Brittannia AP; Britanniam J.

2...2. APR; om. J.

No note 3.

4...4. JR; om. AP.

5. JR; eius miraculum AP.

6. JR; tyrannus AP.

7. JPR; Belinud A.

8. APR; haec J.

9. APR; om. J.

10. APR; propalare J.

11...11. JR; uir Dei ipse AP.

12. R; ostiarius AJP.

13. JPR; iniquus A.

14...14. APR; anni istius J.

15. APR; intra J.

16. AP; J (preceded by an erasure); inuenient R.

17. JR; hoc AP.

18. AJP; om. R.

§22

1. AJP; Interera R.

2. JPR; indicauit A.

3. APR; tiranni J.

4...4. JPR; suscepit eos A.

5. R; nichil AJP.

6...6. APR; uaccam unam J.

§23

1. AJP; sotiis R.
- 2...2. JR; de uituli ossibus frangerent AP.
3. JR; Sequenti AP.
- 4...4. R; saluationem inpetrarent A; impetrarent responsum J;
saluationem impetrarent P.
- 5...5. AJP; iniquis regis, altered to iniquis regi and marked for
inversion, R.
6. JR; ciuitatis AP.
7. APR; om. J.
8. JR; illum AP.
9. JR; est eum AP.
- 10...10. JR; te expectant AP.
11. AJP; R, altered from obuiauit.
12. JPR; illum eum A.
13. R; opprimens AJP.
14. JP; conspectu AR.
15. APR; tiranni J.
16. JR; moris AP.
17. AJP; arce R.
18. JR; ciuitatis AP.
19. JR; om. AP.
20. JPR; inpetrare A.
21. APR; eum J.
22. R; affuit AJP.
23. APR; ista J.
24. APR; om. J.
- 25...25. JR; hospitium supradictum AP.

26. APR; in ieiunio J.
- No note 27.
28. APR; Vigilias J.
29. APR; euenit J.
30. AJP; conpicere R.
- 31...31. JPR; interuallum noctis A.
32. JR; consumpsit AP.
33. APR; tiranno J.
34. R; ars AJP.
35. JPR; om. A.
36. APR; Crastina J.
37. JR; sancto Germano AP.
- 38...38. JPR; baptizante (altered from baptizatus) A.
39. JR; om. AP.
- 40...40. JR; nomen illi AP.
41. Catel (glossed Cadel) PR; Catel uel Cadei A; Cadel J.
42. AJR; et et P.
43. AJP; addit R.
- 44...44. APR (but see next note); om. J.
45. Catel (glossed uel Cadel) PR; Catel uel Cadelis A; om. J.
46. R; psalmigraphi AJP.
47. JP; propheta A; propheta R.
48. J (+ Gild., Harl.); eleuans APR.
49. APR; Ac J.
50. APR; om. J.
51. JPR; seruus A.
52. Pauoisorum (glossed uel Pausorum) R; Pauoisorum (glossed uel Pausorum) P; Pauosorum uel Pauoisorum A; Pausorum J.

53...53. J; usque in diem regitur(in) hodiernum (diem) where the bracketed words have been deleted, R; regitur usque in hodiernum diem AP.

§24

1. AJP; ()actum R.
2. JR; crastra metati A; crastametati P.
3. J; Tānet R; Taenet P; Laenet A.
- 4...4. JR; supradictus rex AP.
5. JR; uestitum AP.
6. JPR; usque A.
7. AJR; pugnatores P.
8. R; Brittones AJP.
9. JPR; om. A.
10. APR; ante J.
11. R; promissum AP; permissum J.
12. APR; Dixerunt J.
13. R; Britones J; Brittones AP.
14. APR; uestimentum J.
15. AJP; fatientes R.
16. APR; querentes J.
17. APR; haberent abierunt J.
18. JR; enim AP.
19. JR; expoliassetque AP.
20. APR; om. J.
21. AJP; R, altered from annis.
22. JPR; intro A.
23. APR (+ Harl., Gild.); inuitabimus J.

24. JR; amplius AP.
- 25...25. JPR; numerus sit A.
26. AJP; certandum R.
27. APR; om. J.
28. JR; Sciciam A; Scitiam P.
29. APR; ueniunt J.
30. APR; in die J.
31. AJP; Henggesti R.
32. JR; decoraque AP.
33. AJP; fatig R.
34. JR; sicut conuiuium A; fecit conuiuium P.
35. R; et militibus A; militibus J; et militibus P.
36. APR; interpreti J.
37. APR; nomine J.
38. JR; om. AP.
- 39...39. APR; filiam suam puellam J.
40. APR; uberti J.
41. R; quatinus AJP.
42. JR; Sorthegirrus A; Gorthegirrus P.
43. JPR; amores A.
44. AP; interpretem JR.
45. JPR; intro A.
46. APR; om. J.
- 47...47. J; uel Ochgle A, glossing Ochgul P; uel Angle, glossing
Ochgul R.
- 48...48. APR; anglice uocatur J.
49. JR; Centlaud AP.
50. R; brittannice AP; brittonice J.
51. APR; om. J.

52. APR; Ocint J.
53. J; Guoranogono APR (An error for Guoyrancgono or Guoirancgono:
cf. § 3, n. 13.)
54. AJP; regnauit R.
- 55...55. JR; dolor quidem AP.
56. R; imprudenter JP; īprudenter A.
57. ABJP; aligenigenis R.
58. ABPR; traditum J.
- 59...59. R; puella tradita est regi AP; regi puella tradita est J.
60. JR; eam amauit AP.
61. JPR; Gorthegirno A.
- 62...62. R; pater et consiliarius tuus AP; pater tuus et consiliator
J.
63. AJP; superare R.
64. APR; fratuele J.
- 65...65. JR; om. AP.
66. APR; Guaal J.
- 67...67. JR; regis improuidi AP.
- 68...68. JR; insulas Orchades AP.
69. APR; om. J.
70. AJP; Cantuuariorum R.
71. APR; Ac J.
72. AJP; aditiens R.
73. JPR; ac filiam A.
- 74...74. AJP; sibi filiam suam R.
75. AJP; om. R.
- 76...76. APR; eum corripere J.
77. R; Brittonum AJP.
78. APR; cogitatio J.

79. JPR; om. A.
80. JPR; stollidiximus A.
81. JR; iret AP.
- 82...82. JR; esset pater AP.
- 83...83. R; impudica A; impudica fecit J; fecit impudica P.
84. JR; om. AP.
85. R (for historically correct edocta); docta AP; om. J.
86. JR; eum AP.
- 87...87. APR; dimittam te J.
88. JR; forcipibus AP.
- 89...89. R; obediuit sancto A; sancto obediuit JP.
90. JPR; Gorthegirnum A.
91. AR; caput JP.
92. APR; At J.
93. AJP; fatieque R.
94. APR; sancti .G. J.
95. JPR; et ac A.
96. JR; sancto Germano AP.
97. JPR; om. A.
98. APR; om. J.
- 99...99. PR; ad se ad se A; om. J.
- 100...100. JR; duodecim magis AP.
101. APR; om. J.
102. APR (following the unclassical feminine gender of Harl.);
extremos J.
103. JPR; possit A.
104. J; uiuente APR.
105. JPR; moritur A.
- 106...106. J; Placuitque itaque AP; Placuitque R.

- 107...107. AP; cum J; cum idem R.
108. R; circuiens AP; circuens J.
- 109...109. JR; aptum locum AP.
- 110...110. R; Gueneth uocatur AP; uocatur Guenet J.
111. R; summitate AP; summitatem J.
112. JR; edificandam (glossed uel construendam) P; edificandam uel
construendam A.
113. APR; om. J.
114. APR; om. J.
115. APR; ligarios J.
116. JPR; lapidarios A.
117. JPR; neccessaria A.
118. AJR; matheriam P.
119. AJP; materiæ R.
120. R; nichil AJP.
- 121...121. APR; om. J.
122. JPR; om. A.
- 122a. JR; matheriebus AP.
123. R; nichilum AJP.
124. APR; ereptoque et tercio J.
125. APR; precipium J.
126. JR; optinere AP.
127. APR; perueniret J.
128. APR; dispondium J.
129. APR; Non J.
130. JPR; om. A.
131. PR; ars AJ.
132. JR; om. AP.
- 133...133. JR (but Brittanniam J); misit per totam Brittanniam AP.

134. R; Britannie A; Brittanniae JP.
135. P (glossed uel Electi); Elloti uel Ellotti A; Electi J; Aelecti (glossed uel Elleti) R.
136. J; R, glossed uel regione; regione AP.
137. My emendation; quae AJPR (The scribes of JR seem to have regarded pagus as feminine.)
138. PR; Glueuesincg A; Glenesing J.
139. JR; agentes erant AP.
- 140...140. J; R, glossed by id est, ue tibi; ue tibi nec bonum tibi AP.
141. PR; Duxeruntque AJ.
142. JPR; om. A.
143. APR; ei J.
144. APR; puero J.
145. JPR; conuenctio A.
- 146...146. APR; om. J.
147. AP; interfitiariis R; om. J.
148. R; ars AP; om. J.
149. AP; fatias R; om. J.
- 150...150. JR; Isti magi AP.
151. AJP; At R.
152. AJP; aedifitium R.
- 153...153. APR; meo sanguine J.
154. APR; eius J.
- 155...155. JR; scire interrogando AP.
156. AJP; scit R.
157. APR; et J.
158. JR; et AP.
159. AJP; no R.

160. JPR; uero A.
- 161...161. AJP; possum uobis R.
162. AJP; R, altered from conglusa.
163. JP; R, altered from Interrogantque; Interrogans A.
164. JR; conclusum AP.
- 165...165. R; Puer inquit JP; om. A.
166. APR; Temptorium J.
167. JR; inuenum AP.
168. APR; temptorium J.
169. APR; temptorio J.
170. AR; inquit JP.
171. AJR; unus P.
172. R; rufus AJP.
173. APR; Temptorio J.
174. JPR; om. A.
175. AJR; expectantibus P.
176. APR; supponens J.
177. APR; temptorii J.
178. APR; uirginem J.
179. APR; temptorii J.
180. AJP; At R.
181. JPR; deiecit A.
182. APR; temptorium J.
183. JPR; repulit A.
184. JR; stratis A; strans P.
185. R; rufo AJP.
186. APR; miserabile J.
187. AJP; reuelatum R.
188. AJP; om. R.

- 189...189. APR; exponam certius J.
190. APR; Temptorium J.
- 191...191. JR; Duo dracones sunt illi duo uermes A; Duo dracones sunt duo illi uermes P.
192. JR; om. AP.
193. APR; om. J.
194. R; Brittannia AJP.
195. APR; tendet J.
196. JPR; om. A.
197. JPR; om. A.
198. JR; prius AP.
199. JR; uenerat AP.
200. APR; Tunc J.
201. J; quam APR.
202. PR; facto AJ.
- 203...203. JR; tibi possis AP.
204. APR; adolescentuli J.
205. J; Quod APR.
- 206...206. R; tibi nomen AJP.
207. R; anglice AP; brittannice J; britannice Bb.
208. JR; Dixitque AP.
- 209...209. APR; rex uero J.
210. JR; arcem et urbem AP.
211. R; cum AJP.
212. JR; om. AP.
213. R; Brittanniae AP; Britanniae J.
214. AJP; cu R.
215. JR; sinistram AP.
216. R; Brittanniae AJP.

217...217. JR; ibi urbem AP.

218. AR; Guorthegrin J; Guortegirn P.

§25

1. JP; gitur AR.
2. APR; Guortemer J.
3. AR; Guortegirni JP.
4. AJP; Henggestum R.
5. PR; genteque A; et gentem J.
6. APR; pentulanter J.
7. APR; om J.
8. JR; Tenhet A; Teneht P.
9. AJR; conclusit P.
10. JPR; adgendam A.
11. JR; At uero AP.
- 12...12. JR (but Brittannie J); reges brittannice (britnitannice, P)
gentis et principes eius AP.
- 13...13. JR; terminos uincendo A; terminos suos uincendo P.
14. JPR; uincebatur A.
15. APR; quantum J.
16. AJP; illo R.
17. AJP; uuliter R.
18. AJ; egit PR.
19. APR; Deguna J.
20. APR; uada J.
21. R; Epffrod A; Epifford J; Episfrod P.
22. PR; Settergabail A; Secther gabail J.
23. JPR; occidit A.

24. JPR; Gorthegirni A.
 25. R; Catirgirn AP; Catigrin J.
 26. APR; om. J.
 27. AJP; oegit R.
 - 28...28. JR; Saxonesque AP.
 29. APR; animaduertens J.
 30. JR; Sepelite me AP.
 31. APR; porta J.
 32. JR; ostii mei AP.
 - 33...33. JR; om. AP.
 34. R; Brittannie AP; Britanniae J; Brithannie Eb.
 - 35...35. ABPR; si ista sic J.
 - 36...36. ABPR; om. J.
 37. BJR; habitabunt A; habitabunt (glossed uel manebunt) P.
 38. AR; imprudenter JP.
 39. R; eius APR.
 40. APR; quem J.
 41. JPR; magno opere A.
 42. AJ; Hengisti P; Hengesti R.
 43. APR; acceperat J.
 44. AR; imprudentem JP.
 45. R; intelligat AJP.
 46. JR; uirtute sua AP.
 47. JPR; dominabantur A.
 48. R; Brittanniam AP; in Britannia J.
 49. R; Brittonum AJP.
 50. R; uoluntatem AJP.
-

§26

- 1...1. APR; om. J.
2. PR; Gorthemeri A; Guerthenum J.
3. JR; Gorthegirni AP.
- 4...4. AP; Hengesto confortato R; Hengestus confortatus J.
5. JPR; om. A.
- 6...6. A; regi Guorthegirio J; regi Guorthenirgo P; regi Guorthegirno regi R.
7. PR; exercitu AJ.
8. AJP; deprecatur R.
9. APR; uertentur J.
10. JPR; ()ex A.
11. APR; om. J.
12. APR; om. J.
13. AJ; Hengisto P; Hengesto R.
14. APR; discordia J.
15. JPR; bellicorum A.
16. AJP; rennuere R.
17. AJP; idsum R.
18. AJP; Hengesto R.
19. AJP; Hengestus R; Hengistus Bb.
20. ABPR; praeparamus et J.
21. R; .ccc. BbJ; trecentis AP.
22. BJR; confirmandam AP.
23. AJ; Hengistus BbP; Hengestus R.
- 24...24. ABJP; exuis R.
25. J; R, glossed id est trecentos; milites id est trecentos AP; scilicet .ccc. milites Bb.

26. J; A, glossed id est canif; ortauum R; artauum (altered from ortauum, and glossed id est canif) P; arcauum Bb.
27. ABPR; sinicone J.
28. R; commiscerent ABP; commiscent J.
29. BJR; eos A; eosque P.
30. ABPR; inebriare J.
- 30a. AJPR; quando Bb.
31. R; imquid A; inquit JP.
- 32...32. R; P, glossed id est, capite cultellos; Nunad sexa
(glossed id est capite cutellos) A; Ninuadissexu J.
- 32a. JPR; cutellos A.
33. APR; siconibus J.
34. AJP; educite R.
35. R; Veruntamen J; Verūtamen AP.
- 36...36. APR; est enim J.
- 37...37. R; sociis suis AP; suis J.
- 38...38. APR; pacem quam J.
39. R; certius AJP.
40. AJP; At uenientibus R.
41. R; Brittones A; Brittonibus JP.
42. APR; uertentes J.
43. R; conuiuuiis AP; om. J.
44. APR; om. J.
45. APR; om. J (erasure at this point, but former reading not
certainly clam).
46. APR; parabant J.
47. R; Brittones AJP.
48. JR; cum Saxonibus AP.
- 49...49. APR; discubuerunt J.

- 50...50. APR; Quibus J.
51. AJP; epulantibus R.
52. JPR; bibantibus A.
53. R; et AP; at J.
54. AJP; Henggestus R.
55. AJP; eleuata R.
- 56...56. R; Ninuadissex J; Nimad sexa (glossed id est, capite
cultellos) P; Nunad sexa (glossed id est, capite cutellos)
A.
57. AJP; At R.
58. AJR; exsurgentes P.
- 59...59. APR; cultellos extrahentes J.
60. R; Brittones AJP.
- 60a. JPR; sinioribus A.
61. R; om. AJP.
62. APR; regiones J.
63. AP; Eastsexam J; Etastseaxan R.
64. PR; Subseaxan A; Su^xsexam J.
65. R; Madelseaxan A; Middlesexam J; Mildelseaxan P.
- 66...66. JR; filie proprie Bb; filiae suae AP.
67. R; Gurthegoirnam A; Guorthegoirnam J; Gurthegoirnam P.
- 68...68. JR; uxoribus lateret AP.
69. APR; Secutus J.
70. JR; om. AP.
71. PR; Germanius A; .G. J.
72. APR; clæro J.
73. R; Brittonum AJP.
- 74...74. JR; uir beatissimus AP.
75. AJP; uoce R.

76. AJP; om. R.
77. APR; om. J.
78. JPR; turbarum A.
79. AJR; clanguore P.
80. AJP; om. R.
81. My emendation; totusque AJPR.
82. APR; om. J.
83. APR; fuga J.
84. APR; usque ad J.
85. JPR; cunuerit A.
86. APR; Elementorum J.
87. R; nominatim J; om. AP.
88. JPR; Guorthegirni A.
89. AJP; fatig R.
- 90...90. JR; sanctus Germanus more solito eum AP.
91. APR; deprecans J.
92. JPR; ars A.
93. JPR; om. A.
94. APR; tamen J.
95. AJP; Hengesti R.
96. R; cum AP; et cum J.
- 97...97. PR; et cum eo cunctis A; cunctis cum eo J.
98. R; brittannico AJP.
99. APR; secundus J.
100. R; cum AJP.
101. APR; sancto J.
102. APR; cleris J.
- 103...103. APR; om. J.
104. JR; sedque AP.

105. JPR; et A.
106. JPR; ()lii A.
107. AJP; degluttiuit R.
108. JPR; urbis A.
109. JPR; nlla A.
- 110...110. R; inuenta sunt AP; comuenta sunt J.
111. APR; quod J.
- 112...112. JR; cum illo deuorauit AP.
113. AJP; arce R.
114. JPR; quarum A.
115. APR; quantum J.
116. J; Cathegirmi A; Cathegirn PR.
117. JPR; Pascens A.
118. APR; Bnelt J.
119. R (where the second -r- is altered from -n-); Guorthegirmiam A;
Guorthegirnaim J; Gorthegirnaim P. (The reading of the common
exemplar was already corrupt.)
120. AJP; post post P.
121. J; Ambrosio A; Ambrosio (glossed uel Embresio) P; Embrosio
(glossed uel Ambrosio) R.
- 122...122. JR; rex magnus fuit AP.
123. APR; Britanniae J.
124. APR; om. J.
125. JPR; et nutriuit A.
126. APR; Fertimail J.
- 126a. JPR; Guorthegirnam A. (Cf. n. 119 above.)
127. APR; filius fuit J.
128. JPR; Tendor A.
129. JR; Guidrant A; Guodidcant P.

130. AP; Eleat J; Eltot R.
131. APR; Eleat J.
132. JPR; A, altered from Pascens.
133. J; Guorthegirni APR.
134. J; R, where the second -r- is altered from -n-; Guorthegirn
Guorthegirn P; Guorthegirni G A.
135. PR; Guortheneu A; Guorteneu J.
136. AR; Guorteneu J; Gortheneu P.
137. JPR; Guithaul A.
138. R; Guitholion AJ; Guitolon P.
139. PR; Guitolinion A; Guitholion J.
140. PR; Gloui AJ.
141. R; Glodimi A; Gloui J; Gloduiu P.
142. APR; Paul Merion filius J.
- 143...143. PR; Gloui da J; om. A.
144. R; brittannice A; britannico J; brittannico P.
145. APR; Gloin J.
146. JPR; om. A.
147. JR; Glocestir AP.
148. AJP; Guorthenirno R.
149. JR; dictum est AP.

§ 27

1. AJP; ()n R.
2. R; Brittannia AP; Britannia J.
3. AJP; om. R.
4. A; Hencgesto JR; Hengisto P.
5. AJP; Octhta R.

6. R; Brittannie AP; Britanniae J.
7. AJP; Cantpariorum R.
8. R; hodiernum AJ; ho[... P.
9. AJP; bellorum R.
10. AJP; hostium R.
11. APR; Gleinu J (the -u derives from a misunderstanding of .ii., indicating the second battle, following Glein in the exemplar).
12. APR; om. J.
13. APR; ac J.
14. JR; quantum A; qu[... P.
15. JR; et AP.
16. JP; Brittannie A; brittannice R.
17. APR; Iniis J.
18. APR; Septimum uero J.
19. JPR; Celidoni A.
20. My emendation; quae AJPR.
21. AJP; bryttannice R.
- 22...22. APR; cattoit J.
23. JPR; uocatur A.
24. JPR; illos barbaros A.
25. AJP; aegit R.
26. JPR; Arthor A.
27. APR; om. J.
28. JPR; maginem A.
- 29...29. JR; om. AP.
30. APR; suos portauit J.
- 31...31. JR; fugati AP.
- 32...32. APR; multi ex illis magna cede J.
33. AJP; aegit R.

34. AJP; bryttannice R.
35. AJR; litore P.
- 36...36. R; Thiat treuroit A; Tractheuroit J; Thrat treuroit P;
Trath treuroit Eb.
37. JPR; que A.
38. PR; Breuoin J; Bregiloin A.
39. APR; quae J; in Sumerseteschire quem Eb.
- 40...40. JPR; om. A.
41. AP; Hadonis J; om. A.
42. AP; perpetrauit J; om. A.
43. J; om. APR.
44. APR; .cccc. J.
45. APR; om. J.
- 46...46. JR; eum semper AP.
47. JR; om. AP.
48. JPR; om. A.
49. JR; nulla est AP.
- 50...50. APR; om. J.
51. AJP; adque R.
52. J; aegerunt R; eger AP.
- 53...53. R; qui fuit filius AP; filius J.
54. P; Eobda AR; Eboba J.
55. APR; Bernce J.
56. APR; Afrauc J.
57. ABJR; Gracianus P.
58. R; Equantius ABJP.
59. BJPR; totius A.
60. BJPR; regabatur A.
61. BJR; Saxones uero AP.

62. APR; Guortegirno J; Uortigerno Bb.
 63. ABPR; passione J.
 64...64. BJR; scribimus nunc AP.
 65. R; quicunque J; quicūque ABbP.
 66. ABPR; legerunt J.
 67...67. ABJP; imelius R.
 68. ABPR; augeantur J.
 69. APR; om. J.
 70. R; gloriatur AJP.
 71...71. APR; seculorum secula J.
 72. Following amen, P (alone) adds a rubric: Explicit historia et genealogia Brittonum.
-

§28

This section occurs only in R; I therefore allow the full range of its orthographical idiosyncracies to stand.

1. My emendation; at R.
 2. My emendation; quen R.
 3. My emendation; si quid R.
 4. Altered from egecit.
 5. Glossed scilicet libris.
 - 6...6. This section also in B.
 7. R; superrigetur Bb.
 8. R; qui Bb.
 9. R; et Bb.
 - 10...10. R; per orationem Bb.
 11. R; abluantur Bb.
 12. My emendation; populos R.
-

TEXTUAL NOTES
AND
VARIANT READINGS
TO THE
'SAWLEY' RECENSION.

S I G L A

- C Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, MS. 139. (The original text, copied 1164.)
- $\begin{array}{l} c^1 \\ c^2 \\ c^3 \end{array} \left. \vphantom{\begin{array}{l} c^1 \\ c^2 \\ c^3 \end{array}} \right\} \text{Glossing hands: 1164 x 1166.}$
- $\begin{array}{l} c^4 \\ c^5 \\ c^6 \end{array} \left. \vphantom{\begin{array}{l} c^4 \\ c^5 \\ c^6 \end{array}} \right\} \text{Glossing hands: ca 1200.}$
- c⁷ (possibly the same scribe as c¹): final editorial preparation of text, ca 1200.
- c⁸ Glossing hand, ca 1200: active after c⁷ and found also in MS. F.
- c⁹ (possibly by the same scribe as c⁷, and therefore c¹): adds one gloss, sæc. xiii¹.
- D Durham, Cathedral Library, MS. B. 2. 35.
- D² collations drawn from C in 1166.
- F Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, MS. 66 + University Library, MS. Ff. I. 27 (pp. 1-40, 73-252). sæc. xiiiⁱⁿ.
- O Oxford, St John's College, MS. 99.
- O² collations drawn from a 'Sawley' text in sæc. xiii¹

Note to the preface

This section is found only in F.

Notes to the Apologia

1. The apologia occurs also in C (in hand C^2), in D^2 (which follows C^2), and in O (where it is an addition of the earlier part of the thirteenth century). In C, it is introduced by a long rubric (given above, p. 554). C^8 adds two other rubrics: (i) Incipit apologia Nemii Britonum historiografi; (ii) Incipit hystorica ortografia mundi. There is no rubric in O.
2. Altered in F from Ninnius, which is also the reading of C^2 in MS. C. MS. O (O^2) reads Nennius.
- 3...3. FO^2 ; MS. C (C^2) has simply Eluodugi.
4. C^2F ; ebetudo O^2 .
5. C^2F ; deiescerat O^2 .
6. C^2F ; om. O^2 .
7. MS. C (C^2) continues 'id est Ieronimi, Eusebii, Isidori, Prosperi'. These words are absent from O^2 , as from F.
8. FO ; annalibus C^2 .
9. F; Anglorum O^2 ; Saxonumque C^2 .
10. C^2F ; de O^2 .
11. This is the reading of all three manuscripts, but in O a fifteenth-century hand has altered it to multos.
12. C^2F ; at O^2 .
13. FO^2 ; frequentissimas C^2 , glossed creberrimas by C^7 .
14. C^2F ; legit O^2 .

15. C²F (certainly corrupt); qui O².
 16. C²F; sum ego qui O².
 17. C²F; garula O².
 18. C²F; om. O².
 19. In all manuscripts, but underpointed for deletion in C.
 20. The closing rubric in C (and D) is simply Explicit eulogium.
-

Notes to the Capitula

1. The capitula occur only in F.
 2. The manuscript has a superfluous -o-.
 3. Altered from protoplaustum.
 4. Glossed uel seminauerit.
 - 5...5. Written occidit. imperatorem, but marked for transposition.
 - 6...6. These two capitula have been inserted in the lower margin of the manuscript page, and attached by signes de renvoi.
 7. Glossed uel Bernicia.
 8. At this point is inserted (and deleted) the rubric which now occurs before capitulum. LXXIX.
-

Notes to the 'Nature Gentium'

1. This section is also in MS. C, as an addition by C². In this rubric C reads gentium for the hominum of F. C² introduces it with the general rubric Item eiusdem quod scribi debet in fine libri.
2. Written in C in an unidentified hand in rasura.
3. In C, the -n- is added by C⁷.

- 4...4. In C, these are additions by C⁷.
 5. Duricia, glossed uel superbia, in C.
 - 6...6. Additions in C by the unidentified hand (cf. n. 2 above).
 - 7...7. Addition in C by hand C⁷.
 - 8...8. Written in C in rasura, probably by the same unidentified hand.
 - 9...9. Not represented in C, though in the place where C⁷ might have added it there is an erasure.
 - 10...10. Additions in C by C⁷.
-

Notes to the verses

1. These verses are found also in MS. C, but have no rubric save that which introduces the Nature Gentium: 'Item eiusdem quod scribi debet in fine libri'.
 - 1a. Glossed sit in MS. C only.
 2. Glossed id est Samueli in both MSS.
 3. Glossed id est Beulani in F, id est Beulan in C.
 4. Glossed id est mater in both MSS.
 5. Glossed id est Samuel in both MSS.
 6. This heading occurs only in F.
-

Note to the computus

- 1...1. This is placed in the lower margin of the manuscript-page, and marked for insertion by signes de renvoi.
-

I.

- 1...1. This is found in C (hand C⁸) as a rubric to the Eulogium of Ninnius. Here C has a rubric by C¹: 'Sancti Spiritus assit nobis gratia. Incipit res gesta a Nennio sapiente composita'.
 2. Added in MS. C in hand C¹.
 3. In MS. C, C¹ adds the rubric Alia computacio, here replaced by aliter.
 - 4...4. Added in MS. C in hand C¹.
 - 5...5. Added in MS. C in hand C².
 6. F's original reading was Enarauth, subsequently corrected.
 7. Represented in MS. C by Item mundi etas in hand C¹.
 8. In MS. C, C¹ adds uel in quo.
 9. This concludes 'I' in MS. C.
-

II.

- 1...1. This rubric only in F.
- 2...2. Added in MS. C in hand C².
3. Altered from Iaphedi (F), the original reading of C².
4. Glossed in MS. C uel dicta est by an unidentified hand, possibly C⁶.
5. Glossed in MS. C id est insula in hand C¹.
6. Glossed in MS. C id est hiemali siue boreali ortu in hand C².
7. The scribe of F began to write 'longitudinem', but corrected himself.
8. In MS. C, gentes is an addition in hand C² which glosses 'armonicas' by uel -ricos gentes.
- 9...9. Addition in MS. C in hand C⁸.

10. Glossed id est Man in F, as also in C by C⁸.
 - 11...11. Addition in MS. C in hand C⁸.
 12. In MS. C Orcania is attended by two glosses: (i) in hand C¹, Orc id est Orcades insule, and (ii) in hand C⁸, id est sub arco posita. In the outer margin of F, the truncated gloss(es) Orcade[. and id est sub a[... are found.
 13. Altered in MS. C from the original deportantes by an as yet unidentified hand.
-

.III.

- 1...1. In MS. C this is a marginal addition in hand C⁷: however, it stands on an erasure of a passage in a smaller and earlier script.
- 2...2. An addition in MS. C in hand C³.
3. An addition in C by an as yet unidentified hand.
4. In F, glossed id est Latinorum. In C, this is an addition by C⁸ ('uel Latinorum').
- 5...5. In C, an addition by C⁶ replacing the 'mortis esset' of the text.
- 6...6. A major addition in MS. C in hand C². It is opened by a sentence subsequently marked for deletion and partly erased: 'Hec est genealogia istius Briti exosi ad se nos id est Brittones ducti quandoque uolebant Scocti nescientes origenes sui ad istum domari'. It continued with Britus... (rather than Brito). The original closing sentence has been marked in C for deletion: 'Sic inueni ut tibi Samuel, id est infans magistri mei, id est Beulani presbiteri, in ista pagina scripsi; sed hec genealogia non scripta in

aliquo uolumine Brittannię, sed in scriptione mentis scriptoris fuit'.

7. In C, C² reads Iupiter, and is glossed Iouis by C⁷.
 8. An addition to MS. C in hand C².
 9. An addition to MS. C in hand C⁶.
 10. Glossed in F (and in C by C¹) id est nomen loci.
 - 11...11. A marginal gloss in F and in C (by C⁸).
 12. Altered from quod (by C⁸ in both MSS., C and F).
 13. Altered from Turnip (by C⁸ in both MSS., C and F).
-

III.

1. Formerly introduced in C by a red-ink rubric, written first by C¹ (then deleted), secondly by C² (again deleted): 'De regno ~~A~~nee et Ascanii et Siluii et Briti et Posthumii' (there are slight variations between the two versions).
 - 2...2. An addition in MS. C in hand C¹.
 3. An addition in MS. C in hand C¹.
 - 4...4. An addition in MS. C in hand C².
-

V.

1. In MS. C, C² provides a rubric for this section, which is not reproduced in F: De peritia Scottorum, id est quo tempore tenuerunt Hyberniam.
-

VI.

1. This is an addition in MS. C by an unidentified hand.

2. Not in C; in F it is an interlinear addition.
-

.VII.

1. In C, altered from turrem.
 2. Glossed in C (by an unidentified hand) and in F 'uel -runt'.
 3. Glossed in C (by C⁸) and in F 'uel iuxta'.
 4. An addition by C⁸ in both C and F (where the characteristic signe de renvoi of C⁸ appears).
 5. An addition in MS. C by an unidentified hand.
-

.VIII.

1. The following sentence is in C an addition by C³.
 2. In C, this word is an insertion by C⁷ into the addition by C³.
 3. In C, this word is glossed uel reperitur by C⁷; it appears as a gloss also in F.
 4. Istoreth C.
 5. In C, glossed id est Man by C²; it is a gloss also in F.
 - 6...6. These words are not in C.
 7. At this point in C, C⁸ adds regiones, but the addition is not in F.
 - 8...8. In C, this is an addition by C².
-

.IX.

1. An addition in C in hand C⁷.
- 2...2. Added in C in hand C³.

- 3...3. Not found in C where, however, there is an erasure (apparently concealing script in hand C⁷) following the addition by C³.
 4. ambulando C.
 5. Added in C in hand C².
 6. Replaces a deleted per in F; ad is also the reading of C.
 7. An addition in C in hand C³, replacing the 'et consules' of the original text.
-

X.

- 1...1. In C this is an addition in hand C¹, with the difference that it there begins Scite, not Cite.
-

XI.

1. Altered in C from Mermini: see Appendix IX below.
 2. An addition in C, perhaps by C¹.
 3. An addition in C by C².
 4. An addition in C by C⁷.
-

XII.

1. An addition in C in hand C².
 2. An addition in C in hand C⁷.
 3. In F this appears to have been altered from Achaea; in C an original Achia became Achaia.
 4. Glossed uel Italia in F, but id est Italia in C.
 5. Glossed id est Australia in both C and F.
-

Note to the rubric to the sphere

1. This section, including the drawing which follows it, occurs only in F.
-

Notes to the section 'Britones a Bruto dicti'

1. This section, drawn ultimately from a text of the Vatican recension, occurs only in F where it is entered in a hand different from that of the body of the text. The hand of this section is seen in one or two places in MS. C, entering minor glosses. The text of this section is distributed around the diagram of the world (on page 25 of MS. F).
-

XIII.

1. An addition to C by C².
2. An addition to C, perhaps by C².
- 3...3. In C this is a marginal replacement by C² of an erased passage in the text.
- 4...4. In C this is an addition by C².
5. An addition in C, perhaps in hand C⁶.
6. Glossed id est Romani in both C (by C²) and F.
7. Glossed id est Britones in both C (in hand C⁸?) and F.
In C Britti has been altered to Bruti.
8. In C this is a replacement by C¹ for the erroneous sub of the text.
- 9...9. This is an addition to C in hand C².

10. This word is added by C⁸ in MS. C, where it belongs between primis and Brittannie. However, that MS. has an erasure above and following Brittannie which probably indicates that this addition was originally placed there.
-

XIIII.

1. In C, an alteration by C⁷ of the original apud.
 2. In F, the first -l- appears to be underpointed for deletion, as it certainly is in C; the same hand has probably been at work in both volumes.
 3. In C the -que is an addition, probably by C⁶.
-

XV.

1. Glossed uel bellicosum in F. In C, C⁸ has added: 'Semen bellicorum uel bellicosum, que cacitramenta uocantur, id est catheleu britannice interpretatus est'.
 - 2...2. Part of the addition in C by C⁸.
 3. In F, this is glossed id est catheleu britannice interpretatus est.
 4. cethilo C, altered to cethilocium by C⁸.
 5. Glossed uel discidium in both C (by C⁸) and F.
 6. erat C.
-

XVI.

1. In C, this is an alteration by C² from an original hereditatem

2. Glossed uel aquatilem in both C (by C⁸) and F.
 3. A marginal addition in C.
-

.XVII.

1. This word is not in C.
 2. In C, the last minim may be an addition.
-

.XVIII.

1. An addition by C⁷ over an erasure in C; only a large initial P- remains of the original wording.
 - 2...2. In C, this is an addition by C⁴.
 3. spendoris C⁴.
-

.XIX.

1. In C, an addition by C⁷.
 - 2...2. An addition in C in hand C⁴.
 3. In both C and F, this is rendered by the technical compendium .p. In F, however, it has been glossed passus.
 4. Penguaul C⁴.
 - 5...5. This is the word-order of C⁴, which the scribe of F reversed; in F, these words were then marked for transposition.
 - 6...6. This is an addition in C by C³; it is substituted for the deleted eboraci moritur intra Brittanniam of C's original text.
-

XX.

1. In C this was originally followed by qui propterea tirannus fuit; C¹ altered qui to quia, but the whole clause was deleted by 1166 as the evidence of the Durham manuscript shows.
 - 2...2. In C this clause is glossed uel uindicans ualde sanguinem Seueri by C¹.
 - 3...3. In C this phrase is glossed uel purpurias britannicas by C¹; also, the original reading of C's text was purpura.
-

XXI.

- 1...1. Glossed uel Cair Costaint in both C (by C²) and F. In C, C⁷ has rewritten the Seg- of the original text.
 2. An addition in C, perhaps in hand C⁶.
 3. maneret C.
 4. In both C (by C⁷) and F, this has been glossed id est urbs eboraca. The text of C originally read 'Mirmantum', but the last minim of the -m was underpointed for deletion.
-

XXII.

1. An addition in C.
-

XXIII.

1. In C the -ianus, written by C², stands on an erasure, presumably of -us.

- 2...2. This is an addition in both C (by C⁸) and F. In F, the words Ipsi sunt stand where the original et usque has been erased; the remainder, including the rewritten et usque, is in the outside margin and has been beheaded twice by the binder's plough.
- 3...3. Original to the text of F but, owing to the insertion noted above, erased and rewritten in the margin where most of the et has been cut away by the binder.
4. Crucochideint C.
- 5...5. In C, an addition by C⁴.
6. exuntes C⁴.
- 7...7. In C, an addition by C¹.
8. uti C¹.
9. In C the original scribe first wrote esse but then corrected himself.

.XXIIII.

No notes.

.XXV.

1. C originally read Constantius; an -n- was inserted, probably by C².
2. Interlined in F.

.XXVI.

1. C was altered from Maximo to Maximiano by C². F's omission

of the second -i- is presumably an oversight.

2. Altered in C from dogma by C⁶.
 3. Altered in C from qua by C⁷.
 - 4...4. An addition in C by C³.
 5. Altered in C from Maximus by C².
 6. Altered in C from qui by an unidentified hand.
 - 7...7. An addition to C by C³.
 - 8...8. In C a blank space of almost one line was left by the original scribe owing to some fault in his exemplar (the same defect is found in the Liège manuscript). It was filled by C¹ with the words 'in tercio ab uirileisa lapide'.
 9. An addition in F, as in C where C⁷ inserts it into the phrase contributed by C¹.
 10. This is glossed id est Aquileia in both C (by C⁶) and F.
 11. In C, this is supplied by C¹ in place of the original in.
 - 12...12. An addition in C by C⁸.
-

.XXVII.

1. Altered in C, not later than 1166, from auxiliorum.
 2. An addition in C by C³.
 - 3...3. An addition in C by C⁶.
 4. C was altered (before 1166) from .viii. to .viii.j.
 - 5...5. A red-ink addition in C by C¹.
-

.XXVIII.

- 1...1. An addition in C, perhaps by C³.
2. Altered in C from Maximi by C².

3. Altered in C from pugnabat by C³.
 4. C originally read Hengister, but the last two letters were underpointed for deletion.
 - 5...5. A marginal addition in C by C³.
 - 6...6. A red-ink addition in C by C¹.
-

XXIX.

1. The dislocation of chapters between C and F begins here.
This is part of XXVIII in C.
 2. Gorthigirrus C.
 3. Guorthigirno C.
-

XXX.

1. .XXIX. C.
 2. Glossed uel inter in C, perhaps by C⁶.
 3. In C this is written by C⁷ over an erasure.
-

XXXI.

1. .XXX. C.
- 2...2. An addition in C by C⁶.
3. In C, hostium is glossed uel portam by C²; in F we find the gloss id est portam
4. Altered in C to permanserint by an unidentified hand.
5. In C, this is glossed uel finem by C².
- 6...6. In C 'in hostio portę mée arcis' is added by C².
7. In C this is glossed uel dies by an unidentified hand.

8. tiranni C.
-

.XXXII.

1. .XXXI. C.
 2...2. An addition in C by C².
-

.XXXIII.

1. .XXXII. C.
 2. Altered in C from surrexit by an unidentified hand.
 3. In C capitis is added here by C⁸.
 4...4. Originally written in C as cum gradiaris, but then marked for transposition.
 5. Glossed uel seruiendum in both C (by C²) and F.
-

.XXXIIII.

1. .XXXIIII. C.
 2. famalia F; familia C.
 3. In C, glossed uel tempus (by either C⁶ or C⁸).
-

.XXXV.

1. .XXXIIII. C.
 2. An addition in C, perhaps by C⁸.
 3...3. An addition in C, perhaps by C⁸.
 4. Altered in C from uerbi(?) (or perhaps uerba).
 5. An addition in C, perhaps by C⁸.
-

.XXXVI.

1. .XXXV. C.
 2. This is glossed id est ars chori in both C (by C²) and F.
 3. There is a very large and faint marginal gloss in C by C⁹:
Guotigern.
 4. In C, this is glossed uel sedicione by C⁸; in F the gloss reads uel ditione.
 5. In F, est has been deleted after promissum.
 6. In C, the next word was originally inde; this was deleted before 1166. Another hand has then substituted quia, but this is not reflected in F.
-

.XXXVII.

1. .XXXVI. C.
2. In C, protinus originally followed qui, but was deleted.
3. Glossed uel -runt in F; C reads transfretauerunt.
- 4...4. Both C and F read enim erat, and in both these words have been marked for transposition.
- 5...5. All this is added in C by C².
6. The scribe of F first wrote legit but then corrected himself.
7. saxon C² (= Saxonum?).
8. In C this is an addition by C¹.
9. In C the text originally read Contguaralan, but the -o- was altered to -a- and -d was suffixed. The -h- is new in F.
- 10...10. In C this is written by C² and replaces the words in terram autem of the original text.
11. In C, Guoiran appears in the original hand, with -gono

added suprascript (perhaps by C⁶). These four letters had no doubt been erased to make way for the following insertion.

12. In C this word is inserted in rasura by C⁷.

.XXXVIII.

1. .XXXVII. C.
 2. In C this is written in rasura by C⁷.
 3. In C an original fratruei had its final letter altered to -e.
 4. The scribe of C originally wrote meo but corrected himself.
 5. In C quos is the work of C⁶ or C⁸; the word was previously qui, and perhaps originally qj.
 6. An addition in C.
 7. Ebisa C.
 - 8...8. An addition in C in hand C¹.
 9. quod C¹.
 - 10...10. In C this note (by C²) replaces an original quas habitabant; C² first wrote habitore which he deleted and replaced with habitatore.
-

.XXXIX.

1. .XXXVIII. C.
2. An addition in C by C⁷.
3. In C the con- is the result of an alteration by C¹.
4. pictineque F. In C an original pictineque had been altered to pectineque, but the scribe of F seems to have ignored this.

5. C originally read patremque, but the -que was marked for deletion.
 - 6...6. An addition in C by C².
 7. An alteration in C, from an original usque, made after 1166.
 - 8...8. C originally read carnalem patrem carnalem patrem by dittography. After 1166, the first carnalem and the second patrem were deleted, and -que was added to the first patrem.
 9. An addition in C by C⁶.
 10. An addition in C, perhaps by C⁶ or C⁸.
 11. An addition in C by C².
-

.XL.

1. .XXXIX C.
 2. hoc C.
-

.XLI.

1. .XL C.
 2. Glossed id est Waliam in both C (perhaps by C⁸) and F.
 - 3...3. A gloss in C, perhaps by C⁶.
-

.XLII.

1. .XLI C.
 - 2...2. These words were added to C after 1166, perhaps by C⁶.
 3. This word, written in C by C², replaced quesieris.
-

XLIII.

1. Although F begins a **new** chapter here, and the original scribe of C placed a large initial R- here, the editorial hand responsible for the chapter-numeration in C did not see fit to begin a new chapter at this point. The dislocation between C and F is thus increased.
 2. An addition in C by C⁶.
 - 3...3. In F these words stand in the margin. The scribe probably first wrote ad Electi and was then obliged to erase the ad and correct as noted.
 4. In C the -c- of Electi was underpointed for deletion, but the scribe of F overlooked this.
 5. In C, C⁸ adds ipsum after illis.
 - 6...6. In C, this is an addition by C⁸.
 7. In C, this is an addition by C².
 - 8...8. These words are added in C in hand C².
-

XLIIII.

1. .XLII. C.
2. monstravit C.
3. Added in C by C².
4. In C this is the result of an alteration by C¹. The original reading was probably Mando.
5. Glossed id est ostendam in both C (by C¹) and F.
6. An addition in C by C².
7. Marked for deletion (after 1166) from C, but the scribe of F appears to have overlooked this.

8. Added in C after 1166 (probably by C⁶).
 - 9...9. The scribe of F originally wrote Nescimus nos, but the two words were marked for transposition back to the original order of C.
 10. coperior F. C has the correct reading.
 - 11...11. An addition to C by C⁸.
 12. An addition in C by C².
 - 13...13. An addition in C by C².
 14. temptorium C.
 15. sicut C.
 16. The result of an alteration (before 1166) of the original magis of C.
 17. temptorii C.
 18. An addition in C by C².
 19. stangnum C.
 20. An addition in C by C⁶ or C⁸.
 21. Altered from duo in both C (by C⁷) and F.
 - 22...22. Written over an erasure in C by C⁷.
 23. In F, the -s of ruffus is unnecessarily elaborated in an attempt to conceal the erasure of at least one word.
 24. In F this word is the result of an alteration.
 25. stangnum C.
-

.XLV.

1. .XLIII. C.
2. An addition in C by C⁷.
- 3...3. In C these words are glossed uel ipse est by C¹.
4. The original scribe of C wrote affuit; the -g- was added

later.

5. Caír C.
 - 6...6. An addition in C by C⁴.
 7. An addition (to the note by C⁴) by C¹ or C⁷.
-

.XLVI.

1. .XLIIII. C.
 2. Guorthemir C.
 - 3...3. Originally written bellatorum uirorum in C, but then marked for transposition.
 - 4...4. An addition in C by an as yet unidentified hand.
 - 5...5. An addition in C in hand C⁴.
 6. Guortemir C⁴.
 7. Gorthegirni C⁴.
 8. accepto F.
 - 9...9. uiriliter hostibus C⁴.
 10. Originally written soletenus in F.
-

.XLVII.

1. .XLV. C.
2. In C, an original Dereunt has been altered by the addition of an -e- (by an unidentified hand).
3. Satheneghabail C.
4. Gurthigirn C.
5. After 1166 the est of C's original statutum est was marked for deletion.
6. An addition in C by C².

- 7...7. An addition in C by C².
 - 8...8. The scribe of F at first wrote maris ripam, but these words were then marked for transposition back to the original order of C.
 9. An addition in C by C².
 10. An alteration in C, by C², from an original mutabunt.
 - 11...11. An addition in C by C⁸.
 12. Lincolnia C⁸.
 13. Guorthigirrus C.
 14. An addition in C by an as yet unidentified hand.
-

.XLVIII.

1. .XLVI. C.
 2. Uorthigirni C.
 3. Uorthigirno C.
 4. Uorthigirrus C.
 5. An addition by C² in C where it replaces eorum
 6. The scribe of F first wrote fecerunt but then deleted this and continued with the adduxerunt of C.
 7. et ex C.
-

.XLIX.

1. .XLVII. C.
2. An addition in C by an as yet unidentified hand.
- 3...3. In C, id est enimeth heore saxes was written by C¹ as a gloss on 'cultellos (d)educite'. In F, NIMED EURE SAXES appears as a marginal addition joined to the text by

a signe de renvoi; id est is part of the text.

4. C originally read cutellos, but C¹ made good the deficiency.
5. Altered, in C, from educite by C¹.
6. The scribe of F first wrote sue, but then deleted it and continued with mee.
7. An addition in C, perhaps by C⁷.
8. Guorthigirni C.
- 9...9. In C, C⁸ has written Suthsexe et Midelsexe over an erasure. This is followed by four erased lines; where the text can be made out ('... que ... scilicet ... Guorthigirnianum ... aufugit'), it appears to agree with the other manuscripts of the 'res gesta' subgroup of the Gildasian recension. The passage is duplicated at the beginning of .L..
- 10...10. Now lacking from C at this place. See the notes to the next chapter.

L

1. .XLVIII. C.
2. In C, C⁸ adds et ab illicita coniunctione se separaret at this point (cf. n. 10 to the preceding chapter).
3. Guorthigirnus C.
4. In C, Gortigerni is added here by C⁷. And Gurtigerni is a marginal addition in F.
- 5...5. These words are additions in both C (by C⁷) and F.
6. This word was marked (after 1166) for deletion from C.
7. Guorthigirnus C.
8. Guorthigirni C.

.LI.

1. .XLIX. C.
-

.LII.

1. .L. C.
-

.LIII.

1. .LI. C.
 2. Gruorthemir C.
 3. In C, the -nt- is written by C⁷ over an erasure.
 4. Altered in C from duobus, perhaps by C¹.
 5. Guorthigirnianum C.
 6. The original reading of C was Embrisio; this was subsequently altered to Embreisio and/or Embrisio, and finally to Ambrosio (the reading copied by the scribe of F).
 7. An addition in C by C².
 8. C originally read Fraustus; the -r- had probably been erased by 1166.
 - 9...9. An addition by C², replacing C's original Quintam.
 10. C's original reading was Faustini; the -ni was deleted by underpointing.
-

.LIIII.

1. .LII. C.
2. Guorthigirnianum C.

3. The scribe of F wrote Theudurbr, but the first -r- is underpointed for deletion.
 4. Buelt C.
 5. Eldoc C.
 6. Meprit C.
 7. In C, the -us is an addition by C¹.
 8. An addition in C by C².
 - 9...9. An addition in C by C³.
 10. Gortingirno C³
 11. genere C³.
-

LV.

1. .LIII. C.
 2. Ibernia C.
-

LVI.

1. .LIIII. C.
-

LVII.

1. .LV. C.
2. An addition in C by C².
- 3...3. Substituted in C, by C², for the quendam hominem mirabilem summum episcopis a Matheo rege of the original scribe.
4. An addition in C by C⁶.
- 5...5. In C -li et il- is written by C⁷; the original text had simply illic where we now read illi et illic .

6. An addition in C by C².
 7. Probably changed in C from Mauu.
 - 8...8. An addition in C by C⁶.
 9. An addition in C by C⁶.
-

LVIII.

1. .LVI. C.
 - 2...2. An addition in C by C².
 3. An addition to C, probably made after 1166 (? by C⁶).
 4. honerata C.
 5. An alteration in C, by C², from transmarinis.
 - 6...6. An addition to C, by C².
 7. Hiberniam C.
-

LIX.

1. .LVII. C.
 2. Hiberniensium C.
 3. An addition in C by C².
 4. An addition in C by C².
 - 5...5. An addition in C by C².
 6. Altered in C from suscitabat, apparently by the original scribe.
-

LX.

1. .LVIII. C.
2. Written in C (as .m.) by C¹.

- 3...3. An addition in C by C².
 4. Apparently an addition in C by C², though the f1- might be original.
 5. In C, C⁸ adds in una uici after this.
 6. Altered from receperint before 1166 (probably by C²).
-

LXI.

1. .LIX C.
 - 2...2. An addition in C by C².
 3. Glossed uel dominarentur in both C (by C⁸) and F.
 4. An addition in C by C¹.
 5. An addition in C by C¹.
 6. Apparently altered in C to cumulo.
 7. An addition in C by C².
 - 8...8. An addition in C by C².
-

LXII.

1. .IX C.
- 2...2. Written over an erasure in C by C⁷.
- 3...3. Written in C by C⁷: et is an addition; .xl. stands in rasura.
4. At this point a signe de renvoi in the text indicates an intended insertion. This refers to the substantial gloss Hic ut mihi uidetur by C⁵ (C, fo. 177^r, lower margin), which is printed in Appendix IX below (p. 904). However, the gloss has been enclosed by large semicircular brackets which, in view of its absence from F, must indicate that

it was to be omitted by the copyist.

IXIII.

1. .LXI. C.
 2. There is an erasure in C above this word, perhaps concealing the former presence of a signe de renvoi: F adds here two marginalia referred in C to another part of the text.
 - 3...3. An addition in C by C², where it is intended to be added to the end of section .LXII. (F, .LXIIII.) It is added at that point in D also.
 - 4...4. An addition in C by C⁵ where, however, the two sentences are in the opposite order (Artur ... leonum Mabatur ... fuit.).
 5. An addition by C⁷ to the gloss by C⁵.
 6. An addition by C⁷ to the gloss by C⁵.
-

IXIIII.

1. .LXII. C.
2. In C, the -m is the result of an alteration by C¹.
3. Guinnon C.
- 4...4. F has here the marginal addition crucis Christi et, which has no counterpart in C.
- 5...5. In C, this is an addition by C⁵.
6. Interlined in F.
7. et uigilauit C.
8. Wedal C⁵, to which C⁷ has added -e.
- 9...9. In C, this is an addition by C⁷ to the note by C⁵ (n. 5

above).

10. Lodanesie C⁷.
 - 11...11. These words have no counterpart in the note by C⁷.
 12. MELROS C⁷.
 13. montem C.
 14. Arthuri C.
 15. At this point in C, C² adds 'et in omnibus bellis uictor exstitit' which has become attached in F to chapter .LXIII. (C, .LXI.).
-

LXV.

1. .LXIII. C.
 - 2...2. These words have no counterpart in C.
 3. regnauit qui fuit filius Eobba; ipse primus (rex, added by C²) fuit C.
 4. Beornica C.
-

LXVI.

1. .LXIIII. C. The entire chapter is an addition in C by C².
2. Eubba C².
3. Gurd birnech C².
4. Deur C².
5. Bernech C².
6. innumerabibus C².
7. F omits 'Si quis scire uoluerit quis baptizauit eos, sic mihi Renchidus episcopus et Elbodus [altered from Elbobdus after 1166] episcoporum sanctissimus tradiderunt: Run mep

Urbeghen, id est' at this point.

8. This word is not found in C².
 9. Eboracensis C²
 10. Interlined in F.
 - 11...11. Rewritten in C by C⁷ over an erasure; but the accuracy of the rewriting is guaranteed by the evidence of D.
 12. eas C².
-

LXVII.

- 1...1. A red-ink addition in C by C¹.
2. .LXV. C.
3. An addition in C by C¹.
4. Glossed id est ciuitas in F. In MS. C, every initial C- is an addition; the original reading throughout was air.
5. In F, Legion bears a suprascript .i.
6. Regeint C.
7. In F, Kair and Cair alternate henceforth; only Cair is found in MS. C.
8. Pensauelcoit C.
9. Celimon C, altered to Celeimon by C².
10. Gumtuig C.
11. Limden C.
12. Dann C.
13. Guorichon C.
14. Legion gunarwic C; the second word was subsequently erased (after 1166). In F, Legion bears a suprascript .ii.
15. Droitau C, altered to Droithan by C².
16. Urnach C.

17. coit C.
 18. gc C, where the rubricator has failed to supply the coloured initial.
-

LXVIII.

- 1...1. In C, this is a red-ink rubric by C².
 2. britannice C².
 3. .LXVI. C.
 4. In C, this is written by C¹ in rasura.
 - 5...5. In C, written by C⁷ over erasures (except for habita- which is in the original hand).
 - 6...6. In C, this is written by C⁷ in rasura ('fluunt .ccc^{ta}.xl. in eo et').
 7. This word is not in C.
 8. Lenin C, altered to Leuen after 1166; an intermediate gloss, now erased, underlies the latter - D², writing in 1166, gives Lemon.
-

LXIX.

1. .LXVII. C.
 2. Thrannoni C.
 3. The scribe of C first wrote filium which he then deleted, substituting fluminis.
 4. asisam C.
 5. Altered in C from tetigit by erasure, probably before 1166.
-

LXX.

1. .LXVIII. C.
 2. stangnum C.
 3. uoluntatem C, altered to uoluptatem after 1166.
-

LXXI.

1. .LXIX. C.
 2. dequoquitur C.
-

LXXII.

1. .LXX. C.
 2. In C, an original Dorrighabren has been altered (? by C¹) to Dourighabren.
 - 3...3. In C, this passage is written by C² in rasura.
-

LXXIII.

1. .LXXI. C.
 2. Interlined in F.
 - 3...3. In C, written in rasura by C².
 - 4...4. The scribe of F, following his exemplar, wrote mare et, but has then marked these words for transposition. In C, mare is an interlinear addition (but probably also by C²).
 5. Interlined in C, perhaps by C⁶.
 6. The humoris of C² has been altered to humore by C⁷ who has also rewritten per uim below the line. The scribe of F has seen fit to ignore the alteration.
-

LXXIIII.

1. .LXXII. C.
 2. The rubricator inserted a large coloured capital P- (and probably a smaller -o-) where it was not required. The E- was probably substituted by C¹. Unless the original scribe was exceptionally stupid, this error demonstrates that the rubricator was a different person from the scribe.
 3. An addition in C by C⁷.
 4. A substitution by C² for the erroneous latitudine of the original scribe.
 5. In C, this originally read habent, but this was altered before 1166.
-

LXXV.

1. .LXXIIII. C.
 2. procliuiio C.
-

LXXVI.

1. .LXXIIII. C.
 - 2...2 An alteration in C, by C², from the profunditate of the original text.
 3. In C, the -r is written in rasura by C⁷.
 4. uentis C; in F, there is an erasure after the word, no doubt concealing an original -s.
-

.LXXVII.

1. .LXXV. C.
 2. In C, as originally written, a new section (complete with large, coloured initial) began here, but the large initial has been crossed out and a smaller one supplied.
 3. An addition in C by C⁶ or C⁸.
 4. Written over an erasure in C by C¹.
 5. naue C.
 6. An addition in C by C².
 7. se C.
 - 8...8. An addition in C by C².
-

.LXXVIII.

1. .LXXVI. C.
 2. uallum C.
 3. An addition in C by C².
 4. An addition in C by C².
 - 5...5. An addition in C by C².
 6. Added in F at the end of a line; it is part of C's original text.
 7. This word is not found here in C.
-

.LXXIX.

1. .LXXVII. C.
2. An addition in C, perhaps by C⁶.
3. In C, this was originally written Troit; the alteration to Terit was effected by C⁶.

4. Arthuri C.
 5. Arthur C.
 6. An addition in C, perhaps by C².
 7. Interlined in F.
 8. gestum C; the con- was added there by C⁶ or C⁸.
-

LXXX.

1. .LXVIII. C.
 2. cognominatur C.
 3. In F the -ba- is interlined.
 4. Arthuri C.
 5. An addition in C by C².
 6. An alteration in C, by C², from metiens.
-

LXXXI.

- 1...1. In C this is a red-ink rubric by C¹.
 2. .LXXIX. C.
-

LXXXII.

1. .LXXX. C.
-

LXXXIII.

1. .LXXXI. C.
-

.LXXXIIII.

1. .LXXXII. C.
 2. In F, this was followed by another est, which was then underpointed for deletion.
 - 3...3. An addition in C by C², where it is substituted for the cereuus of the original scribe.
 - 4...4. An addition in C by C².
 5. Mannei C; Menei C² (a gloss).
-

.LXXXV.

- 1...1. This is a red-ink rubric in C by C¹.
 2. .LXXXIIII. C.
 3. Luchlem C.
 4. An addition in C by C².
-

.LXXXVI.

1. .LXXXIIII. C.
 2. An alteration made in C after 1166 (from qui ?).
 3. An alteration in C from an original agni.
 - 4...4. An addition in C, probably by C².
-

.LXXXVII.

1. .LXXXV. C.
2. Crucmarc C.
3. Interlined in F, but original to the text of C.

4. In F, the -i- stands on an erasure, and -nem is interlined.
 5. In C, the -um is a later addition to the text.
 6. se C.
 - 7...7. ullo tedio iterum is the order of F, but ullo and iterum have been marked for transposition.
 - 8...8. Rubric only in F.
-

THE
APPENDICES

APPENDIX I

The 'Battle' Recension: the Historia Brittonum of Sir John Prise.

Sir John Prise (ob. 1555), antiquary and Visitor of the monasteries, is known to have possessed a copy of the Historia Brittonum. Prise's copy passed under the name of 'Gildas'. He found it at St. Guthlac's Priory, Brecon - a cell of Battle Abbey - which came into his possession after the Dissolution. That copy originated, according to Prise, at Battle Abbey, being brought thence to Brecon:

Habeo etiam ipsum librum peruetustum Gilde Sapientis nomine
 haud obscure inscriptum de gestis Britonum, quem apud
 Brechoniam natalem mihi urbem in Demetia que nunc South
 Wallia dicitur sitam nuper repperi. Illuc enim ex cenobeo
 de Bello quod in Suthsexia fuerat per monachum quemdam in
 cellam Brechoniensem transmissum delatus erat ... et si non
 adeo latinitatem redolet, quippe, quod scriptum esse ante
 quingentos annos uideretur.¹

This statement squares well with John Leland's remark that at Battle he found 'Gildas tantum in indice'.² The body of the manuscript still survives as Hereford, Cathedral Library, MS. P.5.1.³ Its original contents were as follows:

-
1. First (unpublished) edition of the Historiae Brytannicae Defensio, quoted from British Library MS. Cotton Titus F.3, fo. 188. This is Prise's autograph, written before 1547 (since it is dedicated to Henry VIII) and probably before 1545 (the death of Brian Tuke, addressed in the preface): see T. D. Kendrick, British Antiquity (London, 1950), pp. 87-88.
 2. Collectanea, iv. 68.
 3. See A. T. Bannister and M. R. James, A Descriptive Catalogue of the Manuscripts in the Hereford Cathedral Library (Hereford, 1927), pp. 147-149; also N. R. Ker's article, passim (cited below).

- (1) Lanfranc, Consuetudines monachales.
- (2) Augustine, Contra Felicianum.
- (3) Bede, Historia Ecclesiastica.
- (4) Epistola Cuthberti de obitu Bede.
- (5) List of the archbishops of Canterbury, ending with the year 1161/62.
- (6) De constructione ecclesie Belli.
- (7) Breuis relatio de glorioso rege Willelmo, now accompanied by two additions of the late twelfth century.
- (8) 'Gildas', Gesta Brittonum.

Articles (6) - (8) were at various times removed.¹ The first to go was our text, in 1550. The evidence for this is a note in Prise's hand on the last flyleaf:

Hinc Gilde sapientis libellum inscriptum sic: 'Incipiunt Gesta Britonum a Gilda sapiente composita'. Excepi ego Joannes Prise et misi Londinum ad Willelmum Sae, famulum meum, ut ipse eum libellum conferret et examinaret cum libello ejusdem inscriptionis quem videram in camera domini Mautravers in aula domini Regis apud Westmonasterium anno domini 1550.

Prise, therefore, sent this text to his servant, William Say, in London so that Say might collate it with a manuscript then in the library of the Earl of Arundel at Westminster. This section of Prise's manuscript has since disappeared, but the notes of the collation were entered in Prise's own hand as an addition to the second version of his Historiae Brytannicae Defensio (apparently completed between 1547 and 1553),² now Oxford, Balliol College, MS. 260 (see fos. 101^r et

1. N. R. Ker, art.cit. infra, pp. 20-21.

2. It is dedicated to King Edward VI.

segg.).¹ In the Historiae Brytannicae Defensio (published posthumously from Balliol 260 in 1573) Prise gives a few excerpts from his manuscript which indicate quite clearly that it preserved a recension of the text of the Historia Brittonum different from any other known manuscript. Its loss is therefore a grievous matter, though previous editors seem to have been unaware even of its ever having existed. I reprint here from the 1573 edition these extracts.

- (i) Inscriptio item clara & per omnia conueniens rubro descripta minio, nempe hæc: Incipiunt gesta Brytonum a Gilda sapiente composita.²
- (ii) A principio mundi vsque ad Diluuium, anni sunt .2242.
 A Diluuiio vsque ad Abraham, anni .942. Ab Abraham vsque ad Moysen, anni .640. A Moyse ad Daudid .500. anni. Et a Daudid vsque ad Nabuchodonosor, anni .569. Ab Adam vsque ad transmigrationem Babiloniæ, anni computantur .4779.
 Et a transmigratione Babiloniæ vsque ad Christum .563.
 Ab Adam vero vsque ad passionem Domini nostri IESV Christi .5228. A passione autem Christi peracti sunt anni :
hic apparet lacuna, vbi veteri scriptura expuncta, nouis characteribus hic numerus suppletur, videlicet .796. nempe ipso Literatore, temporis supputationem ad suam tempestatem traducente, quum prius ad Authoris duntaxat tempestatem applicita fuisset.³

1. On this manuscript, see R. A. B. Mynors, Catalogue of the Manuscripts of Balliol College, Oxford (Oxford, 1963), p. 280. I dissent from Mynors's conclusions as to the precise date of the manuscript: see further below.

2. Historiae Brytannicae Defensio (London, 1573), p. 114.

3. Op. cit., p. 115.

- (iii) Deinde in contextu historiae vbi libelli author Incolas huius Insulae qui suo tempore fuerint, commemorat, hæc habuit: Et in ea habitant quatuor Gentes, Scoti, Picti, Saxones, ac Brytones. Nouus hic scilicet Aristarchus pro 'habitant' 'prius habitabant' inscripsit, quod nouiter adiectum esse præter veteris exemplaris contextum, ex recentiori tum characterum tum atramenti specie, liquido constat, nulla ratione habita temporis quo superiora scripta sunt, sed suæ duntaxat tempestatis. Et ad eum modum quamplurima eius libelli loca dum corrigere vellet, viciauit & corripit.¹
- (iv) A primo anno quo Saxones venerunt in Brytanniam, vsque ad annum quartum Mermini Regis, supputantur anni quadringenti viginti nouem. A natiuitate Domini nostri Iesu Christi ad aduentum Sancti Patricii ad Scotos, quadringenti quinque anni sunt. A morte Patricii vsque ad obitum Sanctæ Brigidæ, quatuor anni sunt. A morte Columchillæ vsque ad obitum Sanctæ Brigidæ quatuor sunt anni. Initium compoti viginti tres Cicli decennouales. Ab incarnatione Domini vsque ad aduentum Sancti Patricij in Hiberniam & ipsi annos efficiunt numero quadringentos triginta octo. Et ab aduentu Sancti Patricij in iamdictam Insulam vsque ad Ciclum decennoualem in quo sumus, viginti duo Cicli sunt, id est quadringenti viginti vnus sunt. Duo anni in ogdoade vsque in hunc annum in quo sumus.²

1. Op. cit. , pp. 115-116.

2. Op. cit. , pp. 116-117.

- (v) Tunc Arthurus contra illos, videlicet Saxones, pugnabat, sed ipse dux erat bellorum. Primum bellum fuit in ostio fluminis quod dicitur Gleni. Secundum et tertium, quartum et quintum super aliud flumen quod dicitur Duglas. Sextum super flumen quod vocatur Bassas. Septimum fuit in silua Celidonis .i. Cath coed Celydon. Octauum fuit in Castello Guinion, in quo Arthurus portauit imaginem sanctæ Mariæ semper virginis super humeros suos, & Pagani versi sunt in fugam in illo die, & multi ceciderunt, & cedes magna fuit super illos per virtutem Domini nostri Iesu Christi, & per virtutem sanctæ Mariæ virginis genitricis eius. Nonum bellum gestum est in vrbe Legionis. Decimum gessit bellum in littore fluminis, quod vocatur Tribuit. Vndecimum factum est bellum in monte quod dicitur Assuet, alias Catregomon. Duodecimum fuit bellum in monte Badonis, in quo corruerunt in vno die nongenti sexaginta viri de vno impetu Arthuri, & nemo prostrauit eos nisi ipse solus, & in omnibus bellis victor extitit, & **ipsi** barbari dum in omnibus bellis prosternerentur, auxilium a Germania petebant, & augebantur multipliciter sine intermissione, & Reges a Germania deducebant, vt regnarent super illos in Britannia, vsque ad tempus quo Ida regnauit, qui fuit Eobbæ filius, ipse fuit primus Rex in Beornica.¹
- (vi) A mundi principio vsque ad Constantinum & Rufum .5658. anni reperiuntur. Item a duobus geminis Rufo, & Rubellio, vsque

1. Op. cit., pp. 118-119.

in Stilliconem Consulem .373. anni. Item a Stillicone
 vsque ad Valentinianum filium Placidæ & regnum Guorthigerni
 .28. anni, & a regno Guorthigerni vsque ad discordiam
 Guitolini & Ambrosij anni sunt .12. quod est Guoloppum, id
 est Catguoloph. Guorthigernus autem tenuit Imperium in
 Brytannia Theodosio & Valentiniano Consulibus, & in quarto
 anno regni sui, Saxones Brytanniam venerunt Felice & Tauro
 Consulibus .400. anno ab incarnatione Domini nostri Iesu
 Christi. Ab anno quo Saxones venerunt in Brytanniam & a
 Guorthigerno suscepti sunt, vsque ad Decium & Valerianum,
 anni sunt sexaginta nouem. Et sic clauditur libellus
iste.¹

The first feature to attract one's attention concerning these extracts is that the text is essentially that of the primary, 'Harleian', recension of the Historia but that it has been altered in some details to conform to the pattern of the 'Gildasian' recension.

The fundamental study of Sir John Prise's library is that by Neil Ker, published in 1955.² In concluding his discussion of Hereford P.5.1, Ker writes: 'A seventeenth-century transcript ... has marginalia very much in Prise's manner: the copyist says of them at the beginning Hæ notæ sunt Magistri Iohannis Prise'.³ This transcript of the Historia Brittonum is in London, British Library, MS. Additional 4787 (formerly Clarendon 36); it belonged originally to Sir James Ware and has additions and corrections in his hand. The transcript is the

1. Op. cit., p. 119.

2. 'Sir John Prise', The Library, 5th Series, 10 (1955), pp. 1-24.

3. Ibid., p. 21. He mistakenly gives the shelf-mark as 'Add. 4687'.

work of two scribes, probably in Ware's employ; our text (fos. 112^r-124^r) follows matter bearing dates from 1622 to 1624. On fo. 111^v, Ware himself added a copy of the 'Nennian' prologue 'Ex bibliotheca Regia ad S. Jacobi' (it comes from BL Royal 13.B.7); he also collated the Patrician section of the work with another text, effecting a number of alterations and additions in the transcript.

Collation of the extracts above, from the 1573 printing of Prise's work, against the text of the transcript indicated the identity of this text with that of Prise's lost manuscript. And a further search among the modern transcripts of the Historia Brittonum revealed two related copies of the work, both with the same references to Prise as annotator. They are London, British Library, MS. Cotton Vitellius F.9 (fos. 241^r-251^r) and Dublin, Trinity College, MS. 574 (E.3.20), pp. 524-543. The Cotton transcript belongs to the second half of the sixteenth century; a volume of identical content is found in the Bekebourne library-catalogue (ca 1580) of John Parker, son of Archbishop Matthew Parker, in Lambeth Palace MS. 737¹ (it was not the only one of John Parker's books to find its way into Cotton's hands and had done so by 1621 at the latest). The Dublin manuscript belongs to the decade 1590-1600; markings in orange-red chalk (note especially the title on p. 524) suggest the Parkerian circle and therefore, at this date, John Joscelyn (who survived until 1603); exactly when it came into the possession of Archbishop Ussher (who collated three other manuscripts of the Historia against it) we do not know.

All three transcripts share two main features in common.

1. Folio 158. The catalogue-entry reads 'Historia Hibernie/ Otterburn/ Gildas', which corresponds to fos. 71-251 of Cotton Vitellius F.9, once a separate manuscript.

All have the note referring to Prise's annotations; and all conclude with Harl. 56 65-66, dismissing the mirabilia with the words 'Hic sequuntur quedam miracula non multe fidei'.

It was at this stage in my researches that Daniel Huws published his excellent article 'Gildas Preisei', National Library of Wales Journal, 17 (1971/2), pp. 314-320. In this he identified a transcript of Prise's text made directly from the original at the end of the sixteenth century and therefore not immediately related to the three copies described above:¹ this new copy - Aberystwyth, National Library of Wales, MS. Peniarth 252 D, pp. 125-167 - is in the hand of Siôn Dafydd Rhys who on pp. 164-167 adds various notes about the transcript and its source manuscript.² His notes state that Hereford P.5.1 was found at Brecon in 1543 and given by Watkin Herbert, sheriff of Brecknockshire 1541-42, to Prise, his successor in that office; they further assert, claiming Herbert as their source, that a monk of Battle brought it thence to the cell at Brecon. (One may compare the information given by Prise himself in his Defensio.) He concludes with a later note on the poor state of the exemplar, 'soe darkened with want of good keeping', and the fact that it had subsequently been stolen and its whereabouts remained unknown. The Peniarth transcript has the value of a direct transcript; it is also a complete copy, the only one to contain the mirabilia.

In addition to the text of the Historia Brittonum, all the transcripts contain a number of glosses, entered variously in the margins and in interlinear positions. These are of two distinct types. Some, the minority, are glosses of an antiquarian nature, and are without doubt the annotations ascribed to Prise. The others, the

1. Art.cit., pp. 315-316.

2. Printed by Huws, ibid.

overwhelming majority, give variant readings derived from a text of the 'Gildasian' recension. These latter glosses are therefore either the additions of the 'Novus Aristarchus' (probably of the year 1323¹) whose activity Prise noted in his Defensio² or the results of the 1550 collation with Royal 13.D.5 (collations which, if this were so, would have been entered by Say on the twelfth-century original) or a mixture of the two.

Something can be said concerning the relationships of the transcripts. BL Add. 4787 is a direct copy, introducing some new errors, of TCD 574; the latter and BL Cotton Vitellius F.9 derive independently from an earlier (and lost) copy which may well have been the original transcript of the mediaeval book. The Cotton book is of earlier date than the Dublin transcript, but presents a notably inferior text, having incorporated many of the variant readings into the text (where they have displaced their lemmata). Although we know nothing of the lost transcript, we may suspect that it was connected in some way with Archbishop Parker. Not only are the Cotton and Dublin manuscripts associated with his circle, but a note in Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, MS. 101 (a collection of Parkerian transcripts) identifies a text as having been taken 'Ex veteri libro M^{ri} Price in fine histor. Bedæ';³ another tract is taken 'Ex libro supra'.⁴ The two texts are in fact the additions to section (7) of Hereford P.5.1 (now in the detached fragment in the Bodleian Library). Parker therefore had access to Prise's volume; the apparent connexion of our

1. Huws, art.cit., p. 318 f.

2. Op.cit. (London, 1573), p. 115.

3. C.C.C.C. 101, p. 133(391). The text occupies pp. 132(390) - 133(391).

4. C.C.C.C. 101, p. 134(392).

text with Parker's circle may suggest that it, too, was copied at the same time as the items now in C. C. C. C. 101; in this case the original (and now lost) transcript from which the Dublin and Cotton copies descend would have been copied before the Historia Brittonum was detached in 1550. If so, the variant readings recorded in our transcripts cannot be, even in part, the results of Say's 1550 collation.

In the published version of the Historiae Brytannicae Defensio, Prise refers to a manuscript in the Royal Library (which was the History of John of St. Albans), which was diligently collated with his own copy:

Alterum longo post tempore in regia bibliotheca videre
licuit, adiectum historiæ cuiusdam Ioannis de Sancto
Albano, quem cum illo priori diligentissime collatum per
omnia pene ad verbum conuenire reperi. Vterque magnam
antiquitatem ipsis characteribus manuscriptis præ se
ferebat.¹

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1. Op. cit., p. 114. If one looks at the manuscript of the second edition (that from which the printed text was taken) in Oxford, Balliol College, MS. 260, one finds that this passage is part of an addition made by Prise. The addition, in Prise's own hand, occupies fos. 101^r-102^v. The text which it replaced may still be read on fo. 100^v; it tells a rather different story. Having narrated the discovery of his own copy of the Historia (which we now know to have occurred in 1543), he writes: 'Ac paulo post libellum alium eiusdem inscriptionis in regia Bibliotheca uiderim, qui cum illo quem prius repereram diligenter collatus parum aut nihil discrepabat...'. Mynors's precise dating of this copy to 1550x1555 cannot be sustained, for more than one collation seems to have been undertaken; we cannot use the evidence of the note of 1550 in the Hereford manuscript to provide a terminus post for the Balliol copy of the Defensio.

That the Royal manuscript and the one collated by Say in Arundel's library in 1550 were identical not only with each other but with the present BL Royal 13.D.5 may be deduced from the following. This manuscript (Royal 13.D.5) entered the Royal Library in the years immediately following 1542, as may be seen from the 'Old Royal' pressmark no. 1128 which it bears on fo. 1^r. But later in the century it was in the library of Lord Lumley (whose autograph is on fo. 1^r), son-in-law and heir of the last Earl of Arundel. Moreover, this manuscript, a St Alban's book, contains a reference to an Abbot John of St Albans (fo. 37^v), the only known manuscript of the Historia Brittonum to do so.

BL Royal 13.D.5 had a very strange history in the sixteenth century. It was seen and annotated (perhaps at St Albans) by Polydore Vergil;¹ after the Dissolution it belonged perhaps to Thomas Cranmer (monogram, possibly his, on fo. 1^r). Between 1542 and 1547 it entered the Royal Library where it was seen and collated by Prise. It had found its way into Arundel's possession by 1550² when it was collated by Say. It was inherited by Lumley, but had passed back into the Royal Library before his death in 1609: the catalogue of his library,³ made in that year, omits it; and entry 1142 in that catalogue, in describing the present Royal MSS. 13.B.15 and 13.B.17 (transcripts of 13.D.5), refers to them as copies of an

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1. His marginalia to the Historia Brittonum occur on fos. 39, 40, 44. Prise does not seem to have noticed them. Polydore was in England from 1502 to 1550; I have no evidence which will offer a more precise date for these annotations.
 2. John Bale apparently saw the volume in the Royal Library; this is noted in his Index Britanniae Scriptorum, compiled between 1549 and 1557.
 3. ed. Sears Jayne and Francis R. Johnson, The Lumley Library. The Catalogue of 1609 (London, 1956).

exemplar in the Royal Library.

Therefore, if Prise 'diligently' collated Royal 13.D.5 and Hereford P.5.1 between 1542 and 1547, it is quite possible that he entered the results of the collation in P.5.1 and that the glosses in the extant copies represent those results. Against this, however, must be set Prise's view that he found the two texts 'per omnia pene ad verbum *conuenire*'.¹ By way of contrast we may note his assertion that the 'Nouus Aristarchus' (of 1323) 'ad eum modum quamplurima eius libelli loca, dum corrigere vellet, viciauit & corrupit'.² I conclude provisionally that the results of Prise's collation was not entered in his own manuscript, any more than those of Say's collation in 1550. His own antiquarian comments, found in all four transcripts, were unquestionably entered in the manuscript itself, however; this was Prise's usual procedure.

A detailed investigation of the text confirms the view expressed above in relation to the extracts printed by Prise. The structure of the text essentially conforms to that of the 'Harleian' recension, but a host of readings has been adopted from the 'Gildasian' recension. It seems unlikely that this wholesale conflation had been carried out in Prise's own manuscript for, in spite of his noting that a 'Nouus Aristarchus' had made alterations, wholesale changes and additions would surely have been remarked upon by him. The collations which we see in the extant transcripts most probably represent the work of the 'Nouus Aristarchus', not that of a scholar or scribe who collated and conflated two different recensions.

Like the 'Harleian' recension (and unlike all the others),

1. Historiae Brytannicae Defensio (London, 1573), p. 114.

2. *Op. cit.*, p. 115 f.

Prise's text contained the computational §§ 65-66 and also the English genealogies; the latter break off, however, in the middle of the East Anglian pedigree (§ 55), the remainder (§§ 55-64) probably having been lost in the exemplar. That Prise considered § 66 to complete the text is certain. He states this bluntly in his Historiae Brytannicae Defensio,¹ and the three related transcripts end with the remark Hic sequuntur miracula non multe fidei. He had obviously dismissed the mirabilia as being alien to the Historia Brittonum of 'Gildas'. It is our good fortune that the Peniarth transcript preserves them. Whether or not his manuscript contained the ciuitates is uncertain. He makes no reference to them whatsoever. Judging by all the other texts of the 'Harleian' and 'Gildasian' recensions, these should have immediately preceded the mirabilia (and therefore followed Harl. §§ 65-66 here); they should not therefore have been lost with the remainder of the Old English genealogies and North British historical material.²

Therefore we have, as I stated above, yet another recension to add to the list of versions of the Historia Brittonum. It is difficult to say whether this version results from the record of the collation of a 'Gildasian' text in a complete copy of the 'Harleian' recension, or vice versa. It does at least seem possible to say that its 'Harleian' element agrees throughout with the R-group of manuscripts of that recension.³

This text is therefore a witness to the further influence, perhaps at Battle itself, of the R-type 'Harleian' version. The further influence of the 'Prise' recension is perhaps suggested by a

1. Op. cit., p. 119.

2. Huws, art. cit., overlooks this point.

3. Correcting Huws, art. cit., p. 318, whose conclusion depended on mistakes in Mommsen's apparatus.

note by John Leland¹ that he saw at Winchester a copy of Roger Howden which contained a marginale to the effect that 'Gildas' called Lindisfarne Medcaut. The combination of the name Medcaut, found only in §§ 61, 63 of the 'Harleian' recension, with that of Gildas must suggest knowledge of a conflated Harleian-Gildasian text; perhaps it was the exemplar of Prise's manuscript. In Appendix II, however, another such - quite independent - conflate is discussed.

The discussion above may be summarised stemmatically as follows.

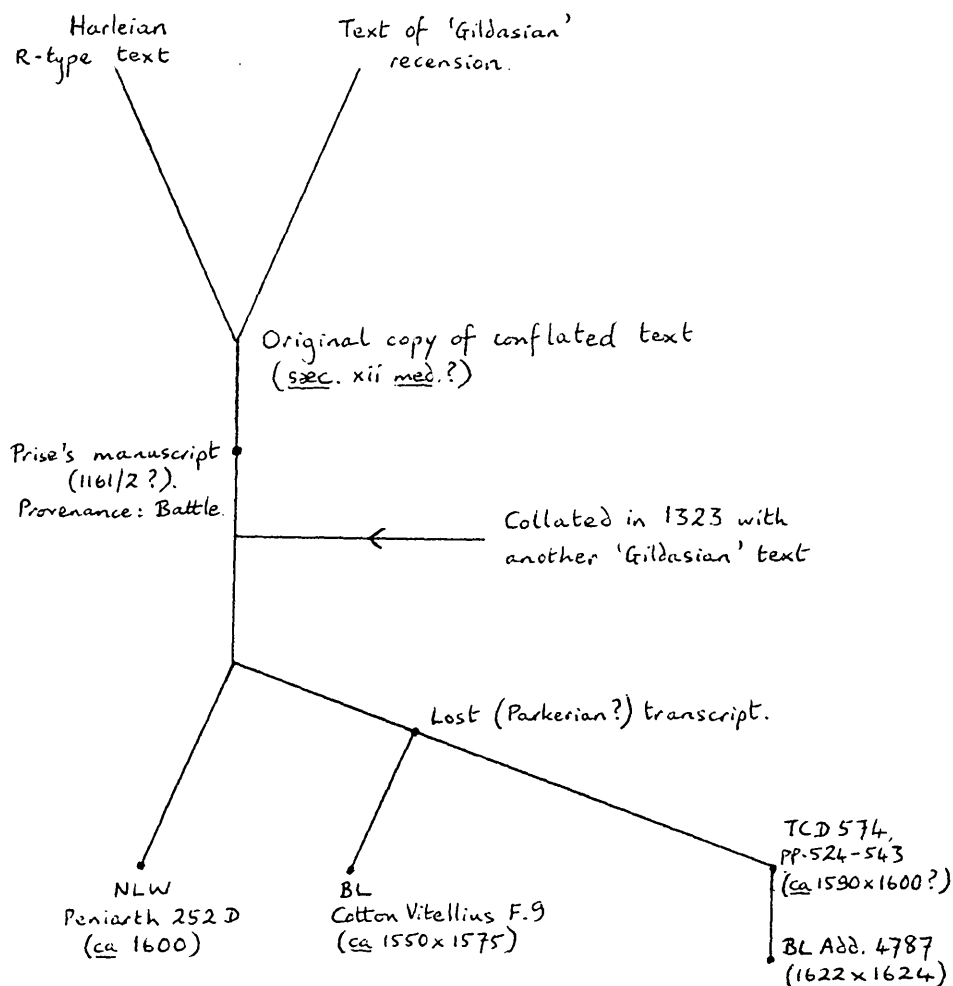


Fig. IX. The origin and history of the 'Prise' recension.

1. De Scriptoribus Britannicis, p. 55.

APPENDIX II

The conflate 'Harleian'-'Gildasian' text in Oxford, St John's College,
MS. 99.

This version will not require an extended discussion. It owes its chief interest to the remarkable parallel which it presents to the 'Prise' recension. Oxford, St John's College, MS. 99, is a book of the second half of the twelfth century. Its mediaeval provenance is the Yorkshire Cistercian abbey of Jervaulx (founded 1156), as the ex-libris inscription 'Liber sancte Marie de Ioreaulle' on fo. i^{verso} indicates. However, the words de Ioreualle are written over an erasure; we cannot therefore be certain as to the place of origin or previous home of the volume. Bridlington has been suggested by Charles Plummer¹ on account of a scribble on fo. i^{recto}; though this is a rather insubstantial basis for such a conjecture, it may receive some support from the thirteenth-century library-catalogue in British Library MS. Harley 50, fo. 48^v, thought by N. R. Ker² possibly to have come from Bridlington. Items 81 and 82 are, respectively, Historia Anglorum and Historia Brittonum, but there is no mention of an intervening Life of St Malachy. Fo. i^{recto} also bears a list, in several hands, of the archbishops of York to William of Melton (1315). The volume was still at Jervaulx in the mid-sixteenth century, when it was seen there by John Leland.³ It reappears in 1620 when it was given

1. Venerabilis Baedae Opera Historica (Oxford, 1896), i, p. cxxi.

2. Medieval Libraries of Great Britain (2nd edn, London, 1964), p. 12. The catalogue is printed by H. Omont, 'Anciens catalogues de bibliothèques anglaises (xii^e-xiv^e siècle)', Centralblatt für Bibliothekswesen, 9 (1892), pp. 201-222.

3. De Scriptoribus Britannicis, p. 74; Collectanea, iv. 43-44.

to St John's College by Archbishop Laud, as a note on fo. 1^{verso} attests.

The contents of the volume are as follows: fos. 1^r-94^v, Bede's Historia Ecclesiastica; fos. 94^v-95^v, Cuthbert's Epistola de obitu Bede; fos. 96^r-117^v, St Bernard's Life of Malachy (ob. 1148); fos. 117^v-121^v, a copy of the Historia Brittonum which ends half-way through the text (at the account of Gwrtheyrn's incest) owing to the loss of the remainder of the manuscript. This is a carelessly written manuscript of the second half (perhaps the last quarter) of the twelfth century; its script abounds in capricious abbreviations.

The main text of the Historia Brittonum is a conflation of the 'Harleian' and 'Gildasian' recensions, like the Prise text; unlike the 'Prise' recension, however, it omits the opening computus or sex etates text and begins with the body of the text. Any original rubric has been lost owing to subsequent alteration. Like the Prise text, its 'Harleian' element depends on an R-type text (which also omits the introductory computistical matter).

The text has, however, been subject to two series of alterations. In the first half of the thirteenth century, it was partially collated with MS. F of the Sawley recension, from which the apologia of 'Nennius' and a small quantity of other readings were adopted, being entered in a much blacker ink than that of the text. For further details, see section VII above.

Finally, in the fifteenth century, a collation with another copy of the 'Gildasian' recension was effected, resulting in the addition of a fair number of readings (including the restoration of some omissions) to our text, sometimes supplanting by erasure the original readings of the manuscript.

The parallel with the history of the Prise text need hardly

be pointed out. The nature of the conflation, and the subsequent collation with another text of the 'Gildasian' recension, resemble very well the history of that version. But these are quite distinct conflate recensions; it is to be regretted that this unique copy is fragmentary.

There is some evidence for the further dissemination of this version. British Library MS. Additional 38817 (formerly Phillipps 25402),¹ another manuscript of the second half of the twelfth century, is also of north-country provenance: it comes from the Yorkshire Augustinian priory of Kirkham. It contains Bede's History and Cuthbert's Letter; from these it is known to be closely related to the St John's manuscript.² But its table of contents (fo. 4^v) shows that it once contained also the Life of Malachy and 'Historia Britonum a Gilda sapiente composita', as well as various vision-texts. When the copy of the Historia Brittonum was lost we do not know. However, British Library MS. Burney 297, of the fourteenth century, is probably a copy of Add. 38817;³ it contains only Bede's History and Cuthbert's letter (followed by a colophon), which may be an indication that the other texts had been lost by that date. Finally, the late-fifteenth-century library-catalogue of St Augustine's, Canterbury, contains (as item 463 in James's edition⁴) an entry in which a 'Vita sancti Malachie archiepiscopi' is followed by an 'Historia Britonum'

1. It is described in the British Museum Catalogue of Additional Manuscripts, 1911-15 (London, 1925), i. 253f.

2. B. Colgrave and R. A. B. Mynors (tr. & ed.), Bede's Ecclesiastical History of the English Nation (Oxford, 1969), p. liv.

3. Ibid.

4. M. R. James, The Ancient Libraries of Canterbury and Dover (Cambridge, 1903).

in a miscellaneous collection of texts; this could be another copy of the present version.

If the evidence of BL Add. 38817 be taken at face value, this conflation - like that in Prise's manuscript - was attributed to Gildas. It is also the only version, apart from the 'Vatican' recension, which refers to its text as 'Historia Britonum'. It is to be hoped that other copies will be discovered.

APPENDIX III

The Christ Church (Canterbury) Cronica Imperfecta.

The purpose of this appendix is simply to provide a concordance between the annal-entries of the Cronica Imperfecta (and the folios on which they occur) and the numbers of the chapters of the 'Harleian' recension, on which they draw. Of the surviving entries, only the years 465-483 are relevant, and therefore only folios of MS. lat. misc. d. 13 (s. c. 30572).

<u>Sub anno</u>	<u>Folio</u>	<u>HB (Harl.) chapter</u>
	LACUNA	
465	25 ^r	44
467	25 ^{r/v}	34 - 35
	LACUNA	
467	27 ^r	37 - 38
468	27 ^{r/v}	39
469	27 ^v	40
	LACUNA	
483	30 ^r	52

Since only small fragments of the volume remain, almost all of the entries are lacunose and few of the chapters of the Historia Brittonum are preserved complete. It is an interesting, if unprofitable, question to ask on what principle the author divided our text between his annal-entries. In particular, that for A.D. 467 (a good part of which has been lost in the lacuna between fos. 25 and 27) seems to have contained a very substantial section from our text, probably the whole of §§ 34-38.

APPENDIX IV

The Anglian collection of royal genealogies and regnal lists

This collection of Old English royal records is found in four manuscripts: BL Cotton Vespasian B. 6; BL Cotton Tiberius B. 5, vol. I; Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 183; and Rochester, Cathedral Library, A. 3. 5. This appendix aims both to provide an accurate edition of the texts in the first three of these manuscripts and to discuss the development of the collection from its origin to the stages represented by the extant versions. We owe to Kenneth Sisam most of our knowledge of the history of the Anglo-Saxon genealogies.¹ Although his closely argued discussion remains the basis for any approach to these sources, it lacks the essential aid to comprehension, the texts themselves. It is perhaps this omission, as much as the difficulty of the subject and the undoubted accuracy of many of his conclusions, that has occasioned the neglect from which the texts have suffered in recent years.

When Henry Sweet printed, albeit incompletely, the bishop-lists and genealogies from Cotton Vespasian B. 6 as part of his collection of the earliest written records of the English language,² he gave a brief introduction which has both created confusion and attracted severe criticism. Under the heading 'Genealogies (Northumbrian?)', he quoted the description of the manuscript from the publications of the

1. 'Anglo-Saxon Royal Genealogies', Proc. of the Brit. Acad. 39 (1953), 287-348.

2. The Oldest English Texts, Early Eng. Text Soc. o. s. 83 (London, 1885), 167-71.

Palaeographical Society¹ (in which it was correctly assigned to Mercia on the comparative evidence of contemporary charters), and then offered at once a statement of mild contradiction: 'The fact of the royal genealogies beginning with Northumbria is an equally strong argument in favour of the assumption of a Northumbrian scribe, which is further confirmed by their being preceded by a work of the Northumbrian Bede, and the want of Northumbrian charters makes the evidence of handwriting doubtful'.² The cautious ascription of the collection to Northumbria in his title presumably derives from this reasoning, which confuses the origin of the collection with the origin of the manuscript. Likewise, Sweet's critics, in reaffirming the Mercian origin of this, the oldest, manuscript, have assumed a Mercian origin for the collection. It needs to be emphasized that this is an assumption, not a demonstrated fact.

The genealogies printed here represent the royal lines of Deira, Bernicia, Mercia, Lindsey, Kent and East Anglia. Also printed are a West Saxon genealogy (containing Anglian dialectal forms) and regnal lists for Northumbria and Mercia which are part of the tradition represented by all the manuscripts save Vespasian B. 6. The collection is therefore of overwhelmingly Anglian orientation; in this respect it stands apart from the other Old English genealogical texts which are West Saxon productions, chiefly associated with the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle. I accordingly prefer to describe it as the 'Anglian

1. 1st Ser., vol. 2 (1873-83), pl. 165. It is also described by E. Maunde Thompson, British Museum Catalogue of Ancient Manuscripts, II, Latin (London, 1884), pp. 79-80.

2. Oldest English Texts, p. 167.

collection' in the hope that this will be uncontroversial and generally acceptable. The earliest extant set of English royal genealogies, it is a compact entity inviting separate treatment.¹

In all the manuscripts containing this collection, certain other materials occur in association with it, though not always in the same relative order. Those which are usually found are a list of popes, a list of the seventy-two disciples of Christ² and the lists of English bishops. In 1965 and 1966 these and other related collections of bishop-lists were discussed and carefully published by Dr R. I. Page.³ I have drawn on his findings in so far as the episcopal lists share some of the textual history of the genealogical material.

THE MANUSCRIPTS

Cotton Vespasian B. 6, fos. 104-9 (MS. V)

This is a mere fragment, consisting of three conjugate bifolia apparently from the middle of a quire. The script shows that it was written in Mercia early in the ninth century, and the latest names in the episcopal lists as originally written belong to the period 805 x 814. The continuing activity of the original scribe, who made additions (to the episcopal lists) not later than 814, perhaps suggests a date nearer 814 than 805.⁴ The latest pope to be listed (107v) by this scribe is Leo III (795-816) and the latest king in the genealogies is Cenwulf of

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1. It is to be hoped that all the remaining pre-Conquest material can be published together in a convenient form; for details see Sisam, 'Genealogies'.
 2. Printed by M. R. James, Journal of Theological Studies 11 (1909-10), 458-62.
 3. 'Anglo-Saxon Episcopal Lists' [cited henceforth as Ep Lists], Nottingham Med. Stud. 9 (1965), 71-95, and 10 (1966), 2-24.
 4. Ibid., p. 75.

Mercia (796-821). The most recent names are therefore contemporary with the writing of the manuscript. No additions have been made to the genealogies but a second scribe, writing ca 833, has brought thirteen episcopal lists up to date.¹ Other ninth-century scribes have extended the papal list to Adrian II (868-72). Finally, additions (108v) to the episcopal lists show that the manuscript remained in Mercia at least until the twelfth century.² We are not entitled to be more specific as to where the manuscript was written: Sisam's claim for Lichfield is unsubstantiated.³ Nor does the rest of the volume help: the fragment has no organic connection with the rest of the codex and we cannot demonstrate that it was bound with what precedes or follows it before it entered the Cottonian Library.⁴

1. Ibid., pp. 75-6. In his Studies in the History of Old English Literature (Oxford, 1953), p. 5, Sisam states incorrectly that 'the bishops of Lichfield alone have been brought up to date'.
2. The Leicester list is continued, in a twelfth-century hand, to Ceolred (839/40-869x888), the last bishop of that see, and the Lichfield list, in the same hand, to Robert (1085-1117), in whose time the episcopal seat was first at Chester, then at Coventry. These unpublished additions are: (Leicester) Rethhun, Aldred, Ceolred; (Lichfield) Cineferð, Tunbriht, Alle qui dicitur Alfwine, Wlgar se gyldena, Cynsi, Winsi, Alfeh, Godwine, Leofgar, Brihtmar, Wisi, Leofwine, Petrus, Rodbert.
3. Studies, pp. 4-6. If this were a Lichfield document it would be strange to find Æthelwald (bishop, 818-30), the form of whose name is confirmed by contemporary charters, entered as Oeðeluualdus by the second scribe (writing ca 833); for details see D. N. Dumville, JTS n. s. 23 (1972), 374-406, where Sisam's opposition to another weak attribution of manuscripts to Lichfield is upheld.
4. Sweet's point concerning 'the work of the Northumbrian Bede' (see above) is thus invalidated. That section (fos. 1-103) is a continental book of the first half of the ninth century which came to England not earlier than the mid-tenth; see N. R. Ker, Catalogue of Manuscripts Containing Anglo-Saxon (Oxford, 1957), pp. 427 and 268.

Its condition varies greatly. At some points the script of the genealogies is much faded or abraded and at the head of 109r a re-agent has been used, staining the parchment though not impeding legibility. The faded red-ink rubrics are seen best in ordinary light, but parts of the text have been recovered with confidence only by the aid of photographs produced under ultra-violet light with very satisfactory results. I have been unable to read the text at only two points. Sweet's is the sole previous edition of this copy of the genealogies.

CCCC 183 (MS. C)

This volume is written almost throughout by a single scribe in Anglo-Saxon minuscule of the first half of the tenth century.¹ The main content is Bede's double Life of St Cuthbert. In addition to the genealogies found in V, C contains, like T and R (on which see below), a regnal list for Northumbria and one for Mercia, which occur together between the Northumbrian and Mercian genealogies, and, at the end, following the East Anglian pedigree, a West Saxon genealogy. In C alone two memoranda of some importance² conclude the collection (67r).

The most recent names in the episcopal lists belong to the period 934 x 942.³ Not all the episcopal lists reach this date; the list of popes continues only to Adrian III (884-5); there are genealogies of no king more recent than Cenwulf; the Northumbrian regnal list extends to the second reign of Æthelred (789-96) and the

1. For a full discussion see James, Catalogue, I, 426-41. See also R. A. B. Mynors, Durham Cathedral Manuscripts to the End of the Twelfth Century (Durham, 1939), p. 26, and Ker, Catalogue, pp. 64-5. Cf. F. Wormald, Archaeologia 91 [2nd Ser., 41] (1945), 107-35, esp. 115-16.

2. See below, p. 855.

3. Ep Lists, pp. 76 and 8.

Mercian list to Berhtwulf (840-52). Thus, as in V, the most recent names appear to be contemporary with the manuscript. The medieval provenance of C was Durham Cathedral: it contains a Durham addition of the second half of the eleventh century, though there are other Northumbrian entries of the tenth. The episcopal lists, however, indicate that the manuscript had a south-western origin; J. A. Robinson suggested Glastonbury.¹ The subject of the frontispiece, a king giving a book to a saint, strongly suggests that this is the volume which, according to the Historia de Sancto Cuthberto,² King Æthelstan gave to the congregation of St Cuthbert in 934 or 937. The latter date, perhaps the more likely, would place the writing of the manuscript in the period 934x937. C's text of the Anglian collection has been printed only in M. R. James, A Descriptive Catalogue of the Manuscripts in the Library of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge (Cambridge, 1909-12), I, 435-8.

Cotton Tiberius B. 5, vol. I, fos. 2-73 and 77-88, and Cotton Nero D. 2, fos. 238-41 (MS. T)

This is a large, illustrated collection of computistical, geographical,

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1. The Saxon Bishops of Wells. A Historical Study in the Tenth Century (London, 1918), pp. 12-14. Sisam ('Genealogies', p. 289) suggests comparison of script and small initials with Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS. Junius 27, written at Winchester in the first half of the tenth century (Ker, Catalogue, pp. 408-9), but C is certainly not a Winchester book: the contemporary bishops of that see are inaccurately recorded.
 2. § 26: Symeonis Opera Omnia, ed. Thomas Arnold (London, 1882-5), I, 211.

and astrological material in script of the first half, probably the second quarter, of the eleventh century, but additions were made until the beginning of the thirteenth.¹ Its mediaeval provenance was Battle Abbey, Sussex. The dating depends on handwriting alone, for the contents suggest various earlier dates. The most recent revision of the Anglian collection (22v-23r) had taken place during the archiepiscopate of Sigeric of Canterbury (990-4). That the manuscript is half a century or so later than this is worth stressing, for scholars as careful as Sisam and Page² have been misled into dating the manuscript itself to the time of Sigeric.

The Anglian genealogical collection has, in T, been surrounded by material belonging to the West Saxon tradition of royal records. Preceding it (22r) is an unpublished regnal list for Wessex extending from 494 to the reign of Æthelred; following it (23r) is an elaborate genealogy of King Edgar and his three infant sons which extends back to Adam. Some other materials in this section of T will be discussed below in my account of the transmission. As against C, T's Mercian regnal list extends only to Beornwulf (823-5) and the two concluding memoranda are lacking.

Although T is a south English manuscript, it is difficult to assign it to a precise place of origin. Robinson first pointed out that the name of Swithun is the only one in the episcopal lists to be singled out for capitalisation; his conclusion was that T was written

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1. Ker, Catalogue, pp. 255-6. The fullest description of the contents of the manuscript is given by Konrad Miller, Mappae Mundi, Die ältesten Weltkarten, III, Die kleineren Weltkarten (Stuttgart, 1895), pp. 29-30. The original order of the contents (prior to dismemberment and rearrangement by Cotton) is reconstructed by Ker, ibid.
 2. 'Genealogies', p. 290; Ep Lists, pp. 76 and 12; but not Robinson (Bishops, p. 14).

probably for or at Winchester.¹ This feature could of course derive from an exemplar, but there is no evidence to suggest that it did. Robinson also noted another possible link with Winchester:² the genealogy of Edgar (23r) contains a note about King Ine and Glastonbury which appears to have left traces in additions made, not later than the first half of the eleventh century,³ to the Winchester copy of the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle (CCCC 173 = MS. A), s. aa. 688 and 728. There is accordingly no chronological impediment to the theory that these additions were borrowed from T at Winchester.

As will be seen below, there is substantial evidence that T's copy of the Anglian genealogical collection and the episcopal lists derives from a Christ Church, Canterbury, exemplar which was still at Canterbury in the early twelfth century. This suggests that T itself may have been written there. Two other items do so too. First the exemplar for the set of illustrations to the calendar on fos. 2-19 was a lost Carolingian manuscript which, according to Francis Wormald, came to England in the tenth century and served as an exemplar also for the calendar-pictures in BL Cotton Iulius A. 6,⁴ an early-eleventh-century hymnal of Durham provenance but - as Mr T.A.M. Bishop has shown⁵ - of Christ Church, Canterbury, origin. Secondly, the

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1. The relationship of the bishop-lists in T to those in manuscripts certainly from Winchester is apparent but as yet undefined; see Ep Lists, pp. 79-80. By comparison with C, T has an improved but not perfect version of the Winchester bishop-list.
 2. Bishops, p. 14, n. 2.
 3. The date is guaranteed by the incorporation of the additions into the text of MS. G (Cotton Otho B. 11, on which see Ker, Catalogue, p. 234), a Winchester copy of MS. A.
 4. The Utrecht Psalter (Utrecht, 1953), p. 11 and n. 29.
 5. Trans. Cambridge Bibliographical Soc., 2 (1954-8), 187; see also Helmut Gneuss, Anglia 78 (1960), 494, and Hymnar und Hymnen im englischen Mittelalter (Tübingen, 1968), pp. 91-7 and passim.

illustrated Aratea, with commentary, on fos. 30-54 of T, had as its exemplar BL Harley 647, a continental book written ca 900 which came to England ca 1000¹ and whose mediaeval provenance was St Augustine's Abbey, Canterbury.² Therefore the most likely inference on present knowledge is that T was made for Winchester at Christ Church, Canterbury. It is to be hoped that palaeographical and art-historical research will eventually decide the question more certainly.³

Although T is a beautifully produced manuscript, our texts and the related documents give the impression of being very carelessly written; however, a high proportion of its errors must be inherited.⁴ The Anglian collection is arranged confusingly in T. The top half of 22v has to be read column by column before the lower half, and in the latter, owing to a displacement in the regnal lists, eight early Northumbrian kings are made to appear as successors of the Mercian Offa!⁵ On 23r, however, one simply reads down each column in turn. The text was last published by Thomas Wright and J. O. Halliwell, Reliquiae Antiquae, II (London, 1843), 171-2.

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1. An English supply-leaf was inserted in it in the first half of the eleventh century: see Thompson, Ancient Manuscripts, II, 69-71. But it had served as exemplar, perhaps at Fleury, for Harley 2506, fos. 33-55, part of a very complex manuscript written by a team of continental and English scribes, in the late tenth century: Thompson, ibid.; T. A. M. Bishop, English Caroline Minuscule (Oxford, 1971), pp. 18, 16, xii; Francis Wormald, English Drawings of the Tenth and Eleventh Centuries (London, 1952), pp. 70-1; A. van de Vyver, Revue bénédictine 47 (1935), 140-4.
 2. N. R. Ker, Medieval Libraries of Great Britain (2nd edn, London, 1964), p. 44.
 3. A facsimile volume, edited by P. McGurk, is being prepared for the series Early English Manuscripts in Facsimile (Copenhagen).
 4. Cf. Ep Lists, pp. 81-2.
 5. Not predecessors, as Sisam, 'Genealogies', p. 303.

Rochester, Cathedral Library, A. 3,5, the 'Textus Roffensis' (MS. R)

Now deposited in the Kent County Archives, Maidstone, this manuscript was written at Rochester by known scribes in the first half of the twelfth century, probably soon after 1122.¹ It presents a text which, on the basis of the Anglian collection of genealogies and regnal lists (where there is no significant variant reading), would be declared a copy of T. Page, however, has produced some evidence from the episcopal lists that the two manuscripts may instead derive from a common exemplar;² as will be seen below, the West Saxon genealogy of Edgar, which R shares with T, provides strong support. R's text of the genealogical material (102r-104r) is readily available in facsimile in Textus Roffensis: Rochester Cathedral Library MS. A. 3,5, Volume I (Copenhagen, 1957), ed. P. H. Sawyer. It was last printed (but only in part) by Thomas Hearne, Textus Roffensis (1720), p. 60.

THE TEXTS

A conflated text of the 'Anglian collection' of genealogies is given below. Each pedigree is given a separate apparatus of readings which differ from the main text which represents faithfully the version of V, save where that is in error or where the pedigree in question is wanting in that manuscript. (V's text has been adopted simply because this manuscript is roughly contemporary with the writing of the Historia Brittonum.) Silence in ^{the} apparatus indicates agreement with the text printed from V. Readings from R are not quoted, since they offer no significant variant from those of T in this collection of pedigrees.

1. Ker, Catalogue, pp. 443-7.

2. Ep Lists, pp. 81-2.

Each pedigree is given three serial numbers to indicate its relative position in the several manuscripts: for example, the Mercian pedigree of A^yelbald is V7, C9, T8; but where a serial number is missing, the section does not occur in that manuscript - e.g., C7, T7 for the Mercian regnal list lacking from V.

The following table summarises the contents of the texts (and their sequence). The first column gives the reference by which each pedigree or list is identified in the body of this appendix. The last three columns refer to related or analogous source-material (HB = the Historia Brittonum, cited by section of the Harleian recension). For the considerable quantity of analogous West Saxon genealogical material (omitted from this table and irrelevant to the discussion of the HB), see Sisam's paper.

<u>Reference (by kingdom)</u>	<u>Latest king named</u>	<u>ASC</u>	<u>HB</u>	<u>Others</u>
Deira	Edwin (616-32)	560 BCG	57	-
Bernicia I	Ecgfrith (670-85)	685 A; 670 A; 547 BCG	53	-
Bernicia II	Ceolwulf (729-37)	-	-	-
Bernicia III	Eadberht Eating (737-58)	-	57	-
Bernicia IV	Alhred (765-74)	-	57	-
Northumbrian regnal list	Aethelred (789-96)	-	58, Moore Memoranda; ¹	

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1. The Northumbrian regnal list in the Anglian collection is a continuation of the one whose earliest known form occurs among the 'Moore Memoranda' of 737, twice printed by P. Hunter Blair (from Cambridge, University Library, MS. Kk.5.16, fo. 128v):
 (1) The Early Cultures of North-West Europe (H. M. Chadwick Memorial Studies), ed. Cyril Fox and Bruce Dickins (Cambridge, 1950), p. 246;
 (2) The Moore Bede, ed. P. Hunter Blair and R. A. B. Mynors, EEMF 9 (Copenhagen, 1959), p. 13.

(not in MS. V)		61-3	<u>Historia Regum</u> ¹
Mercian regnal list (not in MS. V)	Berhtwulf (840-52) -	cf.	BL Cotton
		64	Tiberius
			A. 13, fo. 114v ²
Mercia I	Æthelred (675-704) cf. 626 BCG	56	-
Mercia II	Æthelbald (716-57) 716 A	56	-
Mercia III	Ecgfrith (796) 755 A	56	Æthelweard II. 19
Mercia IV	Cenwulf (796-821) -	-	-
Lindsey	Aldfrith (fl. ca 790) -	cf.	-
		30	
Kent	Æthelberht II		
	(725 x 762) 694 ABCD;	54,	Bede, <u>HE</u> II. 5,
	449 E	30	I. 15; Æthelweard
			I. 4, II. 2 ³
East Anglia	Ælfwald (713-49) -	55	cf. Bede, <u>HE</u> II. 15
Wessex (not in MS. V)	Ine (688-726) -	-	

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1. The early nucleus of this work is provisionally ascribed to the tenth century: see P. Hunter Blair, 'Some Observations on the Historia Regum Attributed to Symeon of Durham', Celt and Saxon: Studies in the Early British Border, ed. N. K. Chadwick (Cambridge, 1963), pp. 63-118, esp. 82-3 and 117-18. The regnal list is in CCCC 139, fos. 54v-55r.
 2. The regnal list (headed 'De regibus merc̃') in this manuscript goes from Penda to Æthelred II, ?879-911, and is dated to the tenth century by Sir Frank Stenton, Preparatory to 'Anglo-Saxon England', ed. Doris M. Stenton (Oxford, 1970), p. 372. It occurs, in company with a list of the bishops of Worcester, in the part written ca 1000; see N. R. Ker, 'Hemming's Cartulary', Studies in Medieval History Presented to Frederick Maurice Powicke, ed. R. W. Hunt et al. (Oxford, 1948), pp. 49-75. It is printed by Thomas Hearne, Hemingi Chartularium Ecclesiae Wigorniensis (Oxford, 1723), I, 242.
 3. There is also a Kentish regnal list (without reign-lengths) from Æthelberht I to Æthelberht II, added in CCCC 173, fo. 55v, in an early-twelfth-century Christ Church, Canterbury, hand. It is printed by James, Catalogue, I, 399.

RUBRIC FOR THE WHOLE COLLECTION:

Haec sunt genealogiae per partes Britannie regum regnantium per
diuersa loca

(all MSS.)

V1; C1; T1: Deira

Rubric: Norðan hymbra V; Norðhymbrorum CT.

Eduine ¹	aelling ²
aelle	yffing ³
yffi ⁴	uuscfreaing ⁵
uuscfrea	uilgilsing ⁶
uilgils ⁷	uestorualcning ⁸
uestorualcna	soemling ⁹
soemel ¹⁰	saefugling ¹¹
saefugul ¹²	saebalding
saebald	siggeoting
siggeot	suebdaeing ¹³
suebdaeg ¹⁴	siggaring
siggar	uegdaeing ¹⁵
uegdaeg ¹⁶	uodning ¹⁷
uoden	frealafing

Variant readings

The initial u- of V is invariably uu- in CT; ae in V is æ in CT.

- | | | |
|----|-----------------|----|
| 1. | Eadpine | CT |
| 2. | ællinc | T |
| 3. | yffinc | T |
| 4. | yffe | CT |
| 5. | CT; uufcfreaing | V |

6.	uuilgisling	C.	
7.	uuilgilsing	T.	
8.	uuestorpaling	C;	uueosterpalding T.
9.	seomling	T.	
10.	seomel	T.	
11.	sæfuguling	C;	sæfulfing T.
12.	sæfugel	C.	
13.	suxbdæging	T.	
14.	spæbdæg	T.	
15.	uuægdæging	CT.	
16.	uuædæg	T.	
17.	uuodening	C;	uuoddenning T.

V2; C2; T2: Bernicia I

Rubric: Item norðanhymbrorum V; Item norþa hymborum C only.

Ecgfrið ^x	osuing ¹
osuio ²	eðilfriðing ³
eðilfrið ^{x4}	eðilricing ⁵
eðilric ⁶	iding
ida ⁷	eopping
eoppa	oesing ⁸
oesa ⁹	eðilberhting ¹⁰
eðilberht ¹¹	angengeoting ¹²
angengeot ¹³	alusing
alusa	ingibranding ¹⁴
ingibrand ¹⁵	pegbranding ¹⁶
pegbrand ¹⁷	bernicing ¹⁸
beornic	beldaeging ¹⁹

beldaeg²⁰

ƿodning

uoden²¹

frealafing

Variant readings

1.	osƿeoing	CT.	
2.	osƿio	CT.	
3.	æðelfriðing	C; æþelfriðing	T.
4.	æðelfrið	CT.	
5.	æðelricing	C; æþelricing	T.
6.	æðelric	C; æþelric	T.
7.	oda	T.	
8.	eosing	T.	
9.	eosa	T.	
10.	æþelberhting	CT.	
11.	æðelberht	C; æþelberht	T.
12.	angelgeoting	T.	
13.	angengiot	C; angelgeot	T.
14.	ingebranding	CT.	
15.	ingebrand	CT.	
16.	ƿægbranding	CT.	
17.	ƿægbrand	CT.	
18.	beornicing	CT.	
19.	bældæging	CT.	
20.	bældæg	CT.	
21.	ƿoden	CT.	

V3; C3; T3: Bernicia IIRubric: Item nordan^x V; Item norþan hymb^t C only.

Ceoluulf ¹	cu ^x uining ²
cu ^x uine ³	liodualding ⁴
lioduald ⁵	ecgualding ⁶
ecguald ⁷	edelming ⁸
edhelm ⁹	ocgting
ocg	iding

Variant readings

1. ceolpulf	CT.		
2. cu ^x ppining	C;	cu ^x ppinning	T.
3. cu ^x ppine	C;	cu ^x ppine	T.
4. leodpalding	CT.		
5. leodpald	CT.		
6. <u>om.</u>	C;	ecgpalding	T.
7. ecgpald	CT.		
8. eadhelming	C;	eadelming	T.
9. eadhelm	C;	eadelm	T.

There is a displacement in the column of patronymics in MS. C: the omission of ecgualding results in conflation with the following pedigree.

V4; C4; T4: Bernicia III

Eadberht	eating
eata	liodualding ¹
lioduald ²	ecgualding ²

Variant readings

1. leodpalding	CT.
2. <u>om.</u>	CT.

V5; C5; T5: Bernicia IV

Rubric: Item norðanhym V; Item norðan hymb C; Item norðan hymborum
T.

Alhred	eanuining ¹
eanuine ²	byrnhomīng
byrnhom	bofing
bofa	blaecmoning ³
blaecmon	edricing ⁴
edric ⁵	iding

Variant readings

1. eanpining	CT.
2. eanpine	CT.
3. blæchomning	T.
4. eadricing	CT.
5. eadric	CT.

C6; T6: Northumbrian Regnal List

Ida regnauit	xi ¹ annos
glappa ²	i
adda ³	viii
æþelric	vii
ðeodric ⁴	vii
friþopald ⁵	vii
hussa ⁶	vii
æþelfrið	xxvii ⁷
eadpine	xvii ⁸ .x. paganus . et vii xpianus. ⁸
óspald	viii

óspio ⁹	xxviii
ecgfrið ^x	xv
aldfrið ^x	xx
ósred	xi
coenred ¹⁰	ii
ósric	xi
ceolpulf ¹¹	viii
eadberht	xxi
óspulf	i
æþilpald ¹²	vi
alþred ¹³	viii ¹³
æþilred ¹⁴	iiii ¹⁵
ælfpald ¹⁶	x
osred	i
¹⁷ æþilred ¹⁷	vii

Variant readings from MS. T

1. decem
2. clapba
3. Odda
4. Ðeodred
5. Freoðpald
6. Fussa
7. xxviii.
- 8...8. Et sextus xpianus.
9. Ospeo
10. Teonred
11. Seolpulf
12. Apelpald
13. viii.

14. Aðelred
 15. iii.
 16. Alfþold
 - 17...17. Item æþelred.
-

C7; T7: Mercian Regnal List

Penda regnauit annos xxi
 peada i
 þulfhere xvii
 æþelred xxviii
 coenred¹ v
 ceolred² vii
 æþelbald³ xli
 offa xxxviii
 ecgfrīð³ ⁴cxli dies.⁴
 coenþulf⁵
 ceolþulf
 beornþulf
 ludeca⁶
 þiglafr⁷
 beorhtþulf⁸

Variant readings from MS. T

1. cenred
2. coelred
3. Aþelbald
- 4...4. .cli. dies.
5. cenþulf
6. om T.

7. om T.

8. om T.

V6; C8; T9: Mercia I

Rubric: mercna V; mercior[—] C only.

Ae ^x ilred ¹	peding ²
penda	pypbing ³
pypba ⁴	crioding ⁵
crioda ⁶	cynepalding
cynepald	cnebbing
cnebba	icling
icil ⁷	eamering ⁸
eamer ⁹	angengeoting ¹⁰
[an]gengeot ¹¹	offing
offa	uærmunding ¹²
uermund ¹³	uihtlaeging ¹⁴
uihtlaeg ¹⁵	peo ^x dulgeoting ¹⁶
peo ^x dulgeot ¹⁷	podning ¹⁸
poden	frealafing

Variant readings

1. æ ^x delred	C; æ ^p delred	T.
2. pending	CT.	
3. pybbing	CT.	
4. pybba	CT.	
5. creoding	CT.	
6. creoda	CT.	
7. icel	CT.	
8. eomæring	C; eomering	T.

9. eomær C; eomer T.
 10. angelgeoting T.
 11. Partly illegible in V; angengiot C; angelgeot T.
 12. pærmunding CT.
 13. pærmund CT.
 14. pihtlæging CT.
 15. pihtlæg CT.
 16. piopolgeoting C; peoðogeoting T.
 17. peopolgiot C; peoþogeot T.
 18. poding T.
-

V7; C9; T8: Mercia II

Rubric: Item mercna V; Item mercī C; Item merciorum T.

æðelbald ¹	alping ²
alpih ³	eoping
eopa	pybbing

Variant readings

1. æðelbald C; æþelbald T.
 2. aleping T.
 3. alpih C; alepig T.
-

V8; C10; T10: Mercia III

Rubric: Item mercna V; Item merc C only.

Ecgfrīð ¹	offing
offa	ðincfrīðing ²
ðincfrīð ³	eanuulfing ⁴
eanuulf ⁵	osmoding ⁶

osmod ⁷	eoping
eopa	pybbing

Variant readings

- | | | | |
|----------------|-----|-------------|----|
| 1. ecgfrif | C. | | |
| 2. þingferþing | C; | þingferðing | T. |
| 3. þingferþ | C; | þinferð | T. |
| 4. eanpulfing | CT. | | |
| 5. eanpulf | CT. | | |
| 6. ósmoding | C. | | |
| 7. ósmod | C. | | |
-

V9; C11; T11: Mercia IVRubric: Item mercna V; Item merciorum C only.

Coenuulf ¹	cuðberhting ²
cuðberht ³	bassing
bassa	cynreoping ⁴
cynreou ⁵	centpining
centpine	cundpaling ⁶
cundpalh ⁷	coenpaling ⁸
coenpalh ⁹	pybbing ¹⁰

Variant readings

- | | | | |
|----------------|-----|-------------|----|
| 1. Coenpulf | C; | Cenpulf | T. |
| 2. cuþbrihting | C; | cuðbrihting | T. |
| 3. cuðbriht | CT. | | |
| 4. ceonreoping | C; | ceonroping | T. |
| 5. cynreop | CT. | | |
| 6. cuþpaling | C; | cuðpaling | T. |

7. cuþpalh C; cuðpalh T.
 8. cenþaling CT.
 9. cenþalh CT.
 10. pypþing C*, emended to pybbing.
-

V10; C12; T12: Lindsey

Rubric: Lind[fearna] V; Lindisfearna C; ITEM T.

Aldfrið ¹	eatting ²
eatta ³	eanferðing ⁴
eanferð ⁵	biscopping ⁶
biscop ⁷	beding
beda	bubbing
bubba	caedbaeding
caedbaed ⁸	cueldgilsing ⁹
cueldgils ¹⁰	cretting ¹¹
cretta	uinting ¹²
uinta ¹³	þodning
uuoden ¹⁴	frealafing
frealaf	friodulfing ¹⁵
friodulf ¹⁶	finning
finn	goduulfing ¹⁷
godulf ¹⁸	geoting ¹⁹

Variant readings

- | | |
|---------------|-----|
| 1. Aldfriþ | C. |
| 2. eating | CT. |
| 3. eata | CT. |
| 4. eanferþing | C. |
| 5. eanferþ | C. |

6.	bisceoping	CT.		
7.	beoscep	C;	bisceop	T.
8.	cædbed	C.		
9.	cpedgilsing	C;	cpædgilsing	T.
10.	cpedgils	C;	cpædgils	T.
11.	crettgging	T.		
12.	pinting	C;	inding	T.
13.	pinta	CT.		
14.	poden	CT.		
15.	friopopulsing	C;	freoðopulfin	T.
16.	freopopulf	C;	freoðopulf	T.
17.	godpulfing	CT.		
18.	godpulf	CT.		
19.	geating	C;	eating	T.

Vll; Cl3; Tl3: Kent

Rubric: Cantpara V; Cantpariorum C only.

Aeðelberht ¹	uihtreding ²
uihtred ³	ecgberhting
ecgberht	erconberhting ⁴
erconberht ⁵	eadbalding
eadbald	eðilberhting ⁶
eðilberht ⁷	iurmenricing ⁸
iurmenric	oes[] ¹⁰
oese ¹¹	ocging
ocga	hengesting
hengest	uitting ¹²
uitta ¹³	uihtgilsing ¹⁴
uihtgils ¹⁵	uegdaeging ¹⁶

uegdaeg¹⁷uodning¹⁸uoden¹⁹

frealafing

Variant readings

- | | | | |
|-----------------|-----|--------------|----|
| 1. æþelbriht | C. | | |
| 2. þihtreding | CT. | | |
| 3. þihtred | CT. | | |
| 4. ærconberht | T. | | |
| 5. ærconbyrht | T. | | |
| 6. æþelberhting | C; | æðelberhting | T. |
| 7. æþelberht | C; | æðelberht | T. |
| 8. eormenricing | C; | eormricing | T. |
| 9. eormenric | C; | eormric | T. |
| 10. oesing | CT. | | |
| 11. ese | T. | | |
| 12. þitting | C; | þitangn̄ | T. |
| 13. þitta | CT. | | |
| 14. þihtgisling | C; | þihtgilsing | T. |
| 15. þihtgisl | C; | þihtgils | T. |
| 16. þægdæging | CT. | | |
| 17. þægdæg | CT. | | |
| 18. þodning | CT. | | |
| 19. þoden | CT. | | |

V12; C14; T14: East AngliaRubric: Eost engla V; easter engla C; ITEM T.Aelfpald¹alduulfing²alduulf³eðilricing⁴eðilric⁵

ening

eni	tyttling ⁶
tyttla ⁷	puffing
puffa	pehing ⁸
pehha ⁹	pilhelming
pilhelm ¹⁰	hryping ¹¹
hryp	hroðmunding ^x
hroðmund	trygling ¹²
trygil	tyttmaning ¹³
tyttman ¹⁴	casering ¹⁵
caser	uodning ¹⁶
uoden ¹⁷	frealafing ¹⁸

Variant readings

1. Alfþald	T.
2. aldpulfing	CT.
3. aldpulf	CT.
4. æþelricing	C; æðelricing T.
5. æþelric	C; æðelric T.
6. tytling	T.
7. tytla	T.
8. pehking	CT.
9. pehh	CT.
10. pilfhelm	C.
11. hrypping	CT.
12. trigling	T.
13. tytmaning	CT.
14. tytman	CT.
15. casericg	T.
16. þodning	CT.
17. þoden	CT.

18. A concluding rubric appears only in V at this point:

Hæc sunt genelogia per partes Brettania regum regnantium per
diuersa loca.

C15; T15: Wessex

Rubric: occidentaliū saxonum C only.

Ine ¹	cenreding
cenred	ceolpalding
ceolpald	cūppulfin ²
cūppulf	cūppining
cūppine	celing
celin	cynricing ³
cynric	creoding
creoda	cerdicing
cerdic	alucing
aluca	gipising
gipis	branding
brand	bældæging
bældæg	podning
poden	frealafing

Variant readings

-ð- is invariably written in T for the -þ- of C.

1. Yne T.
 2. cū^ðulfin T.
 3. cyricing T.
-

C16: Memoranda(C, fo. 67^r)

Quando Gratianus consul fuit secundo et Equitius quarta,
tunc his consulibus Saxones a Wyrtegeorno in Brittannia
suscepti sunt, anno .ccc^o. xlviii. a passione Christi.
Brittannia insula habet in longitudine .dccc. milia et
in latitudine .cc. milia; et in circuitu habet tria
milia milium et sexcenti.

THE TRANSMISSION

The relationship of the texts in the three pre-Conquest manuscripts was determined in broad outline by Sisam:¹ C and T derived from a hyparchetype;² in turn this and V derived from an archetype written in the reign of Cenwulf of Mercia (796-821); the archetype descended directly from an original compiled late in Offa's reign. V represented in all essentials the original work. I propose to question the last two of these statements and to suggest a good many modifications of detail in the rest of the scheme.

Page's work on the episcopal lists has confirmed Sisam's outline of the textual history.³ We may confidently say that the bishop-lists and the genealogies share a joint transmission as far back as the hypothetically reconstructed archetype (α).⁴ Page has shown that the episcopal lists were already corrupt in at least two places in α ;⁵ the genealogies were corrupt in at least one.⁶ Robinson argued⁷ that the bishop-lists drew on Bede's Historia Ecclesiastica, but Page has provided reasons⁸ for thinking that Bede and their compiler each drew on earlier lists circulating individually or in collections. Although we know that Bede also used royal

1. 'Genealogies', p. 290.

2. Called 'CT' by Sisam, ibid.

3. Ep Lists, pp. 73-4.

4. Greek letters refer henceforth to hypothetically reconstructed steps in the manuscript tradition. Each siglum is explained at its first appearance; see also fig. X, below, p. 868.

5. Ep Lists, p. 74.

6. Ocgting (Bernicia II).

7. Bishops, p. 9.

8. Ep Lists, pp. 84-5.

genealogies¹ and regnal lists,² we have no evidence that the Anglian collection of such material was associated with the episcopal lists before the writing of α . I do not propose to speculate on this point.

As has been pointed out, V, our earliest surviving witness to the joint collection of α , belongs to the period 805 x 814. Its proximity in time to α has therefore led to the presumption that it also most nearly represents that archetype. This need not be the case. Page has already shown³ that the bishop-lists in V and some additions made to CCCC 140 at Bath ca 1100⁴ were independently derived from a stage (β) intermediate between α and V. The relationship of the genealogies in V to those of α needs reexamining.

In the first place, neither C nor T (nor therefore R) can have derived from V, since V has four errors which they do not have: Uufcfreaing (Deira); Peding (Mercia I); the rubric Lindfearna as against the expected Lindisfearna of C;⁵ and Cundwaling, Cundwalh (Mercia IV) for the Cu^xowaling, Cu^xowalh of C and T.⁶ In the episcopal lists there is much evidence to the same effect.⁷ It is unlikely that all the erroneous forms in V could have been independently corrected. The preservation at some points in C of language-forms older than those

1. HE I. 15, II. 5 and II. 15.

2. Ibid. III. 1, III. 9 and perhaps V. 24.

3. Ep Lists, pp. 77-9.

4. Ker, Catalogue, pp. 47-9.

5. V certainly reads Lindfearna. There is no sign of a suspension-mark on or after the \bar{d} ; in any case \bar{d} = dis does not occur in Insular script. TR omit this rubric.

6. I take this error to result from a curious scribal misunderstanding of -u^x- as -u \bar{d} - (= -und-).

7. Ep Lists, p. 74; Page states, inexplicably, that 'the evidence is weak'.

in V points in the same direction;¹ V has innovated, offering both errors and newer language-forms.

Sisam concluded that C and T derived from a common exemplar not copied from V. His evidence was the error Ceonr(e)owing in C and T (Mercia IV) where V has the correct Cynreowing.² The bishop-lists fail to present supporting testimony of this sort,³ but Page accepted Sisam's conclusion on the point.⁴ Confirmation comes from the very large number of later language-forms which C and T share against V: the untidy, inconsistent distribution of these forms which is common to both manuscripts shows derivation from a single source. For instance, in the first two pedigrees C and T both have:

(Deira) Eadwine, Yffe and Uuægdæg CT against Eduine, Yffi and Uegdaeg V; (Bernicia I) Osweoing, Æðelfrið, Æþelberhting, Ingebrand, Wægbrand, Beornicing and Baldæg CT against Osuing, Eðilfrið, Eþilberhting, Ingibrand, Wegbrand, Bernicing and Beldaeg V.

There is clear evidence that this source was not C itself, for T lacks some of the errors of C: Sæfugel (Deira), Beoscep and Friþowulsing (Lindsey), Wilfhelm (East Anglia) and the omission of Ecgualding (Bernicia II) with the consequent displacement of the remaining patronymics and the conflation of this pedigree with Bernicia III. Moreover V and T, in contrast to C, share a distribution of variant spellings which is unlikely to have arisen in each of them independently: U(u)ilgilsing VT, Uilgisling C (Deira); E(a)delm VT,

1. Sisam, 'Genealogies', p. 290, n. 3.

2. *Ibid.*, p. 290. He mentioned also some inconclusive points.

3. *Ep Lists*, p. 73, but see n. 8.

4. *Ibid.*, pp. 73-4.

Eadhelm C (Bernicia II); Eamer V, Eomer T but Eomær C (Mercia I);
 -geot in Angengeot and Weoðulgeot VT, -giot C (Mercia I);¹ A- in
Æelbald VT, Æ- C (Mercia II); Ædelberht VT, Æpelbriht C (Kent);
 and Uihtgils/Wihtgils V/ T, Wihtgisl C (Kent).

C and T must therefore descend from a common exemplar (ε) which represents one line of transmission from α while V represents another. To this extent Sisam's conclusions are confirmed. Since ε had only one error as against V, probably it was copied directly from α, as other evidence also suggests (see below).

It was between 796, the year of the accession of Cenwulf of Mercia, and 814, the latest date for the writing of the manuscript, that the genealogical material in V assumed the form it originally had in that manuscript. The Northumbrian and Mercian regnal lists which, with the West Saxon genealogy, are in C and T (and R) and hence were in ε, but which are not in V, show that they were once in a form that must have been a product of the year 796: the Northumbrian list concludes with the full seven years (789-96) of the second reign of Æthelred while ε's version of the Mercian list - continuing certainly to Beornwulf (823-5) as in both C and T, and probably (see below) to Berhtwulf (840-52) as in C but not T - lacked, on the evidence of C and T, regnal years for Cenwulf and all subsequent names. These points are most readily explained by supposing that the Mercian list had been drawn up not later than 796, the year of Æthelred's death and Cenwulf's accession,² and that all further names in the list had been added. The genealogical collection in α, the common source of V and ε,

-
1. As -io- is unhistorical here, it presumably presupposes an earlier -eo- which has been deliberately, if mistakenly, altered.
 2. The precision of the figure of 141 days for Ecgfrith may also suggest contemporary compilation.

may therefore have included ϵ 's Northumbrian and Mercian regnal lists and West Saxon genealogy.¹ That this, in fact, is almost certain is shown by the presence of the Northumbrian regnal list in the Historia Brittonum,² which witnesses (see below) to the earliest known, pre- α , stage of the Anglian collection (and which shares with C some name-forms and the memoranda that conclude C's collection³). V's lack of the Northumbrian and Mercian regnal lists between the Northumbrian and Mercian genealogies, where they stood in ϵ , then becomes an indication that the regnal lists in α were not in this position,⁴ or, if they were, that in V (or β) they were either omitted altogether or moved to another position. In this connection it should be pointed out that we cannot be absolutely certain that the genealogical material originally ended in V with what is now the last page of the fragment:⁵ the closing rubric which runs across the foot of 109v (and which is, of course, lacking in C and T) may not have been written by the original scribe. It is in a small, pointed, semi-cursive Insular minuscule hand which occurs also in two small (and certainly additional) notes⁶

-
1. Sisam's otherwise plausible guess ('Genealogies', p. 291) that the Wessex pedigree was added in the reign of Egbert (802-39) must therefore be accounted unlikely. This conclusion also affects his chronology ('Genealogies', pp. 304-5) for the confusion of the Bernician and West Saxon pedigrees. One may note further that the pedigrees for the three southernmost kingdoms (East Anglia, Kent, Wessex) would be consistent with a compilation-date of 725 or 726; these three genealogies form a southern unity within the collection, but it is uncertain what inference may be drawn from this.
 2. The Historia Brittonum does not draw on the regnal list in the Moore Memoranda, as has often been claimed.
 3. Used in HB §31 and §3 respectively.
 4. That the Northumbrian regnal list in the Historia Brittonum follows the genealogies may indicate the original order, but this is far from certain, for the author of the Historia often re-arranged his sources. The removal of the lists to a position among the genealogies, a logical step, would then have occurred in ϵ .
 5. This has been the usual assumption. Cf. Sisam, 'Genealogies', p. 289.
 6. (1) in the lower margin of 105v is a note beginning 'Haec sunt

Continued

and which is not certainly that of the main text.¹ After all, V constitutes but a tiny fragment with the genealogies as its last item. We cannot say what may have occurred on the next folio, and it remains possible that the closing rubric is an early addition made after this folio was lost.

What, then, can we tell about the transmission from α to ϵ of the compilation including genealogies and regnal lists? The first recognisable stage (γ), though not necessarily a fresh copy, is provisionally to be dated to the period 837x845, for it is to this time that, in both C and T, the bishop-lists for the five Mercian sees of Worcester, Lichfield, Leicester, Hereford and Lindsey, the two East Anglian dioceses and the archiepiscopal see of York have been brought down, the limits being the succession of Wigmund of York in 837 and the death of Cyneferth of Lichfield in 843x845. Slightly closer dating is suggested by the Mercian regnal list. As has been mentioned, in C it is continued to Berhtwulf (840-52), but in T (and R) only to Beornwulf (823-5). Since the exemplar that T and R shared is known (see below) to have been very carelessly written - omitting, for

nomina .vi. leuitarum qui cum beato Xysto martyrio passi sunt...' (2) At the foot of 104r, col. 2, is a note which has sometimes been erroneously taken - by Ferdinand Lot, Nennius et l'Historia Brittonum (Paris, 1934), i.93, and K. H. Jackson, Celt and Saxon, p. 23, n. 1 - to strengthen the case for the Mercian origin of the collection: 'Anno dominicae incarnationis .dcclvi. Aedilbald/ rex occisus. Eodem anno Offa rex/ Beornredum tyrannum bello superauit/ et regnum tenuit Merciorum/ Anno .ccc^o. viii^o. aduentus Anglorum in Brit[taniam]./ Aduentus beati Augustini .c^o. lx^o.' (first printed by Sweet, Oldest English Texts, p. 171, who claimed that it was by the same hand as the genealogies; this note is reproduced in the facsimile of 104r in Thompson, Ancient Manuscripts, II, pl. 24).

1. Ligatures and abbreviations are more frequent in the notes than they are in the text, and the variation Brittaniae/Brettaniae between the opening and closing rubrics should be noticed too. But cf. James, Catalogue, I, 438: '... added... in the original hand, as I think'.

instance, the names of three bishops, Cuthwulf of Hereford and Denebriht and Heaberht of Worcester¹ - we may safely assume that the Mercian regnal list continued to Berhtwulf and that this phase of the collection as a whole is to be dated between his accession in 840 and the death of Bishop Cyneferth of Lichfield not later than 845.

A further stage (δ), intermediate between γ and ϵ , is discernible - though again not necessarily as a fresh copy - in the termination of the list of popes in both C and T with Adrian III (884-5).² That this stage was earlier than that of ϵ is shown by the fact that the bishop-lists in C and T share a common tradition for the Wessex dioceses and Canterbury down to the time of writing of C (934x937). After γ (840x845), where the episcopal lists for Mercia, East Anglia and York had been brought up to date, the joint collection moved south to Wessex. In its new home the bishop-lists for the local dioceses and the primatial see were maintained.

Linguistic evidence does not add a great deal to our knowledge of ϵ . It may have contained a few West Saxon dialectal forms superimposed on the Anglian base, but the genealogies do not give much sign of this: Cen- (in Cenwalh, Mercia IV), not Coen-, in CT; Beorht- (in Beorhtwulf, probably an addition to the Mercian regnal list), not

1. This leaves the Hereford list with its last bishop (Eadwulf) at 832x835-836x839 and Worcester at 781-798x800 (Heathured), while the others remain in agreement with the date 837x845. This is certainly a case of haphazard omission.
2. The list of popes in T (19v) appears to have been subject to alteration. Down to 'cxi. Adrianus' (Adrian III, 884-5) all is well. But further names, from cxi onwards, seem to have been erased. However, as Dr Patrick McGurk points out to me, the erasures conceal the names of the first disciples in the following list: the scribe had forgotten to leave space for continuation of the papal list, but remembered in sufficient time to begin again in the next column, to erase the unwanted names, and to enter the numbers cxi to cxxii.

Anglian Berht-, in C (T not being a witness at this point); and -sceop, not Mercian -scop, in CT.¹ Page quotes two West Saxon forms in which C and T agree in the bishop-lists.² Although the very inconsistency of this might argue against independent alteration in C and T,³ it hardly amounts to overwhelming evidence that ϵ was a West Saxon copy and hence that α travelled to Wessex before acting as its exemplar. Furthermore, in the names that probably represent additions to the Mercian regnal list (see above), the lack in T and R of those that in C follow Beornwulf is most easily explained by supposing that they were additions awkwardly placed in ϵ itself and therefore easily overlooked by a copyist (though not by the scribe of C). ϵ , we may conclude, was probably an augmented manuscript that had been written in Mercia a century or so earlier than C.

There is some evidence that, as Robinson conjectured,⁴ C was written probably at Glastonbury (and hence that ϵ was there when C was copied from it); since Winchester is unlikely, Glastonbury, as a royal centre and active religious house,⁵ might well have been where C was

1. A. Campbell, Old English Grammar (Oxford, 1959; rev. imp. 1962), p. 68, §183.
2. Ep Lists, p. 86.
3. The main alterations which C and T show have taken place are the up-dating of forms; these are changes to be expected in documents of either Mercian or West Saxon origin. Page (Ep Lists, p. 86) gives some examples from the episcopal lists. Other changes are the writing of eo for io (of whatever origin); the introduction of the late (not earlier than the tenth century) and apparently West Saxon metathesised -briht for -berht (one example common to CT: Cuðbriht, Mercia IV); and the replacement of -frið by -ferð (allegedly non-Anglian - Campbell, Grammar, p. 185 - but found already in Anglian manuscripts of the early ninth century).
4. See above, p. 833.
5. The abbots of Glastonbury are particularly prominent in the attestation of King Æthelstan's charters between 931 and 934, though not thereafter for a decade; see J. Armitage Robinson, Somerset

produced as a manuscript for the king to give to the congregation of St Cuthbert at Chester-le-Street, and at the next stage (3) of which we know - probably in 969, more than thirty years later - the collection of genealogical and related material was certainly at Glastonbury.

T(23r) and R(104r) contain, immediately after the Anglian material, a long genealogy headed 'Haec sunt genealogiae regum Occidentalium Saxonum' and beginning 'Eadweard 7 Eadmund 7 Æðelred æðelingas syndon Eadgares suna cyninges'. Plainly this was composed not merely while Edgar was king (959-75),¹ but after the birth of his third son, Æthelred, in 966 at the earliest, and before the death of his second son, Edmund, in 970 or 971.² T also contains (16r) Easter tables for the cycles 969-87 and 988-1006, useless in T itself but fitting well chronologically with the origin of the Edgar genealogy.³ Probably Easter tables and genealogy alike are products of 969. The

Historical Essays (London, 1921), p. 42. There is much evidence for Glastonbury scriptorial activity during Dunstan's abbacy, among which the use in the reigns of Edmund and Eadred (939-55) of Glastonbury scribes to produce royal charters for various beneficiaries is especially relevant here; see C. Hart, 'Danelaw Charters and the Glastonbury Scriptorium', Downside Review 90 (1972), 125-32.

1. An origin in the reign of Edgar is likely also for the (unpublished) West Saxon regnal list in T on 22r (but not in R). This is headed simply 'CCCC.XC.III' (the year of the incarnation at which the list commences), begins 'I. Cerdic. XIII' (indicating first the number of the king in the series and secondly the number of years he reigned) and continues regularly to 'XXIX Eadgar. XVI'. There follow 'Eadweard III. Æþelred. *****', without serial numbers and therefore to be reckoned additions to an original list drawn up in the reign of Edgar. The lack of a reign-length for Æthelred indicates that the list was up-dated in his time (978-1016), and the small design after his name (indicated above by asterisks) suggests that there was a blank in the exemplar which T has filled in this way. The extension will have been effected at the latest in 978, written in 990. Instead of this list, R has (101r-v) an elaborate descending genealogy from Adam to Edward the Confessor.
2. F. M. Stenton, Anglo-Saxon England (3rd edn, Oxford, 1971), p. 372.
3. Salisbury, Cathedral Library, 150, a psalter written (like 3) in south-west England in 969x978, contains a table of indictions from 969 to 1006.

latter genealogy includes an allusion to Glastonbury: 'Ingeld was Ines broðor West seaxna cyninges. 7 he heold rice .vii. 7 .xxx. wintra, 7 he getimbrade þæt beorhte mynster æt Glæstingabyrig, 7 æfter þam fyrde to Sancte Petres, 7 þær¹ his feorh asealde 7 on sibbe gerest.' This, as the only non-genealogical comment, argues strongly for a Glastonbury origin. Furthermore, T contains (23v, immediately after this genealogy) a unique list, without heading, of nineteen names which have been identified as the abbots of Glastonbury.² The association of the Edgar genealogy and abbatial list with the Anglian collection thus marks off a stage (ζ) which is to be dated 969 and localised at Glastonbury.³ The length of the Edgar genealogy suggests that ζ is more likely to have been a fresh copy than merely an augmentation of ε.

The next stage (η) is marked by further additions. On the same page as the list of abbots T has a list of popes from John X (914-28) to John XV (985-96),⁴ which is followed (23v-24r) by a unique text of Archbishop Sigeric's Roman itinerary of 990.⁵ In the light of this item and since in T's episcopal lists Sigeric is both the last named

1. The reading of R (bær T).

2. Printed by Robinson, Essays, pp. 41-2, with full discussion. Robinson's only error is to print Andhun for MS. Andhun. The list is not 'entered in the margin' (Sisam, 'Genealogies', p. 290, n. 2) but constitutes the first column of the page.

3. The lack of a rubric for the Glastonbury list may also suggest a recent Glastonbury origin: only there would it be unnecessary to explain the list.

4. Printed by William Stubbs, Memorials of Saint Dunstan, Archbishop of Canterbury (London, 1874), p. 391, n. 1. John XV is said to have ruled 'annos .iv. mensem unum, et dimidium' which would appear to bring us to July 990, the middle of his pontificate and an acceptable date for Sigeric's visit (see below).

5. Printed by Stubbs, Memorials, pp. 391-5, and with commentary by Miller, Mappae Mundi III, 156-8. Cf. F. P. Magoun, jr., 'An English Pilgrim-Diary of the Year 990', Mediaeval Studies 2 (1940), 231-52.

archbishop of Canterbury and the last named bishop of Ramsbury, η is to be dated to 990, after Sigeric's translation to Canterbury and journey to Rome but before the appointment of a successor to his Wiltshire see. Taking into account also the fact that in T the episcopal lists for Rochester, London, Selsey, Dorchester (representing the pre-Viking sees of Leicester and Lindsey) and Elmham (East Anglia) have a break from the mid-ninth century to the mid-tenth whereas those for the Wessex dioceses - Winchester, Sherborne, Ramsbury, Wells and Crediton - and for the archbishopric of Canterbury are continuous to 990, we can suggest that the collection in ζ had been brought from the south-west to Christ Church, Canterbury, in 990 by Sigeric or one of his followers and there augmented. This would be consistent also with the evidence of the Glastonbury abbatial list (see above) whose last name is $\text{\AE}lfweard$: he assumed the abbacy after the appointment in 975 of his predecessor, Sigegar, as bishop of Wells and held the post until ca 1009.¹ His name will have been an addition to ζ before it travelled east and became the exemplar of η . Other signs of the probable association of η with Sigeric and his circle are the heading to his Itinerary in T, 'Aduentus archiepiscopi nostri Sigerici ad Romam', and, more importantly, the commendation he received in the Ramsbury list, unique in any version of the collection of episcopal lists, Sigericus Dei amicus (T, 2lv, col. 1).²

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1. David Knowles et al., The Heads of Religious Houses, England and Wales, 940-1216 (Cambridge, 1972), p. 51. Ker (Catalogue, p. 256) gives the unjustifiably close dating 'c. 993-7' for $\text{\AE}lfweard$'s abbacy. Important evidence of personal contact is given by the two letters (surviving in an eleventh-century manuscript) which $\text{\AE}lfweard$ wrote to Archbishop Sigeric; they are printed by Stubbs, Memorials, pp. 399-403. But Robinson's statement (Bishops, p. 15) that Sigeric was abbot of Glastonbury 980-5 is to be rejected; there is no evidence for this.
 2. Ep Lists, p. 14. The only other occurrence known to me of this title is its assignment by John of Worcester to the ealdorman $\text{\AE}thelwine$ whose active life spanned almost the whole of the second half of the tenth century; see G. Hart, Anglo-Saxon England 2 (1973), 138.

There is no evidence that η was not the immediate exemplar of T. As to R, Page's inference from the bishop-lists¹ that T and R were derived from a common exemplar (rather than that R derived from T) is strongly supported by the evidence of the Edgar genealogy:² R has two readings which are better than those of T³ and some names erroneously omitted from T.⁴ The latter was a carelessly written manuscript but η too must have been full of errors: given the independent descent from η of T and R, the many errors they share must be due to the scribe of η . When R was produced - at Rochester probably soon after 1122 - Rochester and Christ Church, Canterbury, enjoyed especially close relations and it would be natural for Rochester to look to Canterbury for source-texts.⁵ We can safely assume that η remained at Christ Church until R was copied from it.

For a diagrammatic survey of the whole of the known transmission of the Anglian collection of royal genealogies and regnal lists, as described above, see fig. x.

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1. Ep Lists, pp. 81-2. The supposition of a common exemplar also disposes of the difficulties considered by Page, ibid., pp. 82-3.
 2. As noted by W. H. Stevenson, Asser's Life of King Alfred (Oxford, 1904; rev. imp., 1959), p. 158, who gave no details.
 3. þær (R) against bær (T); see above, p. 865 and n. 1. Also Creoda Cerdicing (R) against Creoda Cynricing (T).
 4. Eata Tethuufing, Tethuua Beawing (R) against Eat Beawing (T); Haðra Hwalaing, Hwala Bedwining (R) against Haðra Bedwiging (T). At both these points R has four names to the line instead of the usual two. This, together with the omissions from T, must indicate some difficulty in η .
 5. For other examples, see N. R. Ker, English Manuscripts in the Century after the Norman Conquest (Oxford, 1960), pp. 10-15.

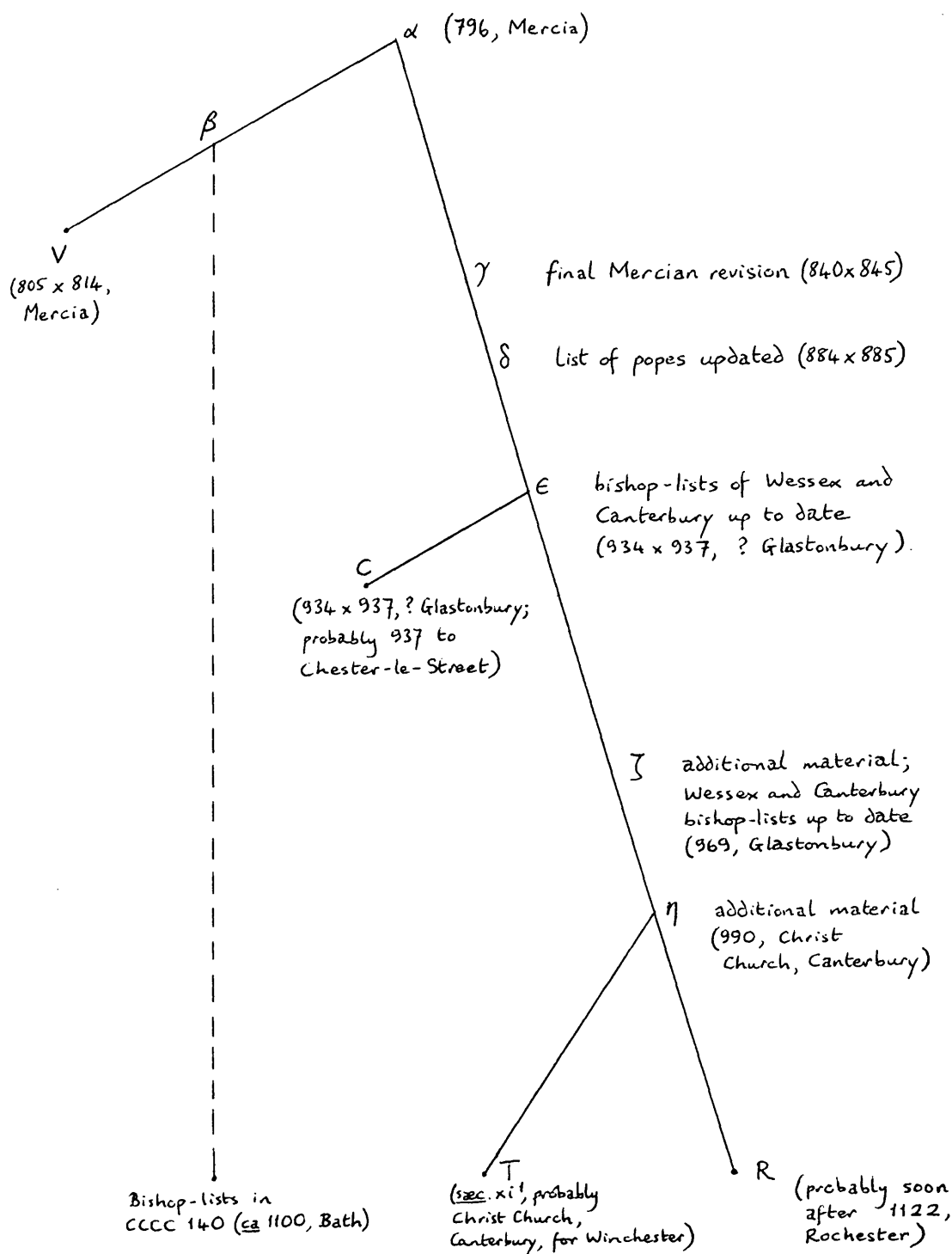


Fig. X. The transmission of the Anglian collection of royal genealogies and regnal lists

THE ORIGIN

We have seen above that α , the source of all the extant Old English texts, was written in Mercia in 796. As has already been mentioned, Sisam argued¹ that the Anglian genealogical collection originated there in the reign of Offa (757-96), as a reflection of the political will behind the development of the Mercian empire. That this collection was once in a form that is slightly earlier than that of α is certain on the evidence of the Historia Brittonum. This anonymous work,² originally written in 829-30,³ drew on a version of the collection whose Mercian pedigrees extended not (as in α) to Cenwulf but only to Offa's son Ecgfrith who ruled for one hundred and forty-one days in 796 but had been crowned already in 787 during his father's lifetime. Offa's determination to ensure his son's succession is well known; Ecgfrith's inclusion in the version of the genealogy known to the author of the Historia may therefore be no more than a reflection of this intention, so that this version is not to be dated more closely than 787 x 796.

Sisam's view that Mercia, not Northumbria, was the area of origin must also be examined. An inescapable fact is that the collection begins with the pedigrees of the Northumbrian kings down to Alhred. An argument that a north to south geographical order was being followed fails to convince, as Mercia precedes Lindsey and Kent precedes East Anglia, but, even if this were the principle, it would

1. 'Genealogies', pp. 329-30.

2. For my rejection of its spurious ascription to 'Nennius', see above, pp. 447-478.

3. See D. N. Dumville, 'Some Aspects of the Chronology of the Historia Brittonum', Bull. of the Board of Celtic Studies 25 (1972-4), 439-45.

presumably be natural only for a Northumbrian compiler. More to the point, it is hard to believe that a compiler working in the heart of the Mercian empire, in the reign of a king as sensitive to his position as was Offa, would not give the Mercian pedigrees preeminence. In this connection the Lindsey pedigree requires to be considered. It was studied by Stenton¹ who demonstrated that Aldfrith, the king standing at its head, attested the confirmation by Offa of a Sussex charter during the last decade of Offa's reign. The inclusion² of this obscure and subject line, and the backward extension of its pedigree beyond Woden and Frealaf (the limit of all the others) to Geat, suggested to Stenton that the compiler of the collection may have had an especial interest in Lindsey, that he may even have been a Lindsey man. This might fit, as Sisam thought,³ a Mercian origin, but one must reckon with at least the possibility that, under a king as sensitive as Offa, it would have been difficult, even dangerous, to publish or advertise a genealogy suggesting that the ruler of a subject province had a pedigree of greater antiquity or authority than that of the Mercian royal house itself: at the very least the extended pedigree might have been seen as an attempt to justify the existence of the Lindsey line, which was as surely threatened with extinction, or depression to the status of subreguli or duces, as other minor dynasties had been. On such considerations it is perhaps safest to leave open the choice between Mercia and Northumbria as the place of origin.

1. 'Lindsey and its Kings', Preparatory to 'Anglo-Saxon England', pp. 127-35.

2. The omission from the Historia Brittonum of the Lindsey pedigree is not necessarily to be thought significant, for it may have had a mechanical cause. See below, p. 873, n. 2.

3. 'Genealogies', pp. 308-9.

Nor is linguistic evidence as conclusive as might be hoped. The use of personal names for dialect-study abounds with theoretical and practical difficulties. The etymologies of many hypocoristic and uncompound names are established doubtfully or not at all and Campbell reminds us that in names 'archaic and dialectal forms tend to be crystallized'.¹ Probably, therefore, not all the names in a genealogy or regnal list will harmonise in dialect and date either with the compiler of the collection in which they occur or with some stage of the manuscript tradition: some are likely to, but probably others will continue to reflect the dialect and age of the source from which they have been ultimately drawn. Thus the Anglian genealogical collection, originally drawn from various areas, is likely to have been dialectally affected by the compiler but is unlikely to have been dialectally unified² beneath the veneer of Mercian forms in V and the covering of later and West Saxon forms in C and T. The test whether or not the compiler was possibly a Northumbrian is therefore whether or not any specifically Northumbrian forms can be recognised outside the genealogies and regnal list of that kingdom. O. T. Williams, some seventy years ago, argued that there are four such features.³ Two of them, however, are unacceptable: neither the Anglian smoothing of Primitive Old English eo in Ercon(berht) (Kent)⁴ nor the initial diphthong of Iurmenric (Kent)⁵ is specifically Northumbrian, since the

1. Grammar, p. 5.

2. Cf. ibid., p. 5, n. 4.

3. 'The Dialect of the Text of the Northumbrian Genealogies', Modern Language Review 4 (1908-9), 323-8.

4. Cf. ibid., p. 325.

5. Ibid. Williams concluded that this feature was Northumbrian because of its frequency in the Liber Vitae Dunelmensis.

former is either Mercian or Northumbrian and the latter is merely an archaic form, the -men- (for earlier -min-) being slightly less so. Williams's third point concerns eo < WGmc au.¹ The sequence appears to have been au > OE ǣu > ǣo (frequently written eo) which, in all dialects except South Northumbrian became ēa (almost invariably written ea). Thus, the form -geot (< WGmc -*gaut) in Siggeot (Deira), Angengeot (Bernicia I and Mercia I) and Weoðulgeot (Mercia I) may either be an archaic form from any dialect (eo standing for ǣo) or be South Northumbrian,² while eost in the rubric Eost engla, where we have no reason to assume an archaic form - for it is part of the very fabric of the collection - must be held to be South Northumbrian. As regards the fourth feature identified by Williams, Eamer (Mercia I), a compound of eoh and mære, shows a certainly Northumbrian form.³ The development PrOE e > eu > eo should, with compensatory lengthening for loss of /χ/, give ēo (Ēomer),⁴ but in North Northumbrian a strong tendency to unround the second element of diphthongs produced the change ēo > ēa, which thus orthographically fell together with ēa (= ǣa) < au. Language, we may say, shows traces, but only a few, of a possible Northumbrian origin for the collection as a whole.

1. Ibid., p. 327.

2. Likewise Geoting (Lindsey) in V: Geat < WGmc *Gaut should appear as Geot only in South Northumbrian (or in an archaic text, for *Gǣot). Sisam's argument ('Genealogies', p. 308, n. 3) that it is also North Mercian (dialect of Lichfield) is special pleading and, in any case, circular; as far as I know, it lacks independent confirmation. It could perhaps be argued (but with a complete lack of supporting evidence) to represent the dialect of Lindsey (which borders on southern Northumbria).

3. Ibid. Another arguably Northumbrian form in Mercia I is Crioda.

4. Campbell, Grammar, p. 117 (and p. 104).

Similarly, there are grounds for caution in the Historia Brittonum.¹ This witnesses a more primitive stage of the collection than is evidenced by any of the extant English texts, for its pedigrees go back only to Woden, not to Frealaf as in the collection found in the English manuscripts. Sisam has shown the backward extension of Old English pedigrees to be an innovative feature.² It is far from certain that the author of the Historia obtained his copy of the collection from a Mercian source, for his work includes (§57) an otherwise unrecorded Northumbrian pedigree which is connected to the Bernician line by descent from King Ecgfrith (670-85)³ and offers the following names in descending order: Oslac, Alhhun, Athils or Athilsing, Ecghun(?) and Oslaf. At the very least this succession of

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1. It was known to Sisam only in inaccurate editions lacking proper discussion of source-materials and hence his survey of it contains many errors. One of the most serious ('Genealogies', p. 324) is his inversion of the order of Octha and Ossa in the Kentish pedigree at a vital stage in the argument. The Historia is not supporting evidence for corruption in the Anglian collection.
 2. 'Genealogies', pp. 307ff. The extension must have been made before its inclusion in α in 796, and perhaps after 787 (the earliest date for the inclusion of Ecgfrith of Mercia). The Lindsey pedigree is the only one in the Anglian collection to extend still further, back to Geat. In the Historia Brittonum, on the other hand, it is the Kentish line, divided into two widely separated parts (§30 and §54; cf. Bede, HE I.15 and II.5), which goes back to Geat. The omission from the Historia of the Lindsey pedigree, which in the Anglian collection stands side by side with the Kentish, strongly suggests a mechanical (and perhaps unintentional) transfer of part of the one line to the other by the author of the Historia.
 3. Its significance was first noted by K. H. Jackson, Celt and Saxon, pp. 60-1. For the unnecessary extension of this branch back to Oswiu, compare Bernicia III in V (above, p. 843).

five generations from Ecgfrith must bring the line down to the end of the eighth century. It is perhaps a record of the ancestry, real or pretended, of one of the contenders for the Northumbrian throne in that troubled period. Be that as it may, it creates a strong probability that the early-ninth-century author of the Historia obtained his copy of the Anglian collection from Northumbria. Here the question must be left for the present. The occurrence in the genealogies of the Historia of some names different from those in the Anglian collection takes the matter beyond the scope of this discussion. On this point the Chronicarum Chronica of John of Worcester¹ becomes all important, for John appears to have had access to a genealogical collection more closely related to that used three centuries before by the author of the Historia than is any other surviving document. The text of the Chronica needs urgent attention, for it alone appears to hold out some hope of further advance in our understanding of the early history of the Anglian collection.²

If a Northumbrian origin were the case, to what time would it be most likely to belong? Alhred, the latest king in the pedigrees, reigned from 765 to 774. Neither his predecessor nor his successor is found in the genealogies. Æthelwald Moll (758/9-65) and his son Æthelred (774-9) were noblemen of unknown but almost certainly non-royal descent. When the latter had been expelled, the next two kings were

1. A first edition of this work appears to have been completed in 1131; a second and revised edition continued to 1141. There is at present no satisfactory published text, but Professor R. R. Darlington has this matter in hand.

2. The relationship of the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle (especially its Northern version) to the Historia Brittonum may also be relevant here.

once again of the royal line of Ida: Ælfwald (779-88) was a grandson of Eadberht Eating (king from 737 to 758), and Osred (788-9) a son of Alhred. After Osred's expulsion, Æthelred regained power and enjoyed a second reign until 796 when he was assassinated.¹ Only if Alhred had been succeeded by his son or by a member of a collateral branch could we say that the act of compilation certainly belonged to Alhred's reign. Since Æthelwald Moll was excluded from the genealogies, the same fate may have befallen his son. Accordingly, if the Anglian genealogical collection had a Northumbrian origin, it could belong to the period 765 x 779, deriving either from Alhred's reign or, perhaps less probably, from the first reign of his successor, Æthelred.

We have seen that on the evidence of the Historia Brittonum the collection (including the regnal lists) certainly had a history back to 787 x 796, that the texts of the collection could be said to suggest an origin in the Northumbria of Alhred, 765-74 (or, less probably, in that of his parvenu successor, 774-9), that there are a very few distinctively Northumbrian dialect-forms in the non-Northumbrian genealogies, and that the Historia Brittonum provides evidence for the presence of the collection in Northumbria at the end of the eighth century or the beginning of the ninth, just as the extant manuscripts of the collection itself provide evidence for it in Mercia in 796. It seems to me that those who argue for a Mercian origin have a case to answer. In the meantime it does not appear that Sweet's title 'Genealogies (Northumbrian?)' can be improved.

1. The preceding summary derives from Stenton, Anglo-Saxon England, pp. 92-5.

APPENDIX V

The Six Ages of the World.

The Historia Brittonum, in almost all of its recensions, begins with a tract on the six ages of the world. The text is almost identical in all but one of these versions: the 'Vatican' recension diverges strongly from the others by virtue of its agreement with the system associated with the Eusebius-Jerome Chronicle. For details of the rival systems one may consult the table by Ferdinand Lot, Nennius et l'Historia Brittonum (Paris, 1934), i. 48. The doctrine of the six ages was of fundamental importance in the early mediaeval period as a theory of history; in particular, it underlies Bede's Historia Ecclesiastica, as is stressed by H. Mayr-Harting, The Coming of Christianity to Anglo-Saxon England (London, 1972), p. 45. Its significance in our text is surely less profound, but the author sprinkled his work with occasional references to the system and, above all, did begin his text with two chapters of six-ages material; the author of each recension felt obliged to follow him.

The different version in the 'Vatican' recension destroys the near unanimity of the recensions on this matter. It is difficult, if not impossible, to consider the circumstances in which the change came to be made, but one important factor which must be considered is the appearance in a late mediaeval manuscript of a possible source or a possible derivative of §1 of the 'Vatican' version. In the Irish codex known as the Book of Ballymote, written between 1384 and 1406, the lengthy vernacular text known by the title Sex Aetates Mundi has acquired an appendix whose relevance to our enquiries was first pointed out by Heinrich Zimmer, Nennius Vindicatus (Berlin, 1893),

pp. 226-227. I reprint here, for the sake of convenience of reference, the text which he gives there from p. 10^b9-30 of the Book of Ballymote.

Ab Adam usque ad diluuium anni mille .DC. LVI.

A diluuiio usque ad Abraham anni .DCCCCXLII.

Ab Abraham usque ad Moysen anni .DC.

A Moysi usque ad Salomonem et ad primam edificationem
templi anni .CCCCLXXXVⁱIII.

A Salomone usque ad transmigrationem Babylonis quae sub Dario
rege Persarum facta est anni .DXII. computantur.

Porro a Dario rege usque ad praedicationem Domini nostri Iesu
Christi et usque ad X annum imperii Tiberii imperatoris
expleantur anni .DXLVIII.

Ita simul fiunt ab Adam usque ad praedicationem Christi et .X.
annum imperii Tiberii .V^m. CCXXVIII.

A passione Christi peracti sunt anni .DCCCC.

Prima igitur etas mundi ab Adam usque ad Noe;

secunda a Noe usque ad Abraham;

.III. ab Abraham usque ad Dauid;

.IIII. a Dauid usque ad Danielelem;

.V. etas usque ad Iohannem Baptistam;

.VI. a Iohanne usque ad iudicium in quo Dominus noster ueniet
iudicare uiuos ac mortuos in seculum per ignem. Amen.

This is a remarkable document in two ways. First, the inconsistency of the 'Vatican' recension between the first detailed statement and the subsequent recapitulation (which belongs to the alternative 'Augustinian' system, not to that of Eusebius-Jerome as surveyed in the first part of Vat. § 1) is found here in exactly the same fashion.

Secondly, we are offered the A. P. date of 900 (which offers A. D. dates of 927 or 932) which, if it is not an error, gives a date for a source for Vat.. If it is an error for A. P. 911, then it may still derive (albeit in corrupt form) from Vat.'s source, for there are other errors; that it derives from Vat. itself is unlikely in view of a number of verbal variations. It remains, in any case, as an interesting document relevant to the study of the 'Vatican' recension.

APPENDIX VI

The 'Genealogiae Gentium'.

The ultimate source of inspiration for §§13-16 of the 'Harleian' recension is a brief tract known as the 'Generatio regum et gentium', thought to have been compiled in sixth-century Gaul. The standard edition, based on some six manuscripts and the Historia Brittonum, is found as an appendix to Karl Muellenhoff's edition of Tacitus's Germania - Germania Antiqua (Berlin, 1873), pp. 163-164; this is not, of course, the most readily available book to students of the Historia Brittonum. I therefore reproduce here Muellenhoff's text (but not his apparatus). His manuscript-sources were as follows:

A: St Gallen, Stiftsbibliothek, codex 732, pp. 154-155 (sæc. ix)

B: Paris, B.N., lat. 4628A (sæc. x?)

C: Rome, B.A.V., Vaticanus latinus 5001, fo. 140 (sæc. xiii/xiv)

D: Paris, B.N., lat. 609 (Visigothic script, sæc. ix)

E: Cava, MS. legum Langobardorum (sæc. xiⁱⁿ)

F: Karlsruhe, Codex aug. perg. 229, fo. 184^r (sæc. ixⁱⁿ)

The full text is contained only in MSS. A and B. The remainder begin with 'Tres fuerunt fratres...'.

Primus Rex Romanorum Alaneus dictus est.

Alaneus genuit Papulo.

Papulus genuit Egetium

Egetius genuit Egegium

Egegus genuit Siagrium, per quem Romani regnum perdiderunt.

Tres fuerunt fratres,

Erminus, Inguo, et Istio frater eorum,

unde sunt gentes .xii.

Erminus genuit

Gotos, [Walagotus], Wandalus, Gepedes, et Saxones.

Haec sunt gentes .iv.

Inguo frater eorum genuit

Burgundiones, Thoringus, Langobardus, Baioarius.

Haec sunt gentes .iv.

Istio frater eorum genuit

Romanos, Brittones, Francus, Alamannus.

Haec sunt gentes .iv.

The fullest study of this little text was by Muellenhoff himself in the Abhandlungen d. kgl. preuss. Akademie d. Wissenschaften zu Berlin (1862), pp. 532ff. See also F. Lot, ed.cit., i. 49-51, for a review of the situation. It has generally been reckoned that the Reichenau copy (MS. F) stands in the closest relationship to the version of the Historia Brittonum. But one must not get the idea that this was a revision produced at Reichenau ca 800, for the names were already badly corrupted by the time they became part of the Historia Brittonum in 829/30. It will also be noted that most of the witnesses, which offer a very varied textual tradition, are of a most respectable antiquity.

APPENDIX VII

The lists of provinces.

A feature of the 'Gildasian' recension is the insertion of a section listing the provinces to be found in the three continents - Africa, Asia, Europa. Lists of this sort go back to the Classical world, but the major point of origin for the independent development of these lists in the middle ages must have been Orosius, Historia aduersus paganos, I. 2.

The main purpose of this appendix is simply to print an example of such a list, found as an independent text on the flyleaves of an English manuscript (from Plympton, Devon) of ca 1200. There were doubtless many such copies. This one is from British Library MS. Additional 14250, fo. 2^v.

Tres filii Noe diuiserunt orbem in tres partes post diluuium:
Sem in Asia, Cam in Affrica, Iaphet in Europia.

In Asia sunt prouincie .xv.: Achia (glossed uel Acaia),
India, Parthia, Siria, Persia, Media, Mesopotamia, Capadocia,
Palestina, Armenia, Cilicia, Caldea, Saura, Egiptus, Libia.

In Affrica sunt .xii. prouincie: Libia, Cirini,
Pentapolis, Ethiopia, Tripolitania, Bigantium, Getulia,
Natabria, Numedia, Samaria, Sistes Maiores et Minores.

In Europia sunt prouincie .xiiii.: Yspania, Alania,
Marcidonia, Treatia, Amacia, Constantinopoli, Dardania,
Istrania, Pannonia, Gallia, Aquitania, Britannia, Ybernia,
Austairias.

APPENDIX VIII

The tract De proprietatibus gentium in Latin and Irish.

This tract appears as one of the additions in C. C. C. C. 139 in hand C², but with subsequent alterations. It is uncertain whether it belongs to the 'Nennian' recension or was rather one of the Sawley additions; on balance, the former seems the more plausible.

This text was printed by Theodor Mommsen, Chronica Minora, ii (Berlin, 1892), pp. 389-390. He there distinguishes, and prints separately, two forms of this tract. The forma prima is the more primitive: it consists of twelve properties (good and bad) assigned to twelve nations. It is first known in a (now lost) Spanish manuscript of the year 883; it was printed by Mommsen from three later copies of which the earliest dated from ca 1100. The forma secunda divides the qualities into good and bad groups, and attempts to assign one of each to each nation. The earliest of the five manuscripts known to Mommsen (of which two were CCCC 139 and CUL Ff. I. 27) is the eleventh-century Bern, Burgerbibliothek, codex 48, fo. 1^r.

Further witnesses have now come to light which complicate the position considerably. A text of the forma prima is found in BL Harley 3271, an English manuscript of the first third of the eleventh century: see N. R. Ker, Catalogue of Manuscripts containing Anglo-Saxon (Oxford, 1957), p. 310. This version, on fo. 6^v, does not conform to the pattern of the witnesses used by Mommsen and, in any case, has only eleven entries:

Uictoria Aegyptiorum

Inuidia Iudeorum

Sapientia Grecorum

Crudelitas Pictorum

Calliditas uel fortitudo Romanorum

Largitas Longabardorum

Gula Gallorum

Superbia uel ferocitas Francorum

Ira Bryttanorum

Stultitia Saxorum uel Anglorum

Libido Iberniorum

There is also a sixteenth-century copy taken from Harley 3271 by Lambarde in Canterbury, Cathedral Library, MS. E.1.

The forma secunda, the manuscripts of which are by no means in total agreement, may well be found also in the copy in Cambridge, Sidney Sussex College, MS. 75 (4.4.13), fo. 58^r, which I have not yet been able to see.

This text also turns up in an Irish guise. A Middle-Irish verse translation was printed and translated (with some errors) from British Library, MS. Egerton 1782, fo. 56^r, by Kuno Meyer, Zeitschrift für celtische Philologie, 1 (1896/7), pp. 112-113. Other copies are found in BL Additional 30512, fos. 40^v - 41^r,¹ and the University College, Dublin, autograph of MacFirbis's Book of Genealogies (p. 13); the more modern Irish version (in the two last-named manuscripts²) is printed by Eugene O'Curry, Lectures on the Manuscript Materials of Ancient Irish History (Dublin, 1861), pp. 580-581. The Irish text

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1. An eighteenth-century transcript of this may be found in Dublin, Trinity College, MS. 1285 (H.1.11), fo. 151^a.
 2. Robin Flower drew attention to the fact that these two copies agreed against BL Egerton 1782: Catalogue of Irish Manuscripts in the British Museum, ii (London, 1926), pp. 492, 283.

seems to represent an interesting half-way stage between the first and second Latin forms: thirteen nations and qualities are recited, including good and bad qualities, in a single series. In these respects it agrees rather with the forma prima. However, several of the qualities are ones drawn from those which appear in the Latin forma secunda. It is to be hoped that a comparable Latin text may be found.

APPENDIX IXCELTIC-LATIN TEXTS IN NORTHERN ENGLAND, ca 1150 - ca 1250

The purpose of this appendix is to assemble and discuss the body of evidence which testifies to the knowledge in northern England, during the period generously delimited by the dates 1150 and 1250, of a quantity of Latin textual material of Celtic origin. This evidence comes wholly from two manuscripts, both deriving from the Cistercian abbey of Sawley (in Lancashire since the recent local government reform, but previously in the West Riding of Yorkshire) founded in 1148. The earlier volume, now Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, MS. 139, was written in the year 1164 but continued to receive additions for up to half a century; the later, now (and since 1574) divided between Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, MS. 66,¹ and Cambridge University Library, MS. Ff. I. 27 (pp. 1-40, 73-252), belongs to the first half of the thirteenth century (after 1202), and quite probably to the first quarter.

The point of departure for this study is the composite copy of the Cambro-Latin Historia Brittonum which occurs on fos. 168^v - 178^v of CCCC 139. In the form in which it was copied in this manuscript in 1164 it belonged to the recension which attributed its authorship to Gildas (this version appears to have originated in Anglo-Norman England, ca 1100; it provided the most commonly used text of the

1. Pp. 1-114 of the manuscript designated by that number in Montague R. James, A Descriptive Catalogue of the Manuscripts in the Library of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge (Cambridge, 1909-12), i. 137-145. The remaining 242 folios (with an independent foliation) now constitute a separately bound volume, MS. 66^A.

Historia in the period 1100-1550), and more particularly to a sub-group associated especially with Cistercian houses. However, as I have explained elsewhere,¹ between 1164 and 1166 a group of three scribes, all drawing on the same copy of another recension (that attributed to 'Nimnius'), heavily annotated the text in CCCC 139 with variant readings and additional items drawn from their newly acquired version. It is this source-text, the so-called 'Nennian recension' of the Historia Brittonum, which provides the first of the Celtic-Latin works to be discussed in this appendix.

I have, in fact, already discussed above the relationship of this recension to the other Latin versions — it was a direct but much altered descendant of the primary early-ninth-century text (the 'Harleian recension') — of the Historia and have concluded provisionally that it was written in North Wales around the middle of the eleventh century, probably by the Owain (Euben) working under the direction of his magister, 'Beulan'.² One is naturally in some degree of difficulty when dealing with a version represented only by the results of a collation against a very poor base-text (that entered in CCCC 139 in 1164). However, sufficient evidence is available to document these conclusions and to show that this lost Latin recension was the original from which the Middle-Irish translation of the Historia was made, also in the eleventh century; the Irish translation (Lebor Bretnach) must have been made quite soon after the production in Wales of this new recension.³ The conclusions of A. G.

1. Bulletin of the Board of Celtic Studies (henceforth BBCE), 25 (1972-74), pp. 370-375.

2. See above, pp. 447-478.

3. Especially soon if the implications of a new study for the date of

Van Hamel, the last editor of Lebor Bretnach, as to the relationship of the Irish text to the Latin versions, must be wholly set aside.¹ He saw that there was indeed a connexion with the Sawley manuscripts, but his lack of a first-hand acquaintance with these volumes allowed him to go seriously astray; his so-called 'Cantabrian group' of manuscripts has no existence in the sense that he intended, and the Latin printed by him beneath the Irish text is of little or no value. What is more, the claims made for the importance of one of the Irish copies derive from Van Hamel's misconstruction of the textual tradition of Lebor Bretnach, which must be wholly reconsidered; in so far as his claims affected the origin of the Latin work and suggested a relationship with the text of the Chartres manuscript, they were thoroughly demolished by Ferdinand Lot² (although they have again reared their head once in recent years).³ It is plain that the Irish translation has no major evidence to offer on the origins of the Historia Brittonum: such evidence is in fact no longer needed as sufficient may be deduced from the reconstruction of the Latin textual tradition. Lebor Bretnach is, however, an invaluable witness to the

the primary hands of Leabhar na hUidhre (the earliest extant, but by no means textually perfect, copy of Lebor Bretnach) be accepted: T. Ó Concheanainn, 'The reviser of Leabhar na hUidhre', Eigse, 15 (1973/4), pp. 277-288.

1. Lebor Bretnach. The Irish Version of the Historia Britonum ascribed to Nennius (Dublin, 1932), pp. xvii-xix, xxviii-xxxiv.
2. Nennius et l'Historia Brittonum (Paris, 1934), i. 135-142.
3. Cf. H. P. A. Oskamp, 'On the author of Sex Aetates Mundi', Studia Celtica, 3 (1968), pp. 127-140.

complete text of a Latin recension which we should otherwise know only from the collations in CCCC 139. But these collations are themselves evidence for the knowledge at Sawley between 1164 and 1166 of a complete Latin text of the 'Nennian' recension, another copy of which had been transmitted from Wales to Ireland in the mid-eleventh century and had become the source for the Lebor Bretnach.

Immediately following the Historia Brittonum in CCCC 139 (fos. 178^v-181^r) is a copy of the Vita Gilde by Caradog of Llancarfan (Caratocus Nantcarbanensis), the Welsh writer of the early twelfth century.¹ Only two other mediaeval copies of this work are known: Durham, Cathedral Library, MS. B. 2. 35, fos. 137^v-138^v (pp. 252-254), copied (at the same time as collations from the Historia Brittonum) in 1166 from CCCC 139, probably at Durham itself;² and London, British Library, MS. Burney 310, fos. 165^v-167^v, copied at Durham in 1381 from Durham B. 2. 35. The Sawley copy therefore stands at the head of the surviving tradition; neither of the other copies is of critical value in so far as each depends directly and wholly on its predecessor. It is to the Cistercian monks of Sawley abbey that we owe the preservation of this work; in a few verbal particulars at least, however, it is probably unfaithful to the author's original text, for some alterations by hand C¹ may be observed (and these are reproduced in the subsequent copies) but they are unlikely to represent changes of substance. We may at least conjecture that this copy of Caradog's

1. Edited by Theodor Mommsen, Mon. Germ. Hist., Auctores Antiquissimi, xiii (Berlin, 1894-98), pp. 107-110, and with translation by Hugh Williams, Gildas (London, 1899-1901), ii. 390-413. I propose to publish an interim re-edition of this text.

2. BCS, 25 (1972-74), pp. 372-373.

Vita Gilde came to Sawley with the 'Nennian' recension of the Historia Brittonum, perhaps even directly from Wales itself.¹

The work which reaches its conclusion in 1166 with the copying of the Vita Gilde and collations from the Historia Brittonum into Durham Cathedral MS. B. 2. 35 represents the first stratum of additions of Celtic-Latin material in CCCC 139. At a rather later date, ca 1200, a group of at least five scribes was responsible for a considerable series of marginal (and interlinear) additions to the text of the Historia Brittonum in CCCC 139. It is to their work that most of the remainder of this appendix will be devoted. I propose to consider these additions in groups, according to the scribes responsible for them. I refer to these by the sigla allotted in my previously published description of the manuscript.²

Hand C⁴ represents the work of the first of these scribes, although it cannot safely be awarded chronological priority over C⁵ and C⁶. All belong to much the same date, ca 1200, and were very likely associated in their work. Five major additions are found in hand C⁴. (i) fo. 171^v, left-hand margin, commenting on the story of Lucius, the legendary British king said to have been responsible for introducing Christianity:

Lucius agnomine leuer maur, id est magni sp<l>endoris,
propter fidem que in eius tempore uenit.

Here the gloss incorporates a phrase in Middle Welsh (where leuer is a

1. See above (p. 475f) for a discussion of possible evidence which could indicate an Anglo-Norman origin for the copy of the 'Nennian' recension used at Sawley but may merely exemplify Sawley scribal habits and faults.

2. 'The Corpus Christi "Nennius"', BCS, 25 (1972-74), pp. 369-380.

spelling for MW lleuuer, ModW lleufer, 'light'). It seems impossible to be sure whether this note is copied from a written source or is the glossator's own comment. This etymologically-derived name for Lucius is known from elsewhere.¹ The one scribal error (spendoris for splendoris) may or may not result from copying an exemplar. The form leuer cannot be precisely dated: in the sequence OW louber > late OW *leuber > MW (l)leuuer > ModW lleufer, it represents MW lleuuer, but could perhaps have been written at least as early as Liber Landauensis by which time OW b (= /v/) was beginning to be replaced by u, a development associated with the beginnings of Middle Welsh. The -u- (for -uu-) in leuer could then be either a natural orthographical contraction in Welsh or the result of the Sawley scribe's orthographic habits. On balance, I am inclined to believe that this note derived from an earlier written source, but one which is unlikely to have been older than 1100. There is, however, no certainty in the matter.

(ii) fo. 171^v, left-hand margin, commenting on the building of the 'Severan' wall from sea to sea:

Per .c. xxx. ii^o. miliaria passuum (id est a Penguaul -
que uilla scotice Cenail, anglice uero Peneltun, dicitur
- usque ad ostium fluminis Cluth et Cair Pentaloeh quo
murus ille finitur) rustico opere Seuerus ille predictus
construxit, sed nichil profuit.² Carutius postea
imperator reedificauit et .vii. castellis muniuit inter
utraque ostia, domumque rotundam politis lapidibus super

1. James Henthorn Todd and Algernon Herbert, Leabhar Breathnach annso
sis. The Irish Version of the Historia Britonum of Nennius
(Dublin, 1848), Additional Notes pp. xiii-xv.

2. Note the verbal reminiscence of Gildas, I.15.

ripam fluminis Carun (quod a suo nomine nomen accepit),
 fornicem triumphalem¹ in uictorie memoriam erigens,
 construxit.

There are many points here requiring comment. The miscellaneous place- and river-names provide a natural starting point. Penguaul (Welsh or Cumbric), Cenail (Irish) and Peneltun (English) are apparently all to be identified with the modern Kinneil,² which is the site named in this note as marking the eastern end of the 'Severan' (that is, the Antonine) Wall. In fact, the wall reaches the Forth at Bo'ness, but Kinneil is a closer point than Bede's choice of Abercorn. Bede (Historia Ecclesiastica, I. 12), in referring to the wall (which he, following Gildas, ascribes to the early fifth century), writes 'Incipit autem duorum ferme milium spatio a monasterio Aebbercurnig ad occidentem in loco, qui sermone Pictorum Peanfahel, lingua autem Anglorum Penneltun appellatur;³ et tendens contra occidentem terminatur iuxta urbem Alcluith'. It has been conjectured that the first element (Pen(n)el-) of the English name represents a reduced form of the Pictish name, to which OE tūn has then been suffixed.⁴ Cenail (for Cenn fháil) is the exact Irish cognate of the Brittonic Penguaul. The latter is unexceptionable as Welsh, but given the appearance in our text of an

1. This word is interlined in the manuscript.

2. Cf. William J. Watson, The History of the Celtic Place-Names of Scotland (Edinburgh, 1926), pp. 346-348.

3. In constructing capitula for Book I of Gildas, De excidio Britanniae, in Ff. I. 27 (p. 2), the Sawley editors borrowed this passage of Bede, but substituted Kair Eden ciuitas antiquissima for his Peanfahel etc. (Cf. Watson, op. cit., pp. 369-370.)

4. Max Förster, 'Englisch-Keltisches', Englische Studien, 56 (1922), pp. 204-239, esp. 231-239. On Peanfahel see (ed.) F. T. Wainwright, The Problem of the Picts (Edinburgh, 1955), p. 143.

Old English and an Irish name, it would seem that the other logical language would be Cumbric, and the chances are that this is what we have here. The wall extends westwards to the Clyde, for which our text gives us a Brittonic form (Cluth; ModW Clud), reaching it at Old Kilpatrick. But we are told that the wall ends at a place called Cair Pentaloeh, which looks suspiciously like Kirkintilloch and must in fact be identical with it; unless the text has been mangled from an original 'usque ad Cair Pentaloeh et ad ostium fluminis Cluth quo murus ille finitur' we are faced with serious problems. The wall does indeed pass through Kirkintilloch where there was a fort, but it is far from being at the western, Clyde, end of the wall.¹ The most plausible suggestion would appear to be that there has indeed been a dislocation in the text and to restore it as suggested above. It is therefore fairly certain that this note in CCCC 139 derives from a written source.

Cair Pentaloeh is a most interesting name, for it is part Brittonic and part Gaelic. Cair Pen- is Brittonic, while -taloch = -tulach is Gaelic. It is from a different hybrid (Cumbric Kir- [= Cair] plus a fully Gaelic Cemntaloch) that the modern name Kirkintilloch derives.² What are we to make of the half-Brittonic form Cair Pentaloeh? It would be tempting to regard this as the Cumbric form by which Kirkintilloch was known to the Britons of Strathclyde, whose kingdom existed in independence until 1018.

The second half of the note most certainly describes the allegedly Roman structure, demolished in 1742 or 1743, known as Arthur's

1. On the Antonine Wall, see George Macdonald, The Roman Wall in Scotland (2nd edn, Oxford, 1934), and Anne S. Robertson, The Antonine Wall (2nd edn, Glasgow, 1970).

2. Cf. Watson, op. cit., p. 348.

Oven. This building, apparently round-domed and of squared stone (cf. domumque rotundam politis lapidibus), stood in the valley of the river Carron¹ in Stirlingshire just north of the Antonine Wall. Its earliest explicit association with Arthur occurs in a charter of 1293 where it is called furnum Arturi.² We may have here two confusions. Our text refers to this structure as a fornix; the similarity between this and fornax, 'an oven', is suspicious. Again, the unknown Carutius of the text bears a resemblance to Arturius which may either represent a measure of scribal corruption or be a point of inspiration for a substitution of the famous Arthur for the obscure Carutius. A much earlier reference (now surviving only in a Continental witness of 1120) to a palatium Arturi in terra Pictorum is of plausible, but uncertain, relevance to this matter.³ The name 'Arthur's Oven' would seem likely to have had its origin in a confusion of fornix and fornax which can only be literary;⁴ we cannot say whether the text from which this note was drawn was the ultimate cause or source of the confusion. On the matter of Artur(i)us/Carutius we can only suspend judgment; but the fact that the pseudo-etymology of Carun (from Carutius) would have been

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1. The form Carun in our manuscript may be compared with the Caroun of the Registrum Episcopati Glasguensis, also of ca 1200; cf. W.F.H. Nicolaisen, 'Notes on Scottish place-names, 13: Some early name-forms of the Stirlingshire Carron', Scottish Studies, 4 (1960), pp. 96-104.
 2. O.G.S. Crawford, The Topography of Roman Scotland North of the Antonine Wall (Cambridge, 1949), pp. 150-151; for a corrected reference and further discussion, see D. N. Dumville, BBCS, 26 (1974-76), p. 107.
 3. Dumville, ibid.
 4. However, Professor Jackson points out to me that if the surviving drawings of the structure are even approximately accurate, it did indeed look like an oven and this would have been the source of the name. For a drawing, see Stirlingshire. An Inventory of the Ancient Monuments, Volume I (Royal Commission on the Ancient and Historical Monuments of Scotland, Edinburgh, 1963), p. 117, fig. 48; on p. 118 it is suggested that the building was a Roman temple, set up as a war memorial.

an impossible suggestion if the intended name was Arturius makes it likely that Carutius is primary and has been corrupted or misunderstood after the text from which our note is drawn was written.

(iii) fo. 171^v, lower margin, expanding on the story of the British soldiers allegedly settled by Magnus Maximus in Gaul:

Britones namque Amorigi qui ultra mare sunt cum Maximo
tyranno hinc in expeditionem ex<e>untes, quoniam redire
nequiverant, occidentales partes Gallie solotenus
uastauerunt nec mingentes ad parietem uiuere reliquerunt;
acceptisque eorum uxoribus et filiabus in coniugium omnes
earum linguas amputauerunt ne eorum successio maternam
linguam disceret. Vnde et nos illos uocamus in nostra
lingua Letewicion, id est semitacentes, quoniam confuse
loquuntur.

Here we may be certain that the glossator is drawing on an earlier written source, and not simply dashing off an additional note. The idea uastauerunt nec mingentes ad parietem uiuere reliquerunt is a literary topos not uncommon in historical works written ca 1200, though it is also found at a much earlier date. Two works, roughly contemporary with the glossing hand in our manuscript, are known to me to use this topos. The De Gestis Francorum, which extends in three books to A.D. 1214, is found in three manuscripts of which the oldest copy is that in Trinity College, Dublin, MS 493 (E.2.24), fos. 75^r-121^v (ending imperfectly). Only excerpts from this work have been published.¹

1. In vols. 7, 9-12, 17 of M.-J.-J. Brial, Recueil des Historiens des Gaules et de la France. I am indebted to Professor Marvin Colker for identifying the text and supplying details of the edition.

In the account of the year 1206, we read:

Quo etiam anno, uicecomes de Thouars a rege Francorum
desciuit, et ad regem Anglie se contulit: sed hoc impune
non tulit; nam rex Francorum Philippus terram ipsius, que
frumento, uino et oleo abundabat, rege Anglie et uicecomite
coram stante, adeo uastauit, ut uix relinqueretur in ea
mingens ad parietem.¹

Giraldus Cambrensis, in his Descriptio Kambrie, II.7, believed that during Edward the Confessor's Welsh wars, Harold Godwinsson had almost exterminated the people and had erected inscribed pillars as monuments to his victory:

.... tam ualide totam Kambriam et circuiuit et
transpenetrauit, ut in eadem fere mingentem ad parietem
non reliquerit.²

The expression 'mingens ad parietem', apparently meaning simply 'a man', derives from the Old Testament, and in all these cases from III(I) Kings xvi.11, et non dereliquit ex ea mingentem ad parietem. The phrase also occurs in I Kings (I Samuel) xxv.22, xxv.34; III(I) Kings xiv.10, xxi.21; IV(II) Kings ix.8. The twelfth- to thirteenth-century examples quoted above may give the impression that this topos was in vogue at that date, which may indeed have been the case. However, it was already being used in the late sixth century by Gregory of Tours in his Historia Francorum:

Ille quoque inter eos regnum aequaliter diuisit,
interficiens omnes illos qui regis interemere
consueuerant, non reliquens ex eis mingentem ad

1. For this passage, see the new edition of vol. 17 by Léopold Delisle (Paris, 1878), p. 427.

2. Opera Omnia, vi (London, 1868), ed. J. F. Dimock, p. 217.

parietam (IV. 38).¹ / Postquam autem cunctus
interfecerunt, ut non remaneret mingens ad parietem,
omnem urbem cum ecclesiis reliquisquae aedificiis
succenderunt, nihilque ibi praeter unum uacuum
relinquentes (VII. 38).²

Whether the expression owes its popularity to Gregory, or perhaps rather to some Biblical commentary, is as yet uncertain, for a determined search would no doubt discover many more examples. The first Insular writer whom I know to have used this expression is Aldhelm in his Carmen de uirginitate (line 2532).³

But whatever the nature of the source that contained our account of the Breton settlement,⁴ we can be certain that its author was a Welshman. Pseudo-etymological explanation of this sort is a characteristically Celtic practice, and this particular explanation is alluded to in another Welsh text. The concluding sentence confirms the Welsh origin: 'nos illos uocamus in nostra lingua Letewicion, id est semitacentes...'. 'Our language' is Welsh: Letewicion appears to be an Old Welsh form (showing Anglo-Norman scribal substitution of

1. ed. B. Krusch, Mon. Germ. Hist., Scriptores Rerum Merovingicarum, i (Hannover, 1885), p. 172, lines 5-7.

2. Ibid., p. 319, lines 22-25.

3. ed. R. Ehwald, Mon. Germ. Hist., Auctores Antiquissimi, xv (Berlin, 1919), p. 456.

4. Compare Geoffrey of Monmouth's account (Historia Regum Britannie, V. 12-16) where the entire male population is indeed killed, but the theme is not developed further and the British settlers obtain women from home.

-w- for -u(u)- in *Leteu(u)icion) corresponding to the MW Lledewigion,¹ but one which could certainly still have been written throughout the twelfth century. The other Welsh text which testifies to this story is Breuddwyd Maxen Wledig² which arguably derives from the second half of the twelfth century;³ it may well be that the source of the note in CCCC 139 was written at a date not far removed from that.⁴

(iv) fo. 175^r, lower margin, beneath left-hand column, commenting on the urbs called Cair Guorthigirn which Gwrtheyrn built in the regio Guunnessi.

Guasmoric iuxta Lugubaliā ibi edificauit urbem⁵ que
anglice Palmeastre dicitur.

Melville Richards identified the regio Guunnessi of the Historia Brittonum as being in the Llyn peninsula in Gwynedd.⁶ It is plain that this note has no connexion with that area; and we are left to wonder about the glossator's intention. Lugubaliā, showing late

1. That is, the plural of the adjective Llydewig, 'Breton'. However, as Professor Jackson points out to me, the Latin etymology 'semitacentes' presupposes an unhistorical interpretation of Leteu(u)icion as *let (ModW lled), 'half', + *teuicion 'silent people', from taw, tewi, i. e., 'half-silent ones'; this would have required *Lettewicion, ModW *Lletewigion, but there is no lack of more forced etymological explanations of names in mediaeval Welsh literature.
2. ed. Ifor Williams, Breuddwyd Maxen (3rd edn, Bangor, 1928).
3. D. Simon Evans, A Grammar of Middle Welsh (Dublin, 1964), p. xxx.
4. But the story is found also in the Breton Vita Sancti Goznouii, attributed to the early eleventh century: see Arthur de La Borderie, Études historiques bretonnes. L'Historia Brittonum attribuée à Nennius et l'Historia Britannica avant Geoffroi de Monmouth (Paris and London, 1883), pp. 91-92.
5. Another hand adds scilicet at this point.
6. 'Nennius's "Regio Guunnessi"', Transactions of the Caernarvonshire Historical Society, 24 (1963), pp. 21-27.

Latin -b- for -u-, and an apparent scribal error in the termination -am for -um,¹ is of course the Romano-British name for Carlisle.² The English Palmecastre is recorded elsewhere as the name of what is now Old Carlisle,³ which is indeed 'iuxta Lugubaliam'. This occurrence of the name here ca 1200 provides what is by seventy years the earliest known witness (it is not recorded in the English Place-Name Society's survey) and clears up an apparent difficulty in the etymology, confirming the conjecture that the second element is OE cæster.⁴

Guasmoric is more of a problem. It could in theory be a personal name, OW Guas Mouric (= servant of Meurig) comparable to Welsh names such as Gwasmyhangel and Gwas Dewy and to Irish names like Giolla Pádraig.⁵ Guasmoric would then be subject of the sentence.

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1. But compare William of Malmesbury's De Gestis Pontificum, III, Prol.: in Lugubalia ciuitate.
 2. See the discussion in K. H. Jackson, Language and History in Early Britain (Edinburgh, 1953), p. 39.
 3. For a recent archaeological account of the site, see Eric Birley, 'The Roman fort and settlement at Old Carlisle', Transactions of the Cumberland and Westmorland Archaeological and Antiquarian Society, N.S., 51 (1951), pp. 16-39. There are older accounts in the same journal by F. Haverfield, 'Old Carlisle', N.S., 20 (1920), pp. 143-150, and R. G. Collingwood, 'Old Carlisle', N.S., 28 (1928), pp. 103-119.
 4. A. M. Armstrong et al., The Place-Names of Cumberland, ii (Cambridge, 1950), p. 330 (cf. p. 423). See also James Wilson, 'The mediaeval name of Old Carlisle', The Antiquary, 41 (1905), pp. 409-411, and A. W. Wade-Evans, 'Guasmoric, i.e. Palmcastre', TCWAAS, N.S., 49 (1949), pp. 219-220.
 5. Cf. Geiriadur Prifysgol Cymru, p. 1590, col. 2.

That is certainly not how the hand which added scilicet read this note; the name would appear to make more sense as the Brittonic name for English Palmeicastre. The element gwas is attested as a Welsh word meaning 'residence', 'land';¹ this is also thought to have existed in Cumbric.²

A further complication is added by Geoffrey of Monmouth (HRB iv.17) who, dealing with his British king Marius (the grandfather of Lucius), reports that he gave his name to Westmorland (Westmari(a)landa or Westimaria) where he left also a monument (still to be seen in Geoffrey's time) giving details of one of his victories.³ Westmaria and Westmari(e)land come to be the forms used in official documents in the period 1150x1162 to 1179.⁴ In the Welsh translations of Geoffrey, which pass collectively under the name of Brut y Brenhinedd, Marius becomes Meurig, and some versions⁵ report that 'y wlat a elwit o'e env ef Wintymar, sef yv hynny yg Kymraec Gvys Meuruc'. The use of the

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1. Geiriadur Prifysgol Cymru, p. 1591, s.v. gwas²; cf. Ifor Williams, Canu Aneirin (Cardiff, 1938), p. 136.
 2. W. J. Watson, The History of the Celtic Place-Names of Scotland (Edinburgh, 1926), p. 416; cf. K. H. Jackson, op. cit., p. 707.
 3. His creation derives from epigraphic evidence reported by William of Malmesbury (De Gest. Pont., III, Prol.): see N. E. S. A. Hamilton (ed.), Willelmi Malmesbiriensis Monachi De Gestis Pontificum Anglorum Libri Quinque (London, 1870), pp. 208-209.
 4. A. H. Smith, The Place-Names of Westmorland, i (Cambridge, 1967), p. 1.
 5. As first noted by W. F. Skene, Chronicles of the Picts, Chronicles of the Scots, and other early memorials of Scottish history (Edinburgh, 1867), p. 122, n. 1, who reported that his MSS. b and c (Peniarth 45 and the Red Book of Hergest) insert this passage; so does NLW MS. 5266, printed by Henry Lewis, Brut Dingestow (Cardiff, 1942), pp. 60, 224. All these texts belong to Group I (a, b, d) in the scheme of E. Reiss, 'The Welsh versions of Geoffrey of Monmouth's Historia', Welsh History Review, 4 (1968/9), pp. 97-127.

formula suggests that it was already known in Welsh literary circles; the note in CCCC 139 is assuredly the earliest witness, and its source certainly belongs to the twelfth century at the latest. Whether the name Guasmoric had any existence prior to, or independently of, Geoffrey of Monmouth is another matter and one that cannot be decided here for lack of evidence.

(v) fo. 175^r, right-hand margin (continuing into lower margin under right-hand column), giving another story about Gwrthefyr son of Gwrtheyrn:

Iste Guortemir filius Gorthegirni in sinodo habita apud Guartherniaun (postquam nefandus rex, ob incestum quem cum filia commiserat, a facie Germani et clericorum Britannie in fugam iret) patris nequitie consentire noluit, sed rediens ad sanctum Germanum ad pedes eius cecidit, ueniam postulans. Atque pro illata a patre suo et sorore sancto Germano calumpnia, terram ipsam in qua predictus episcopus obprobrium tale sustinuit in eternum suam fieri sanxiuit: unde et in memoriam sancti Germani¹ Guarenniaun nomen accepit quod latine sonat 'calumpnia iuste retorta' quoniam, cum episcopum uituperare putauerat, semetipsum uituperio afficit. Guortemir uero, accepto regno, uiriliter hostibus obsistit. Qui tante magnitudinis esse et uirtutis dicebatur ut si, quando iratus in bello dimicaret, accepta arbore cum frondibus funditus extirparet et cum ea solotenus aduersarios prosterneret. Cum tali enim arbore Horsam satelitem bellicosum, confractis in alterutrum armis pene defectis uiribus, prostrauit ceterosque in fugam uersos ut stipulas

1. This word is interlined in the manuscript.

terre allidit et ex omnibus finibus Britannie expulit;
 et per quinquennium postea insulam intrare non audebant
 usque ad obitum Guortemir.

One notable feature of this episode is that it adds very little to the account in the Historia Brittonum. We are offered the statement that Gwrthefyr, after the flight of his father from Germanus, went to the saint in synod in Gwrtheyrnion and sought forgiveness, having been unwilling to consent to his father's excesses.¹ Whether this is told for the sake of making an etymological story to explain the name Gwrtheyrnion, or was rather itself the point of inspiration for that story is uncertain (though I incline to the former explanation); it is, however, the only substantial piece of information additional to what we find in the Historia Brittonum. The remainder represents simply an embroidered elaboration of the account in that text.

The pseudo-etymological basis put forward here for Gwrtheyrnion (which of course derives from Gwrtheyrn + territorial suffix²) appears to be 'gwarth a yr yn iawn' - calumpnia iuste retorta.³ The second occurrence of the name (as Guarenniaun) would appear to be corrupt: the -th- has dropped out, and the first -n- is a misreading of Insular r. The form Guartherniaun is Old Welsh, Guar- being a development (of Guor-) which is found already on the Pillar of Elise.

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1. In the Historia Brittonum Gwrthefyr and Germanus have no connexion; in Geoffrey (HRB, VI. 14), Germanus requests Vortimer to restore the churches destroyed by the Saxons.
 2. As the Historia Brittonum says: 'regionem que a nomine suo accepit nomen Guorthigirniaun' (Harleian recension, § 40).
 3. The identification is that of Ifor Williams in The Dictionary of Welsh Biography down to 1940 (London, 1959), p. 328, s.n. Gwrtheyrn.

Again, we have to do with a text copied from an earlier written source. This episode could be derived directly or indirectly from a lost life of St Garmon, but we have no evidence that can be brought to bear on the question. There must also be a suspicion that the story about Germanus and Gwrthefyr has something to do with the epithet 'bendigaid' which Gwrthefyr acquired.¹

Whatever the date of the text from which this note is drawn, it would seem likely to have been in a twelfth-century copy, for the Gor- of Gorthegirni can hardly be of much earlier date. One other possible pointer is available: the text employs the rare adverb solotenus, which seems first to appear in the Anglo-Latin of the mid-tenth century;² use of this word indicates, if such indication were needed, that we are not faced with a source of any very great antiquity.

What, then, may we conclude from all these five items entered in CCCC 139 in hand C⁴? They seem to share certain features in common:

1. Albeit at a fairly late date, it would seem. The story of his head told in the Historia Brittonum is parallel to that of Bran Fendigaid: for full discussion, see R. Bromwich, Trioedd Ynys Prydein. The Welsh Triads (Cardiff, 1961), pp. 88-92, 386-388. Cf. the story told on the Pillar of Elise (if the usual interpretation be accepted) that Germanus blessed a son of Gwrtheyrn called Brydw: P. C. Bartrum, Early Welsh Genealogical Tracts (Cardiff, 1966), pp. 1-3; one must also mention the son (by an incestuous union with his daughter), called by the interesting name of Faustus, whom Germanus is said to have reared (HB [Harl.], §§ 35, 41).
2. R. E. Latham, Revised Medieval Latin Word-List from British and Irish Sources (London, 1965), p. 444; cf. Du Cange, Glossarium Mediae et Infimae Latinitatis, vii (1886), p. 522, whose only example comes from France in the year 1051. It is also used in C⁴'s item (iii) above.

whatever their respective subject-matter, they all contain names or words in Welsh; similarly, all seem unlikely to be older, as they stand, than the twelfth century; all show a fascination with the etymology of proper nouns; finally, each seems to derive from a written source. The conjecture at least deserves to be aired, that all five notes derive from a single work which has been plundered for the sake of further augmenting the text of the Historia Brittonum in CCCC 139.

As to the nature of this hypothetical text, it is difficult to be more certain. It may have been a pseudo-history of early Britain, itself elaborating upon the Historia Brittonum; it is just possible that it was little more than a collection of anecdotes purporting to explain various names. But it certainly contained a number of interesting features: there is at least a suspicion (in the case of Guasmoric) that it was junior to Geoffrey's Historia; and the knowledge of north-western England and of the Antonine Wall at least suggests some sort of connexion with Strathclyde, even if it is impossible to be more precise. We can be sure, however, that this hypothetical source-text would have been of Welsh origin.

Whether the scribe whose hand I have called C⁴ was drawing on one text or several, his material was certainly of Welsh origin. Yet this scribe was writing at Sawley ca 1200, and was going to a certain amount of trouble to augment with additional Welsh material the British pseudo-history which he had before him. Why?

The second of the Sawley scribes to be considered here was responsible for three additions, again written ca 1200, to CCCC 139. C⁵, as I have called this hand, also provides a body of material which must be of Celtic origin.

(i) fo. 177^r, lower margin, commenting on the text's division of Patrick's 120-year life and the comparison of his life with that of Moses.

Hic, ut mihi uidetur, [†]contradicet^{†1} sibi ipse. Sed aliter audiui et scripta reperimus, ita: quadragenarius erat quando de captiuitate exiuit; et per .xl. annos didicit et Deo seruiuit; et .xl. predicauit. In his tribus quadragenariis uero maxime Patricius equatur Moysi. Nam sicut Moyses in .xl. annis in domo Pharaonis uelut in captiuitate et .xl. in exilio in terra Madian et .xl. in predicatione et in ducatu populi, [ita]² Patricius .xl. in exilio inter Gallos et .xl. predicando et miracula faciendo atque resistendo Loygere [regi]² et magis eius (sicut Moyses Pharaoni et eius magis) uiriliter et indefesse Deo seruiuit. Nam bene potest fieri illum fuisse in captiuitate per .xv. annos et quadragenarius egressus fuisse. Sed hoc attende: Moyses quadragenarius fuit quando de Egypto exiuit [†]et in fugam^{†3} ad Egyptum propter populos Dei missus rediit post quadraginta annos; et ipse Patri[ci]us² quadragenarius erat quando de [†]Roma^{†4} in fugam exiuit, et post .xl. annos - missus ad populum Dei ex^{<c>}ipiendum de manu diaboli - ad Hiberniam rediit. Et uterque per .xl. annos in studio predicationis manserunt, et simili fine et ieiunio non dissimili.

1. Leg. contradicet?

2. Letters in square brackets are inserts in hand C⁷.

3. Leg. in fugam, et

4. Leg. Hibernia

This is a fascinating and remarkable piece of exegesis. As we are informed by the writer himself ('aliter audiui et scripta reperimus') he was drawing on knowledge derived from written sources. In his challenge to the text, the glossator shows an independence of mind which is at once unusual and refreshing. One is reminded strongly of the glosses and marginalia found in Celtic - and that primarily means Irish - manuscripts.¹ The small scribal slips give the impression that this very note was itself a copy, but this suggestion seems difficult to reconcile with the apparent fact that we have here a close commentary on the text of the Historia Brittonum, not just an excerpt drawn from another text and used as a gloss. We must therefore assume that the whole piece is of Sawley authorship. But even at a slightly later date his critique found no favour with the editor (presumably C7) who was preparing the heavily-annotated text in CCCC 139 for transcription into a new finely-produced volume; his impertinence in questioning his authority was rewarded by the brackets which mark off his note as not to be copied as part of the new composite transcript of the Historia. It is therefore absent from the version in CUL Ff. I. 27.

The gloss begins by pointing out the internal inconsistency of the Historia on the matter of the division of Patrick's 120-year life. The form contradicet may be a simple scribal error, but one is also tempted by the subject-matter to think of it as a possible example of the common confusion of e and i in Insular manuscripts. He then states that he has written authority for a view contrary to that of the text. His written sources state that Patrick's life should be divided into

1. G. Plummer, 'On the colophons and marginalia of Irish scribes', Proceedings of the British Academy, 12 (1926), pp. 11-44.

three forty-year periods: the first extends to the end of his (Irish) captivity; the second covers his preparation for his mission; and the third is the extent of the mission, to his death. It is in this way that his life may be compared to that of Moses, who spent 40 years in the house of Pharaoh, 40 years in the land of Median, and 40 preaching and leading his people. The second two periods compare easily: Moses's 40 years in terra Madian with Patrick's 40 in exile in Gaul; and Moses's 40 years leading his people to the promised land with Patrick's comparable Irish mission.

It is with the first period that the problem chiefly arises. According to the Historia Brittonum Patrick was fifteen years in captivity, was 25 when made bishop by Amatheus, and preached for 85 years in Ireland. Our glossator reconciles the fifteen years of Patrick's captivity with his own text by pointing out that he could have been 40 years old at the end of that period. This is given extra point (sed hoc attende) by adverting once again to Moses who is said to have been 40 when he first left Egypt. The following clause (et in fugam ad Egyptum...rediit post quadraginta annos) appears to be corrupt: the words in fugam must belong with de Egypto exiuit in the preceding clause; we may presume that they were once interlined and have been brought down not quite in the right place. On his return to Egypt he was 80, having spent forty years in terra Madian. With this is compared Patrick's first 80 years: he was forty when he fled from Ireland (given the necessary emendation, from Roma), and he returned there after forty years' absence. Some notes on other similarities between the lives of Moses and Patrick conclude this extended gloss.

The comparison of Moses and Patrick is a recurring theme in Patrician hagiography. However, the chronology offered by this note differs substantially not only from that of the Historia Brittonum, but

also from *Tírechán* and from the various Irish annalistic records.

The latter generally allow for two periods of thirty years (ca 370-400 A.D., and ca 400-430 A.D.) and one of sixty (ca 430-490 A.D.),¹ while *Tírechán* gives the following account: 'Aetas Patricii ut nobis tradita est subputatur: septimo anno baptizatus est; decimo anno captus; septem annos seruiuit; triginta annos legit; septuaginta duo annos docuit. Aetas sua tota centum uiginti anni ut Moyses.'²

The division into 30+ 30+ 60 appears also to be found in the *Opus Tripartitum*³ (*de Vita S. Patricii*), perhaps written in Ireland in the period 1150x 1250.

In short, the 40+ 40+ 40 scheme propounded by the note in CCC 139 seems to be unique.⁴ It no doubt belonged to a now lost Patrician *Vita*; we know of the former existence of a number of such works, and it is still possible for new discoveries of this kind to be made.⁵ In this connexion one may refer to the preface to the *Vita*

1. For a convenient discussion, see R. P. C. Hanson, *Saint Patrick: His Origins and Career* (Oxford, 1968), pp. 213-224.
2. Whitley Stokes, *The Tripartite Life of Patrick with other documents relating to that saint* (London, 1887), ii. 331 (incorporating the correction noted at ii. 673). It has been suggested that the 132 years assigned to Patrick by the *Vita Tertia* (ed. Bieler [see next note], p. 185) are due to the period of 72 in *Tírechán*; but the latter's (10+ 7=) 17+ 30+ 72 do not compare with the *Vita Tertia*'s (16+ 6=) 22+ 40+ 40+ 30.
3. Ludwig Bieler, *Four Latin Lives of St. Patrick* (Dublin, 1971), pp. 235-241 (esp. p. 241).
4. I am indebted to Professor Bieler for a personal communication on this matter (letter of 14 May, 1973): 'The gloss in CCC 139 is, as far as my knowledge goes, absolutely unique, certainly as regards St. Patrick, and probably also as regards Moses'.
5. For example, that in Gloucester Cathedral MS. 1, published by L. Bieler in *Festschrift Bernhard Bischoff* (Stuttgart, 1971), ed. Johanne Autenrieth and F. Brunhölzl.

Quarta of St Patrick; this preface contains the most extended surviving comparison of Patrick and Moses,¹ yet the theme is almost entirely lacking in the body of the Vita. This is one aspect of the general problem presented by the preface and capitula to the Vita Quarta, namely a lack of correspondence between this prefatory matter and the text itself. A detailed consideration led Bieler to 'conclude that in all probability preface and chapter-list were intended either for a different Life of St. Patrick than Vita IV, or, possibly, for a different recension'.² One is tempted to wonder if the doctrine reported by our note, manifesting an evident and detailed interest in the comparison of Moses and Patrick, has anything to do with this hypothetical (lost) Vita S. Patricii.

But whatever the precise source for the 3x40 division of Patrick's (and Moses's) life, we may be fairly confident that our Sawley annotator had access to a Latin Life of St Patrick now lost. We see therefore that another Latin text dealing with Celtic matters, and at least arguably of Celtic origin, was available and used at Sawley ca 1200.

(ii) f. 177^r, right-hand margin, glossing the account of Arthur's battles and particularly the twelfth where Arthur did such great deeds of killing.

Mabatur,³ id est filius horribilis⁴ quoniam a pueritia

1. L. Bieler, Four Latin Lives of St. Patrick (Dublin, 1971), pp. 47-48.

2. Ibid., p. 6.

3. Sic leg.; not Uter, as in Mommsen, op. cit. (p. 14f. above), p. 199, n. 1, followed by R. Bromwich, op. cit., pp. 521-522. At this point C7 adds 'britannice'.

4. C7 adds 'latine'.

sua crudelis fuit. Artur latine translatum sonat
ursum horribilem, uel malleum ferreum quo confringuntur
mole leonum.

Here, as in the material by C⁴ considered above, we see the love of etymologising Welsh names. Mabatur = Mab uthr could indeed mean 'filius horribilis', but we must of course assume that the gloss is starting from the basis of mab Uthyr, 'son of Uthyr'. In turn, the name Arthur is etymologised in two different ways: as ursus horribilis, from arth ('bear') and uthr ('awful'), and as malleus ferreus, from ordd ('hammer'). As to philological features, it is worth noting that -t- is twice used for -th-, and we have the MW form mab (for OW map). Unless the scribe himself was responsible for the form mab, he was drawing on a rather recently written source. The writing of the svarabhakti vowel as -u- in utur might also suggest this.¹

Rachel Bromwich has made a careful study of the literary history of Uthyr, and has shown that there is no certain evidence that he was known as Arthur's father before the time of Geoffrey of Monmouth, though Uthyr had certainly been attracted to Welsh Arthurian legend before Geoffrey wrote.² It would perhaps appear, then, that this note may be indebted to a knowledge of Geoffrey's Historia. Any written source is again, therefore, unlikely to belong to a date earlier than the second half of the twelfth century.

The content of the note is unusual. The tradition that Arthur 'a pueritia sua crudelis fuit' accords rather with the hostile view of him offered by the Cambro-Latin saints' Lives than with the

1. Cf. K. H. Jackson, op. cit., pp. 337-338.

2. Op. cit., pp. 520-523.

heroic account in the Historia Regum Britannie.¹ And I have been unable to discover any Arthurian source which has the hero smashing lions' jaws, with or without a hammer. It would be most interesting if an expert in comparative Arthurian literature could produce further documentation of this apparent piece of Arthurian legend; but we have, of course, to reckon with the possibility that it derives simply from the imagination of the pseudo-etymologist himself.

This note leaves one very much with the impression that it derives from the same source, or type of source, as the material entered in this manuscript by C⁴.

(iii) fo. 177^r, bottom right-hand corner of page, also glossing the account of Arthur's battles, seeming in particular to be attached to Arthur's being aided by the Virgin Mary and by his wearing of the cross on his shoulders.

Nam Artur Ierosolimam perrexit. Et ibi crucam ad quantitatem salutifere crucis fecit; et ibi consecrata est. Et per tres continuos dies ieiunauit et uigilauit et orauit coram cruce dominica, ut ei Dominus uictoriam daret per hoc signum de paganis; quod et factum est. Atque secum imaginem sancte Marie detulit, cuius fracture adhuc apud Wedal² seruantur in magna ueneratione.³

We probably have to do here with local ecclesiastical legend belonging to the church of St Mary at Stow in Wedale (Lothian). It is obviously

1. Cf. T. Jones, 'The early evolution of the legend of Arthur', Nottingham Mediaeval Studies, 8 (1964), pp. 3-21.

2. A final -e is added by C⁷, in line with this scribe's own spelling of the name. The Wedal of C⁵ agrees better with the Scottish sources.

3. A further note on Wedale is added by C⁷: see below, p. 915.

difficult to say - in view of the complete lack of other sources relating to this legend - at what date the story about Arthur came into existence. Naturally one thinks of the twelfth century, but the possible Scottish origin of an Arthurian item occurring in a Continental source of the year 1120 should caution us against automatically assigning too late a date to local Arthurian legends.¹

Was Sawley likely to have been in contact with the church of Stow? The new Cistercian abbey of Melrose - founded from Rievaulx in 1136 - was in conflict with the church of Stow, probably because of the abbey's ownership of land in Wedale.² Sawley, a Cistercian sister house, would have been in at least sporadic contact with Melrose. But we have no reason to believe that this note, and much less that by C⁷, could derive from the actually or potentially hostile Melrose. The church of Wedale appears to have been the hereditary possession of its priest until the beginning of the thirteenth century; its status is imperfectly understood,³ but it was a respected sanctuary⁴ and its priest had certain duties, recorded in the 'Laws of the Marches between Scotland and England'.⁵ Its independence was terminated by its inclusion in the possessions of the see of St Andrews, another possible

1. D. N. Dumville, BBOCS, 26 (1974-76), p. 107; R. Derolez, 'King Arthur in Flanders', in Festschrift Rudolf Stamm zu seinem sechzigsten Geburtstag am 12. April 1969, ed. Eduard Kolb and J. Hasler (Bern and München, 1969), pp. 239-247 (esp. 242-3).

2. Chronica de Mailros, s. a. 1184.

3. G. W. S. Barrow, The Kingdom of the Scots (London, 1973), pp. 154 and 160.

4. G. W. S. Barrow, Regesta Regum Scottorum, i (Edinburgh, 1960), p. 23 and no. 219; also i. 24 and ii (Edinburgh, 1971), p. 171f (no. 68).

5. The Acts of the Parliaments of Scotland, Vol. 1, A. D. MCXXIV - A. D. MCCCCXXIII (1844), p. 415; cf. also the so-called 'law of Clan MacDuff', for which see W. F. Skene, Celtic Scotland, iii (2nd edn, Edinburgh, 1890), pp. 303-306.

source of the note in CCCC 139: we should remember that two apparent additions (made after, but not necessarily long after, 1164) to this manuscript are connected with St Andrews.¹ The apparent use of the Sawley conflated text of the Historia Brittonum (as found in Ff. I. 27) in a text arguably written at St Andrews in the reign of King William of Scotland (1165-1214) may suggest also contact in the opposite direction (viz., transmission from Yorkshire to Scotland).²

The third of the hands under consideration, C⁶, is responsible for various brief interlinear glosses, of which four are relevant here.

(i) fo. 172^v, col. 2: the wicked King Benlli, whom Germanus encounters, is localised by C⁶: in regione Iâl.

The comote of Iâl is indeed a prime region for the cult of the Powys saint, Garmon, identified by the author of the Historia Brittonum with Germanus of Auxerre. Most Garmon place-names and ecclesiastical dedications are clustered in Denbighshire around this area, with a few outliers in Radnorshire, Montgomeryshire, and Carnarvonshire. It was in Iâl that Wales's last Cistercian monastery, Valle Crucis, was founded in 1201.

It seems likely that the story of Germanus and Benlli in the Historia Brittonum was intended to explain the place-name Foel Fenlli, not far distant from Llanarmon-yn-Iâl. The glossator has realised this,

1. See Dumville, BBCS, 25 (1972-74), pp. 370-371; another item which is a later addition (the poem on the death of Somerled) is also of Scottish origin. For other connexions of CCCC 139 with Scotland, see Barrow, The Kingdom of the Scots, pp. 200-203.
2. But caution is necessary. The manuscript (Paris, Bibl. nat., latin 4126) in which the St Andrews text is found was written in the mid-fourteenth century at York by or for a native of the West Riding; items could have been added then (or earlier). See M. O. Anderson, Kings and Kingship in Early Scotland (Edinburgh, 1973), pp. 235-240, 243-244.

and it is hard to believe that one who was not himself both a Welshman and familiar with the lore of Iâl could have been responsible for this gloss, with all that it implies.

(ii) fo. 174^r, col. 2: where Gwynedd is referred to in the text, as Guoienit (Gwrtheyrn goes ad illam regionem que uocatur Guoienit), the glossator adds: id est Waliam.

The gloss may not be singularly precise, but it would no doubt be helpful to English readers. The main point worthy of notice is that the glossator was able to recognise Guoienit for what it was.

(iii) fo. 174^r, col. 2: in a reference to Snowdonia (in montibus Heriri), Heriri is glossed: id est Snaudun anglice.

Even more than in the case of the preceding gloss, we have here evidence that the glossator was able to recognise and understand Welsh names, for here he gives a precise English equivalent.

(iv) On fo. 176^v, col. 1, the glossator assigns ecclesiastical rank to Patrick's helpers: Auxilius is glossed presbiter, and Yserninus by diaconus.

Although we might think that this information, unparalleled in extant Patrician Vitae, may derive from the lost text used by C⁵, it is probably rather to be reckoned as the glossator's deduction from the phrase Auxilius et Yserninus et ceteri inferiori gradu; where some Patrician Vitae have taken this passage to mean that they were made bishops with Patrick, our glossator has reckoned them to represent two lower ranks, priest and deacon respectively.

In C⁷ we meet with the scribe who is responsible for the final editorial preparation of the text for transcription in the new volume,

now CUL Ff. I. 27, pp. 14-40.¹ I have argued elsewhere that C⁷ is probably to be identified with C¹, active in the period 1164x1166.² C⁷ is the only hand whose work provides material which allows his contribution to be dated. Three of his glosses require discussion.

(i) fo. 169^r, right-hand margin, glossing the account of the people of Britain. The Britons, we are told, hold sway from sea to sea: id est a Totenes usque ad Catenes, adds the glossator. This sort of detail is found in Welsh sources,³ but it is used also by the Anglo-Norman historians; no useful conclusions therefore seem to emerge from its occurrence here.

(ii) fo. 171^v, col. 2: in referring to the supposed tomb of Constantius near Cair Segeint (Segontium, outside Carnarvon), the Historia Brittonum concludes 'Et uocatur alio nomine Mirmanton'. In CCCC 139, this name appears as 'Mirmantum', and is glossed id est urbs eboraca by C⁷. This name, whatever its proper form may be, presents many problems which I do not propose to discuss here.⁴ One thing that is certain is that it is not a name for York, as this singularly maladroit gloss would have us believe.⁵

1. That he saw the finished product is strongly suggested by the comparison of his intervention in CCCC 139, fo. 175r, col. 1, lines 3-5, with the corresponding passage in CUL Ff. I. 27, p. 33, col. 1, lines 3-4.

2. BBCS, 25 (1972-74), p. 376.

3. Cf. J. Morris-Jones, Y Cymmrodor, 28 (1918), p. 57 f.

4. See R. Thurneysen, Zeitschrift für celtische Philologie, 20 (1933-36), p. 125, n. 1.

5. The glossator has identified the emperor of this chapter with Constantius Chlorus, who did indeed die at York.

(iii) fo. 175^v, col. 2: in referring to the fortress in Dyfed (now Craig Gwrtheyrn) where Gwrtheyrn is said by the Historia Brittonum finally to have been killed, Gortigerni is added after 'usque ad arcem'; after 'nomen suum imposuerat' C⁷ adds id est Din Gurtigirn. These glosses reappear as afterthoughts in Ff.I. 27, p. 34, right-hand margin; the first has been altered to Gurtigerni.¹

(iv) fo. 177^r, bottom right-hand corner, glossing a gloss (no. iii) by C⁵.²

Wedale anglice, uallis doloris latine. Wedale uilla
est in prouintia Lodanesie, nunc uero iuris episcopi
Sancti Andree Scotie, sex miliaria ab occidentali parte
ab illo quondam nobili monasterio de MELROS.

This note refers to a situation which developed in the years 1202-1207;³ it must therefore have been written after 1202, and probably after a somewhat later date. However, the nature of the note suggests that it is referring to a recent development; it is not likely to have been written a very long time afterwards. Its presence does indicate a continuing interest at Sawley in the affairs of Wedale. Again, the question of the source of the information must be raised.⁴

There are difficulties in this note. Stow in Wedale is not six miles west of Melrose, be that Old Melrose - the seat of the pre-Viking monastery - or New Melrose, where the Cistercian abbey was

1. This may add to the evidence that C⁷ was still active after Ff.I. 27 had been written. Cf. p. 914, n. 1, above.

2. See above, p. 910.

3. For details, see Dumville, BBCS, 25 (1972-74), p. 377.

4. Cf. above, pp. 910-912.

situated. It lies some eight miles north-west of New, and some ten miles north-west of Old, Melrose. We may put the difference down to necessarily inaccurate mediaeval measurement; but to which Melrose was the glossator referring? If the Old, then the phrase ab illo quondam nobili monasterio is readily explained; if the New, however, then a controversial element is present. Since we know Melrose to have been in conflict, at least up to 1184, with the church of Wedale concerning rights to pasture, we can be fairly sure that Stow was no friend of Melrose. But when this note was written Wedale had passed into the hands of William Malvoisin, bishop of St Andrews. A note about this acquisition, entered in the margin of a Melrose cartulary ca 1300,¹ suggests that there was no love lost between the abbey and St Andrews: it puns on Bishop William's name - maleuicinus quocunquemodo. The note in CCCC 139 may perhaps be seen as a gibe against Melrose made by a St Andrews source: the ownership by both Melrose and St Andrews of land in Wedale was no doubt a constant potential source of conflict; the bishop as holder of property in Wedale may have inherited a dispute with Melrose. There may have been other areas of conflicting interest, but the fact that Melrose belonged not to the diocese of St Andrews but to that of Glasgow perhaps makes this unlikely.² If our note does reflect the views of the bishopric of St Andrews, it fits in well with the other evidence for contact between Sawley and St Andrews after the writing of CCCC 139 in 1164.

C⁸ was a busy annotator, active - as it would appear from his appearance both in CCCC 139 and in CUL Ff.I.27 - at the time when the later Sawley manuscript (CCCC 66+ CUL Ff.I.27) was being written.

1. Dumville, BCS, 25 (1972-74), p. 377, n. 3.

2. I am indebted to Professor Gordon Donaldson for giving me the benefit of his advice on this whole question.

Some of his glosses in CCCC 139 appear likewise as glosses in Ff.I.27; some are incorporated into the text; some are simply unrepresented in the later volume. By contrast, he writes in Ff.I.27 some glosses which he has not troubled to enter in CCCC 139. He, too, displays an interest in pseudo-etymology and in bilingual explanations.

(i) On the leaf apparently inserted (in the period 1164x1166 by the original collator(s) with the 'Nennian' recension of the Historia Brittonum) to take the bogus prologue of 'Ninnius', C⁸ has added two new rubrics (fo. 168^V):

(a) Incipit apologia Nemnii Britonum historiografi;¹

(b) Incipit hystorica ortografia mundi.²

The form Nemnii is interesting, for it provides yet another variant to add to the Ninnius of C² and the Nennio of C¹: this orthographical instability is very difficult to account for.³ Taken together with the early-ninth-century Nemnius, these forms provide a bewildering array of witnesses to a name which may be recognisable elsewhere in Nyn(n)iauw, Nynia (St Ninian), and Geoffrey of Monmouth's Nennius (HRB i.17; iii.20; iv.3-4), but which appears to have no known etymology.

(ii) Two other glosses may be taken together:

(a) fo. 169^r, col. 2; the contra Armonicas uel armoricos gentes of the text is glossed in the right-hand margin id est ultramarinos Britones.⁴

1. This appears as a rubric in CUL Ff.I.27, p. 15, col. 2, with Nemnii for Nemnii and with the words gentis Britonum added at the end.

2. This is a rubric in CUL Ff.I.27, p. 21, col. 1.

3. Cf. above, pp 450-451.

4. This gloss is incorporated into the text in CUL Ff.I.27, p. 21, col. 2.

(b) fo. 171^v, col. 2; the text details where on the continent Maximus settled his British soldiers, and is glossed Ipsi sunt qui Amorici dicuntur.¹

These require no special comment, save to note that, as in the case of G⁴, the form Amorici 'Bretons'/'Armoricans' is used. The glossing serves to remind one that the close racial links of Bretons and Britons were well documented in 'historical' literature, and the origin of their settlements assigned to the campaign of Maximus.

(iii) On fo. 169^r, col. 2, Eubonia Manay (for Eubonia <id est> Manau) is glossed id est MAN.² The identification is correct, is apparently in English,³ and is in effect glossing a gloss.

(iv) Three further glosses may usefully be considered together.

(a) fo. 169^r, col. 2: Orcania, 'Orkney', in the text is glossed id est sub arco posita.⁴

(b) ibidem: the gloss quam Britones insulam Gueid uel Guith, quod latine diuorcium dici potest is misplaced,⁵ being attached to Eubonia Manay (see above) instead of to Wiht, 'the Isle of Wight'; Gueith (<Uectis>) is the Old Welsh name for Wight.

1. This gloss appears partly in rasura and partly (mutilated) in the left-hand margin in CUL Ff.I.27, p. 28, col. 1.

2. The same gloss is found in CUL Ff.I.27, p. 21, col. 2, in interlinear position.

3. The possibility that a Welshman could use this form is raised by its appearance among the collations from the 'Nennian' recension of the Historia Brittonum: see above, p. 479.

4. The same gloss, now mutilated, occurs in the right-hand margin of CUL Ff.I.27, p. 21.

5. It is accordingly found at the wrong place (incorporated in the text) in CUL Ff.I.27, p. 21, col. 2.

(c) fo. 169^v, col. 1, where the text's 'et ibi condidit ciuitatem Turonorum que uocatur Turnip' has been altered to 'et ibi condidit ciuitatem Turonorum et uocauit eam a nomine cuiusdam militis sui qui uocatur Turnus'.¹

These three additions and glosses to the text all share a common feature, namely the desire to etymologise place-names. On the first I offer no comment, save to observe that the use of arc- in etymologising Orc- is no surprise to anyone familiar with mediaeval etymological practices. The second is somewhat obscure, for the equation with Latin diuortium, 'separation', seems rather unclear: are we to equate with Welsh gwyth 'anger'/'wrath', gwaeth 'harm', gweith 'battle', or gwydd 'plough'? The fact that this gloss is misplaced is very interesting: the annotator could simply have slipped up, but another possibility suggests itself - namely that C⁸ was a scribe entering glosses at another's instructions. But whoever was responsible, this can hardly have been copied from an exemplar: we have to do with someone who was trying to etymologise in terms of the Welsh language a name found in this text. The last example requires no special comment; it is simply an alteration to give the story an overt etymological bias.

(v) fo. 171^r, right-hand margin, glossing 'sudes ferreos et semen bellicorum' (col. 2), we find Semen bellicorum uel bellicosum que ca(l)citramenta uocantur, id est, catheleu britannice interpretatus est.²

1. Exactly the same alteration has been made by C⁸ in CUL Ff. I. 27, p. 22, col. 2.

2. This is partly incorporated in the text, and partly written as a gloss, in CUL Ff. I. 27, p. 26, col. 2.

It is difficult to believe that the scribal error which produces cacitramenta for calcitramenta ('caltrops') is of great significance; it need not be put down to the copying of an exemplar. The Welsh gloss catheleu deserves a more extended treatment. The word is found in the body of the text of the Historia Brittonum; in the manuscripts of the primary, or 'Harleian', recension it is found as cetilou¹ and as cechilou, a scribal error resulting from a form cethilou.² This is a close compound of OW cat, 'battle', and hilou, plural of hil, 'seed', the -i- of (h)ilou causing affection of the preceding -a- to -e-. The form offered by C⁸ lacks this affection,³ shows the erroneous spelling -e- for -i- in hil, and has the later OW form -eu (<-ou by, at latest, the mid-tenth century).

A semantically identical, but etymologically distinct, expression gráin chatha, 'seeds of battle', is found in Irish.⁴ To what circumstances one must attribute this parallel phraseology is uncertain, for they can hardly be calques on a Latin expression (the cet(h)ilou of the Historia Brittonum is itself given a near calque in Latin -

1. Hence the entry s.v. cetil in Geiriadur Prifysgol Cymru.
2. This form does in fact occur in the Chartres, Vatican and Gildasian recensions of the Historia Brittonum.
3. Other examples of orthographic non-affection in Old Welsh, even at a late date, are given by K. H. Jackson, op. cit., pp. 606-609, 615-616. The spelling of catheleu with -a- might have been influenced by the simplex, cat.
4. R. I. A. Dictionary of the Irish Language, G (ed. M. E. Byrne, 1955), col. 147, s.v. grán, where six examples are listed. W. Stokes, Revue celtique, 13 (1892), p. 454, n. 4, commented on the form, which was also noted by Kuno Meyer, Fianaigecht (Dublin, 1910), pp. 34-35, in the text Do scélaib Mošauluim 7 Maic Con 7 Luigdech. It is interesting that an example occurs in Echtra Airt meic Cuinn (§ 10), a text with many points of connexion with the Historia Brittonum: Ériu, 3 (1907), p. 164. It is of course used to render cethilou in the Lebor Bretnach.

semen bellicosum) nor, in view of the lexical divergence, can they derive from a Common Celtic phrase.

(vi) fo. 172^r, right-hand margin, glossing the date A.M. 5690, C⁸ writes: Ab incarnatione Domini .ccc. xc. i.¹ This gives an equation A.D. 1 = Annus mundi 5300.²

(vii) fo. 174^v, left-hand margin: during the story of the encounter of Gwrtheyrn and his magi with the boy Emrys, C⁸ adds two separate sentences to complete the sense where the text is sufficiently laconic (or lacunose) to warrant such exegesis.

(a) The boy's mother has just sworn that Emrys has no father. C⁸ inserts: Timebat enim ne occideretur a rege iniquo ideo patrem fateri noluit.³ Emrys is then led away to King Gwrtheyrn.

(b) Emrys has begun to question the magi as to the mysteries of Dinas Emrys. They cannot answer his first query; he announces 'stagnum in medio pauimenti est', and urges all to go and see. C⁸ adds Foderunt itaque et sic inuenerunt ut puer predixerat,⁴ after which the text continues with the boy's next question.

(viii) fo. 175^r, lower margin, beneath addition (v) of hand C⁴. The text has narrated how Gwrthefyr's instructions as to his place of burial have been wantonly disregarded. C⁸ continues: In Lincolnia enim

1. This becomes part of the text in CUL Ff.I.27, p. 28, col. 2.

2. But cf. CUL Ff.I.27, p. 20, col. 2: 'Itaque ab origine mundi usque ad Christum anni fuerunt .v.m.c.xc. nouem'.

3. Part of the text in CUL Ff.I.27, p. 32, col. 1.

4. Incorporated in the text in CUL Ff.I.27, p. 32, col. 2.

sepultus est. At si mandatum eius tenuissent, procul dubio per orationes sancti Germani quicquid pecierant obtinuissent.¹

The information that he was buried in Lincoln appears to be unique to this note. Geoffrey of Monmouth (HRB VI.14) has him buried at Trinovantum (London).

The material added by C⁸ may be seen, therefore, to have been of a very varied nature. In addition to a good number of simple lexical glosses, the items studied above partly help to fill out the text and thus make it easier to follow, but partly continue the tradition observed in the additions of C⁴, C⁵, and C⁷ of bilingual etymological explanations of proper nouns; like C⁶, C⁸ glosses also in English (iii), but can be found entering also (v) a Welsh gloss.

But before we attempt to seek an explanation for all this activity, one more hand in CCCC 139 must be briefly noted. C⁹, a very faint - now indeed almost illegible - hand, adds in the outer margin of fo. 173^r a gloss to 'rex supradictus' which appears to read Guotirgirn or Guotihgirn. A marginal cross draws attention to it but it was not included in the copy in Ff.I.27. I have conjectured² that this gloss is the last intervention by the now aged scribe seen elsewhere as C¹ and C⁷, but this is not offered as more than a tenuous suggestion.

1. Incorporated in the text in CUL Ff.I.27, p. 34, col. 1.

2. BBCS, 25 (1972-74), p. 378. The three sentences in question are in severe need of revision as suggested here. The other two glosses must now be assigned beyond doubt to C⁷. The statement that 'These glosses occur also in the same hand in Ff.I.27' is entirely erroneous.

The copying of Welsh words and names by hands C¹, C², and C³ has been shown elsewhere to have manifested a lack of familiarity with that language.¹ The same charge can perhaps be laid at the door of the later scribes, C⁴ and company, but the accusation would rest on less substantial foundations. On the other hand it is very difficult, if not impossible, to believe that many of the smaller glosses offered by C⁶, C⁷, and C⁸ derive from earlier written sources: they lead to the conclusion that the author (or authors) was familiar with Welsh - indeed, was a native speaker of that language. But an error such as that of C⁸ where a gloss on Wiht was misplaced against Eubonia Manay implies that the scribe, like the one in Ff.I.27 who unthinkingly copied it, was not himself responsible for the content of the gloss. The presence also of English or Anglo-Latin glosses such as Snaudun and Waliam, and the ability to etymologise a place-name of English origin (Wedale), tends to remind one that the manuscript was being glossed in an English centre. Two items in CCCC 139 appear to be decisive, however. On fo. 170^v, col. 1, the text of the Historia Brittonum refers to Mermini regis, King Merfyn of Gwynedd, but a subsequent hand has altered this to reflect Welsh pronunciation (and Middle Welsh orthographic habits); the substituted spelling Meruini is confirmed by a marginal gloss repeating the revised form.² Only one familiar with Welsh orthography and pronunciation could have made this alteration. Similarly, one of the additions made from the 'Nennian' recension in 1164x1166 by C² contained the erroneous form Elbobdus (Elfoddw) where the second -b- is superfluous and erroneous; at a much later date this

1. See above, p. 475f.

2. We duly find Mervini in CUL Ff.I.27.

superfluous letter was erased,¹ a correction which equally could have been made only by one familiar with the Welsh language. The corrected form Elbodus might have seemed a little archaic ca 1200, showing -b- for MW -u- (ModW -f-),² but at least it now had 'correct' spelling.³

It is difficult to believe other than that a Welsh scholar was active at Sawley ca 1200; he may have been alone - a Cistercian monk from one of the Welsh abbeys - and his activity represented to us largely or completely by the work of scribes. On the other hand we may be dealing with the work of several men, whose very scripts we perhaps see in this volume. In any event, CCCC 139 shows us a considerable body of Welsh material, in terms not only of texts but of the knowledge of Welsh tradition and of facility in the Welsh language. It begins in the period 1164x 1166 with the reception of the 'Nennian' recension of the Historia Brittonum and of Caradog's Vita Gilde, and is found again ca 1200 in the work of hands C⁴ to C⁹ inclusive.

But this Welsh material is not all. We have seen that C⁵ had access ca 1200 to an otherwise unknown Life of St Patrick which must almost certainly have been of Irish origin. His extended gloss shows an independence of mind worthy of Irish scholar-scribes of all dates. But from before ca 1200, one might conjecture, there is

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1. After 1166, as is shown by the appearance of the erroneous Elbobdus in the additions to the Durham manuscript. The Run. MepuR. Beghen of C² is also later 'corrected' to Run. Mep. Urbeghen.
 2. Elbodus, the corrected form, duly appears in CUL Ff. I. 27. Contrast Meruini, the result of the alteration just discussed.
 3. Note also the Gortigerni of C⁷, which appears in CUL Ff. I. 27 as Gurtigerni. The alteration could have been made by comparison with the ensuing Din Gurtigirn, but the failure to standardise completely may rather suggest the hand of a Welshman substituting a preferred form.

evidence to suggest that an Hiberno-Latin text **was** available at Sawley. Durham Cathedral Library MS. B. 2. 35 contains on pp. 68-71 (fos. 36^v - 38^r) a copy of Bishop Gilbert (Gilla Espuic) of Limerick's tract De statu ecclesie. Gilbert, papal legate in Ireland and a friend of Anselm of Canterbury, wrote early in the twelfth century.¹ His work appears also in CCCC 66 + CUL Ff. I. 27. The prologue, not found in the Durham codex, occurs twice in the Sawley manuscript.² Neither copy of Gilbert's work appears to derive from the other (the Durham copy, itself perhaps not all of the same date of transcription, would in any case appear to be older than the Sawley text), but they are sufficiently closely related for one to suppose an immediate common exemplar, now lost. The complicated interrelationships of the Durham and the two Sawley books counsel caution, although some such hypothesis seems the most plausible. A text of the year 1188, arguably written at Durham (and, at least, dependent directly on a Durham source), appears both in CCCC 66 and Durham B. 2. 35; this gives evidence of continuing contact between the two centres after the activity of 1166.

The appearance of Gilbert's work in a Sawley manuscript might be unexceptional in other circumstances, but it continues the pattern revealed by other texts in Sawley volumes. The two closely related copies of his work are the only ones extant. We rely fully for our knowledge of this text on the Sawley tradition.

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1. On Gilbert, see John Watt, The Church in Medieval Ireland (Dublin, 1972), pp. 10ff., and The Church and the Two Nations in Medieval Ireland (Cambridge, 1970), pp. 9-14.
 2. CCCC 66, p. 98; CUL Ff. I. 27, p. 237. I believe that these two pages stood together before Parker rearranged and dismembered the volume. See above, p. 597.

We enter a yet more complicated tradition when we come to consider the final Celtic-Latin text for which evidence is provided by a Sawley manuscript. The copy of Book I of Gildas's De excidio Britanniae¹ which occupies pp. 1-14 of CUL MS. Ff.I.27 poses many and difficult problems. That it should contain only one of the three books of Gildas's treatise is interesting in itself and agrees with other recently uncovered evidence for the separate transmission of the constituent books.² The rubric to the text (Ff.I.27, p. 1) suggests that the whole work will follow: 'Incipit prefatio libri queruli sancti Gilde sapientis.....contra reges principes et sacerdotes'. But it is plain that the exemplar from which this was copied contained no more than Book I: the Sawley glossators offer an explanation for the absence of Book II, which they understood to be a separate work,³ a work which they had never seen and which they believed lost.⁴ Further, the book closes with three hexameters referring to one Cormac, a scribal colophon which was certainly copied (like those in the 'Nennian' recension of the Historia Brittonum) from the exemplar:⁵

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1. The standard edition of Gildas remains that of Theodor Mommsen, op. cit., pp. 1-85; text and translation are also available in the edition by Hugh Williams (London, 1899-1901).
 2. MS. Reims 414 contains extracts drawn solely from Book II (an edition is in preparation). Likewise, our manuscript has only Book I, while MS. Avranches 162 divides the whole work into three books.
 3. See capitulum 20 (Ff.I.27, p. 3, col. 1): 'auctor operis promittit se maiorem librum de regibus Britonum et de preliis eorum describendum, quem et postea fecit'.
 4. Ff.I.27, p. 14, left-hand margin, marking the point which constitutes the end of I.26: '[Fe]cit nanque ipse Gilda [lib]rum magnum de regibus [Bri]tonum et de preliis eorum []uia uituperavit eos mul[]re in illo libro. Incende[ban]t ipsi librum illum.' Following this, I.2 (already found above at p. 1, col. 2), which summarises Book I, is repeated as a conclusion to the work.
 5. Ff.I.27, p. 14, col. 1.

Historiam Gylde Cormac sic perlege scriptam

Doctoris digitis sensu cultuque redactam.

Hec tenues superat multos carpitque superbos.

Cormac is a relatively common Irish name and one need not invoke the shade of Cormac mac Cuileinnáin - king, bishop, and multilingual scholar at Cashel (ob. 908) - to explain this particular amalgam of British text and Irish transmission. The time and place of our Cormac are unknown, as is the route by which this copy came to Sawley. That house may have owed it to a Welsh connexion, to an Irish source, or to some other link intervening between its Celtic antecedents and its reception at Sawley. Whatever may be the case, this is an unusually interesting copy of the work, and a certain amount may be said about its textual history. It belongs to the side of the textual tradition which differs in numerous verbal and stylistic particulars from that reconstructed from a tenth-century Canterbury manuscript (BL Cotton Vitellius A. 6) by modern editors. It represents a modified form of the text offered in a complete form only by the twelfth-century Avranches 162. The Sawley text is also notable for a series of glosses, all by the text hand and undoubtedly copied from the exemplar; these glosses are often recognised verbal variants in the textual tradition of the De Excidio, and their form in the Sawley manuscript will certainly contribute to our understanding of the complicated history of this text.¹ It also presents at least one feature which cannot be original to Gildas's work, namely the Old Welsh name Gurthigerno as that of the superbus tyrannus in I. 23.² Other evidence for the 'Celtic'

1. I have in progress a detailed study of the textual history of De excidio Britannie.

2. Ff. I. 27, p. 11, col. 2.

transmission of this copy is the marginal note found at the head of page 3, where in a hand having some of the charter-characteristics of C⁴ is written 'Locus in quo factus est hic liber est Guales insula marina, tempore Arthuri regis, persona Gilde sapientis'. The formula commonly found in Irish manuscripts, 'locus.....tempus.....persona.....causa scribendi', here lacks only the last; it constitutes conventional prefatory glossing matter for many texts; it is widely attested in Ireland, but may very well have been employed also in the other Celtic countries. The references to Guales and Arthur suggest acquaintance with a life of Saint Cadog,¹ which must be attributed to another place at an earlier date, for the note embodying the 'locus...tempus...persona' formula can hardly have been written there.

There was, however, some clear interference with the work at Sawley. Apart from the lavish rubrics which are common in the Sawley manuscripts, a series of capitula (here 20 in number) have been composed (and inserted between I.2 and I.3),² as they have for most texts in CCCC 66+ Ff. I. 27 and for the Vita Gilde in CCCC 139. Further, I should

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1. Cf. Lifris's Vita Cadoci, ed. and tr. A. W. Wade-Evans, Vitae Sanctorum Britanniae et Genealogiae (Cardiff, 1944): see pp. 24-29 (prologue), 68-73 (§ 22), which show Cadog and Arthur as contemporaries, and pp. 84-87 (§ 27), 96-97 (§ 34), which show Gildas and Cadog to be so, too; pp. 90-93 (§ 29) connects the name 'Guales' with Ynys Echni, on which Gildas is said (pp. 96-97: § 34) to have written a missal. Caradog's Vita Gilde, a derivative work, has Gildas write a gospel-book at Llancarfan, but spend seven years' retreat on Echni (§§ 8-9); Caradog also writes (§ 5), 'Contemporaneus Gildas uir sanctissimus fuit Arturi regis...'. It is interesting that Echni, called Flatholm in English, is also known in Welsh as Gwales; if their equation, and Gildas's sojourn there, were not delivered to Sawley by a now unknown source, then someone there - presumably a Welshman, since the island was already known to the English as Holm - was able to substitute one Welsh name for the other.
 2. These are printed by Mommsen, op. cit., pp. 17-18, and by Williams, i. 12-13.

be inclined to attribute to a Sawley editor the slightly refashioned repeat of I.2 which is added at the end of the book, after I.26, thus providing a neat conclusion to the text.

My survey of the 'Celtic' materials in these Sawley manuscripts being thus concluded, what conclusions are we to draw about how all these otherwise unknown, lost, or poorly attested texts came to be available and in use at Sawley? And what are we to make of the apparent presence there of Welsh-speakers? I should like to put forward very tentatively a possible solution to part of this problem.

During the years 1154x1157, King Henry II confirmed the grant of land (called Kethlenedei) by one Robert Banastre to the Cistercian abbey of Basingwerk.¹ A Robert Banastre, probably the nephew of his namesake just mentioned,² was - with Randle de Bælines and William de Curcy - commissioned by the King to munition and defend the castles of Basingwerk, Rhuddlan, and Prestatyn in the Welsh war of 1165.³ Possibly for his good services in this war, Banastre was granted the manor of Prestatyn by the King.⁴ And at about the same

1. The Victoria History of the Counties of England, Lancashire (henceforth VCH Lancs), i (London, 1906), p. 369. Basingwerk, founded in 1131/2 as a Savignac house, affiliated to the Cistercian order in 1147. It belonged to the Powys diocese of Saint Asaph (Llanelwy), in which see the cult of St Garmon (discussed above) was most securely established.
2. For a genealogical table of the family, see VCH Lancs, i. 368.
3. VCH Lancs, i. 369. For the war, see J. E. Lloyd, A History of Wales (3rd edn, London, 1939), ii. 514-518, and A. L. Poole, Domesday Book to Magna Carta (2nd edn, Oxford, 1955), p. 293.
4. VCH Lancs, i. 369.

Robert Banastre had been granted by Henry de Lacy, lord of Pontefract and Clitheroe, the vills of Walton-le-Dale, Mellor, Eccleshill, Little Harwood, Over and Nether Darwen, all within the hundred of Blackburn and honour of Clitheroe (Lancashire).¹

In 1167 Owain, King of Gwynedd, drove the Anglo-Normans from North Wales.² Banastre was expelled from Prestatyn, losing all his Welsh land, and repaired to Lancashire.³ He brought with him all his Welsh dependents. No doubt in compensation for his loss of Prestatyn, King Henry granted him lands within the lordship of Makerfield, including the demesne lands of Newton and the rectory manor of Wigan with the advowson of the church.⁴ These Welsh settlers must have been very numerous: in Lancashire documents from the end of the twelfth century onwards, chiefly from the south of the county but not referring exclusively to Newton hundred, Welsh personal names are commonly found.⁵ These must have been borne by 'Banastre's Welshmen', as they came to be called,⁶ and by their descendants. More than a century after the settlement of 1167, they were still an identifiable group, commonly called 'Le Westroys'.⁷ The pipe-roll of 1199⁸ provides the earliest substantial evidence of this Welsh nomenclature; the names include

1. Ibid.

2. Lloyd, *op. cit.*, ii. 519-520; Poole, *op. cit.*, pp. 293-294.

3. According to a petition of 1278: see below, p. 931.

4. *VCH Lancs*, i. 369-370.

5. Eilert Ekwall, *The Place-Names of Lancashire* (Manchester, 1922), pp. 226-227. Examples of the names are collected by Ekwall, p. 227, n. 1.

6. In a document of 1229, for example; see below, p. 931.

7. In the petition of 1278; see below, p. 931.

8. ed. William Farrer, *Lancashire Pipe-Rolls, 1130-1216* (Liverpool, 1902).

those of at least one priest (and his seven sons, who have a variety of Celtic, Germanic, and Latin names).¹ We seem to have to do with a small migration of Welsh people into this region and the survival there of an identifiable Welsh community: documents of 1229 give evidence of their vigilance in defence of one of their customs;² Welsh names are still being recorded in the area at least as late as 1262;³ and a petition to Parliament, by the great-grandson of the Robert Banastre of 1167, testifies that in 1278 these Welsh immigrants were still a distinctive group.⁴ Such an immigration and survival could well account for the presence of Welsh-speakers at nearby Sawley Abbey, and could perhaps suggest a reason for the availability there of Latin texts of Celtic origin. A combination of a Cistercian appetite for history⁵ with a Welsh desire to preserve and mould living historical traditions could have been responsible for this substantial aspect of the remarkable activities of the Sawley school.

I do not wish to pretend that Banastre's Welshmen (and the continuing cultural contacts with Wales in which their migration

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1. Ekwall, *op. cit.*, p. 227, n. 1; Farrar, *op. cit.*, p. 106.
 2. VCH Lancs, i. 370; Calendar of the Close Rolls, 1227-1231, p. 159.
 3. ed. John Parker, Calendar of Lancashire Assize Rolls in the Public Record Office (1904/5), p. 301; Ekwall, *op. cit.*, p. 227, n. 1.
 4. This parliamentary petition is published in Rotuli Parliamentorum, i (1783), p. 23. The document, originally in French, is translated into English and discussed in VCH Lancs, i. 369. See also Arnold Taylor, apud Cyril Fox, Offa's Dyke. A field survey of the Western frontier-works of Mercia in the seventh and eighth centuries A.D. (London, 1955), p. 15.
 5. On which see, for example, the sentiments expressed by C. R. Cheney, Medieval Texts and Studies (Oxford, 1973), pp. 339-340, 344-345. His remark (p. 339) that CCCO 139 is a composite volume is based on James's description and must now be disregarded (cf. BBOCS, 25 [1972-74], pp. 369-370).

probably resulted) were responsible for all of the activity discussed above. Indeed, for the two or three texts procured before 1166, that is almost certainly out of the question;¹ similarly, we cannot with any confidence attribute to this cause the availability at Sawley of Hiberno-Latin works. However, the background which this migration provides can hardly be ignored in seeking any solution to the problem of the sources and personnel of the Sawley school.

There is an obvious credit side to be seen in the activities of the Sawley scholars. In the case of these Celtic sources, we have gained through their work many items which would otherwise have been lost to us. But there is also a considerable debit-side to their activities. If the CCCC 139 copy of the Historia Brittonum, to which most of the texts discussed above have been attached, had been destroyed after the newer manuscript (CCCC 66+ Ff. I. 27) was written, we should never have known of the highly complex process which brought the text into being, nor should we have been able to reconstruct with any great assurance the text which served as a basis for the new Sawley recension. Suppose, further, that the copy in Ff. I. 27 had been the only surviving copy of the Latin Historia Brittonum (rather than simply one of some 40 surviving copies allowing a full view of a large and complicated textual tradition), and it would have been impossible to establish the nature of the original early-ninth-century text.² This idea is by no means as

1. One may note also, in passing, the possibility that Madog of Edeirnion's variant text of Geoffrey of Monmouth was known in northern England ca 1200 or later: see D. N. Dumville, 'The origin of the C-text of the Variant Version of the Historia Regum Britannie', BBCS, 26 (1974-76), pp. 315-322.
2. In addition to all the additions deriving from the work of the various secondary scribes in CCCC 139, there are materials found only in CUL Ff. I. 27: the new preface, the capitula, the chapter Brittones a Bruto drawn from the Vatican recension (and found in the Sawley book accompanying a diagram explaining the division of the world), and various minor additions such as some of those by C⁸.

far-fetched as it may seem, for it is precisely the position with other texts preserved in the two Sawley volumes. These manuscripts preserve, inter alia, a wealth of important sources relating to the history of northern England in the Anglo-Saxon and Anglo-Norman periods; for a knowledge of pre-Angevin Northumbria their value is fundamental; yet in so far as the works in question survive only or chiefly in Sawley books, they must rest under a cloud of the deepest suspicion. We have seen - for we still possess the evidence - what Sawley editors have done to the Historia Brittonum; only the closest study, amounting to the total archaeology, of these manuscripts and the texts they offer will tell us how far these sources can be accepted at face value. This task has barely begun to be fulfilled. We must count ourselves fortunate that most - though not all - of the texts of Celtic origin, in so far as they appear as glosses, may be studied in their own right rather than be taken as parts of a text with which they have no primary connexion.¹

1. I should like to record grateful thanks to Professor K. H. Jackson, to Dr M. Miller, and to Mr Anthony Rutherford for many helpful suggestions on matters covered by this appendix.

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This bibliography does not aim to be a record of every item consulted during the preparation of this thesis. Among books, it seeks to record some of the major works which offer important ideas about the text of the Historia Brittonum, and to list a few major reference works which have had to be kept at hand throughout the preparation of this thesis.

The articles form a rather more complete catalogue of writings on the Historia Brittonum, since most specialist writers on the work have had at least one textual point to make. It is hoped that no significant statement about our text has been overlooked in the compilation of this bibliography.

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Abbreviations

BBCS The Bulletin of the Board of Celtic Studies
 EC Etudes celtiques
 EHR English Historical Review

NA Neues Archiv der Gesellschaft für ältere deutsche
Geschichtskunde

RC Revue celtique

THSC Transactions of the Honourable Society of
Cymmrodorion

ZCP Zeitschrift für celtische Philologie

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